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ANNALS

OF

BRISTOL.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Osborne

Osborne

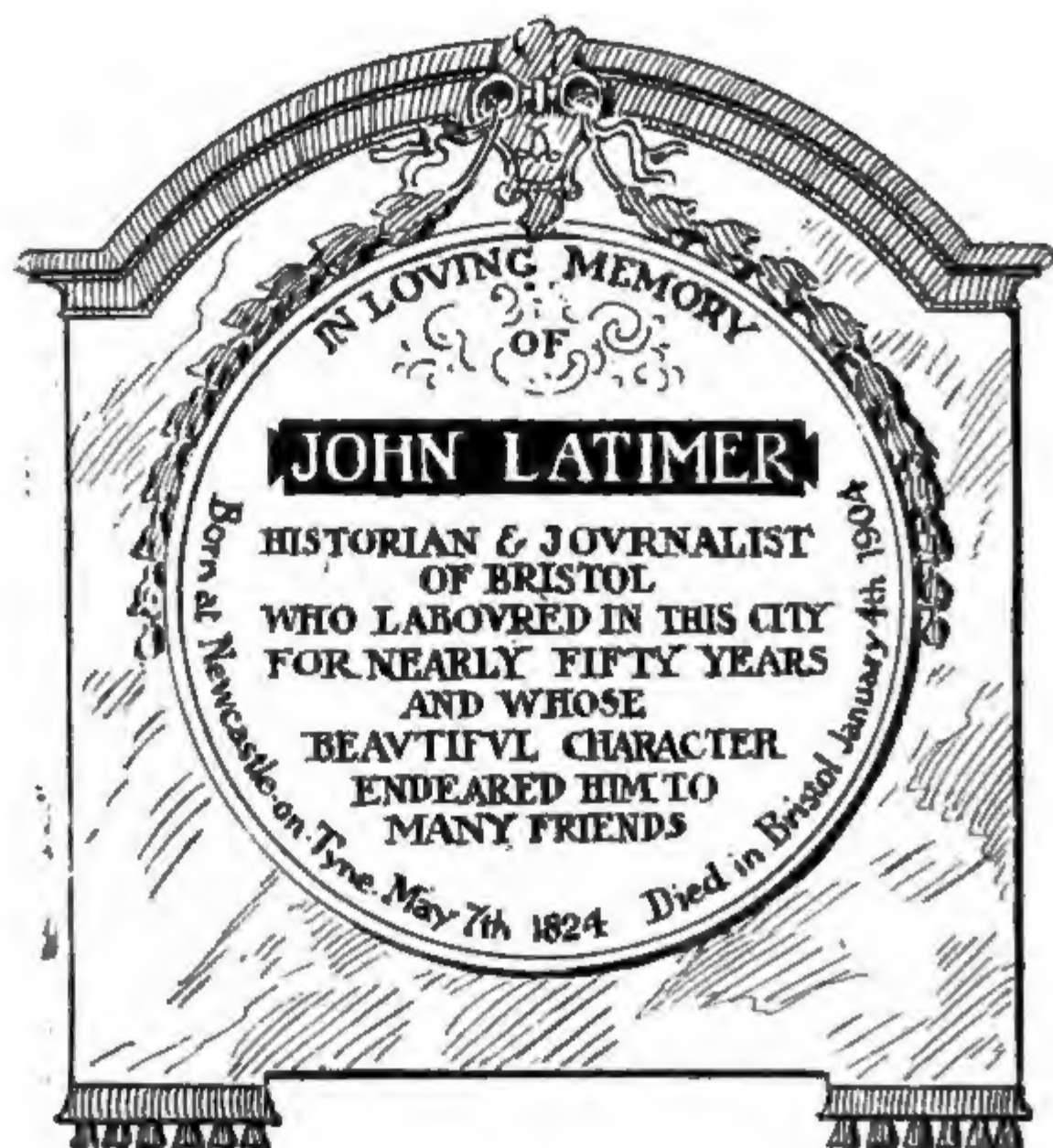
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ANNALS OF BRISTOL.

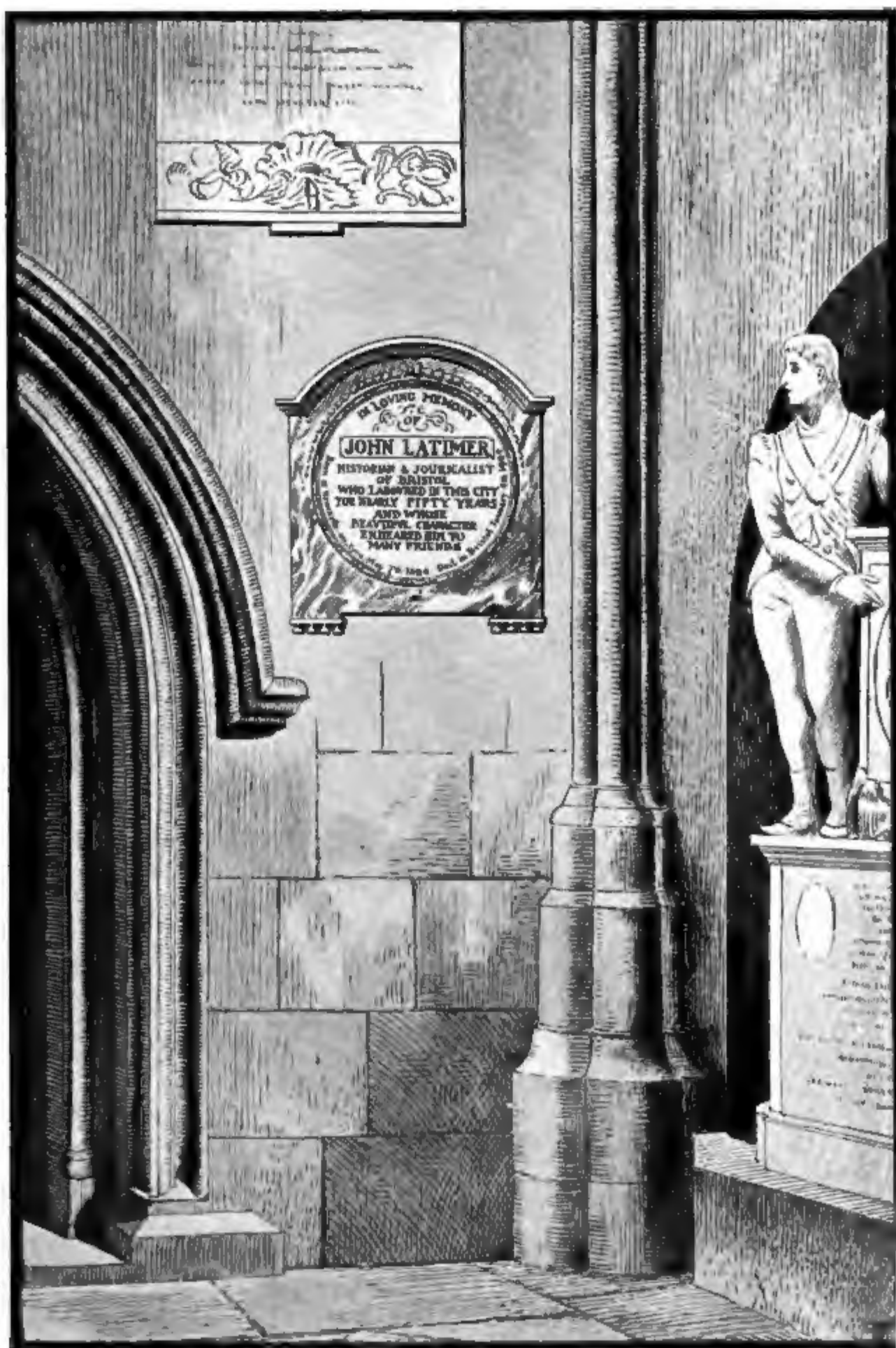
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THE TABLET here shown has just been erected on the West wall of the North Transept of Bristol Cathedral, by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter.



THE MEMORIAL consists of a slab of fine Vert des Alpes marble, the inscription being on a circular convex panel of white statuary marble surrounded by bronze mountings of a refined 18th century classic character; from a design by H. Dare Bryan, F.R.I.B.A., honorary adviser to the Committee.

January, 1905.



POSITION OF THE TABLET.

NAMES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

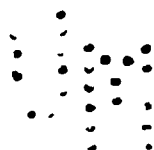
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THE
ANNALS OF BRISTOL
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY
JOHN LATIMER,
AUTHOR OF
"ANNALS OF BRISTOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES."



BRISTOL :
WILLIAM GEORGE'S SONS.
1900.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Demy 8vo, Price 13s. 6d. ; Large Paper, 22s. 6d. net.

**THE ANNALS OF BRISTOL
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.**

Demy 8vo, Price 13s. 6d. net (large paper issue exhausted).

**THE ANNALS OF BRISTOL
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.**

PREFACE.

THE circumstances which led to the compilation of the present volume are within the knowledge of many who will peruse its pages, but are too flattering to the author to be left without a memorial.

On June 10th, 1893, soon after the publication of the "Annals of the Eighteenth Century," a considerable number of gentlemen of literary tastes were pleased to confer a probably unexampled honour on a writer of local history. It would be unseemly to reproduce any of the eulogistic remarks that were made at the complimentary dinner given at the Victoria Rooms. And the grateful feelings which the entire proceedings inspired, and continue to inspire, must be left unrecorded. The subject is referred to as furnishing the compiler's best plea against a reasonable criticism:—

Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage.

The chairman of the gathering, Mr. Alderman Fox, was kind enough to observe that the annals of the city during nearly two centuries had been so satisfactorily dealt with that he and others could not help cherishing a hope that their guest would brace himself to a further effort, and take up the events of the Seventeenth Century, so full of interest to Bristolians. Such a desire, afterwards re-echoed by other gentlemen, it would have been ungrateful to evade. During the long process of compilation, further encouragement was received from many quarters; and within the last few weeks the support and sympathy of a large body of friends have been tendered with a munificence that leaves the writer helpless to offer adequate acknowledgments.

When Mr. Seyer undertook the local history of the Seventeenth Century, upwards of ninety years ago, he was refused access to the most important source of information—the records of the Corporation. Most of the State Papers of the period were not arranged, and scanty facilities were offered for inspecting what could be seen; the collections

in the British Museum were, as compared with those of the present day, insignificant; while vast stores of manuscripts now available were then practically unknown. The author of the *Memoirs of Bristol* was consequently compelled to base his narrative on the printed pamphlets of the time, often strongly tinctured with party spirit, and on the casual jottings of a few local chroniclers, frequently at variance in their facts and dates, often ignoring the most important events of their time, and, as Mr. Seyer was fain to confess, generally untrustworthy. Later compilers were more favourably situated, but the pressing engagements of their professional life left them little leisure for comprehensive research, and some valuable mines of information were left unexplored.

The object of the present volume is to give the history of the century, not by reproducing the imperfect statements of books already in print, but by extracting the marrow of official records and contemporary documents of unquestionable authenticity, but hitherto for the most part unexamined. The archives of the Corporation have produced a vast mass of material throwing a vivid light on the habits, feelings, passions, and trials of the community during a very eventful period. Equally valuable matter has been disinterred from the voluminous State Papers in the Record Office and from the minutes of the Privy Council; for although the city suffered grievously, and almost constantly, from the meddlesome dictation and unjust burdens and restraints of successive Governments, the astonishing extent of this suffering is now for the first time disclosed. Supplementary facts of great moment have been obtained from the immense treasures of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, from the numberless letters and papers recently brought to light by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and from the large collections of local antiquaries that have been generously made available. Something also has been gleaned from the numerous Bristol manuscripts acquired of late years by the Museum and Reference Library, the records of the Dean and Chapter, the minutes of the parochial vestries, and the local wills at Somerset House. The chief difficulty in dealing with all this accumulation of resources has been to compress it into a moderate compass whilst setting out all the essential facts and preserving as far as possible the language and spirit of the writers. The results must be left to the judgment of the reader.

As discrepancies will be observed in the spelling of certain surnames, it may be explained that when the orthography differed in two documents of equal authority it has been often impossible to determine the accurate form. Indifference to precision on the subject was carried so far that some leading citizens wavered in the spelling of their own names. Alderman Gonning often signed "Goninge," Chamberlain Pitt sometimes preferred "Pytt," the unfortunate son of Alderman Butcher seems to have adopted "Bowcher," and almost at the end of the century Sir John Duddleston is found spelling his name "Dudelstone."

The compiler has to return grateful thanks to the Clerk of the Privy Council for permitting a lengthened search of the records in his custody, and to Mr. Tremayne Lane, the City Treasurer, whose courtesy, though severely taxed for many months, was unfaltering throughout. Many interesting contributions have been gathered from the extensive store of Bristol manuscripts and books in the library of Alderman Fox, whose hospitality has been as generous as his cheering sympathy. The fine local collections of the late Mr. Sholto Hare and of Mr. G. E. Weare, of Weston-super-Mare, have also proved fruitful, and great assistance was rendered by a much-lamented friend, the late Mr. William George. Acknowledgments are also due to the Rev. R. L. Murchison, vicar of St. Nicholas, the churchwardens of various parishes, Mr. W. W. Hughes, Chapter Clerk, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A., Mr. Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A., Mr. J. J. Simpson, Clerk to the Corporation of the Poor, Mr. H. H. Bowles, and the Rev. A. E. Beaven, of Preston.

TRELAWNY PLACE,
June, 1900.



THE ANNALS OF BRISTOL

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

IN despite of the splendour of the national history during the later years of Queen Elizabeth, there are many indications that, at the opening of the seventeenth century, the commerce and industry of Bristol were passing through a period of depression. The series of victories that followed the destruction of the Armada and broke the power of Spain, though ultimately promoting a great development of foreign trade, gravely affected a port whose prosperity had been long based on its extensive transactions with the Peninsula. In a petition to the Crown forwarded by the Corporation in 1595, it was stated that, before the quarrel with Philip II., some thirty "tall" barks belonging to Bristolians were engaged in this traffic, but that, through the war, this fleet had been reduced to "eight or ten small ships," and the owners and merchants were "undone." A large business had also been carried on with Ireland, but in 1600 the island had been in revolt for several years, and commerce was at an end. In the Middle Ages the shipping of Bristol had been very little inferior in number to that of London. But when the Government were making preparations to resist the Armada, and obtained returns from each port as to the strength of the mercantile marine, London was found to have 62 ships exceeding 100 tons burden and 23 of between 80 and 100 tons, while the three Western ports of Bristol, Bridgwater and Minehead put together could muster only nine vessels of the larger and one of the smaller class. The decline had been much aggravated by the impolitic policy of the Crown, which had diverted foreign trade into the hands of confederacies in the capital by the concession of chartered monopolies. The Muscovy Company debarred all outside their pale from traffic with Russia ;

the Eastland Company enjoyed exclusive dealings with the Baltic; the Levant Company permitted no private competition in Turkey, Greece and Asia Minor, while the East India Company were supreme in China and Hindostan. Hemmed in by so many barriers, the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, who had previously been flourishing, had allowed their privileges to lapse, and many members were driven to seek for admission into the Spanish Company of London to preserve the little business that remained to them. Other causes led to the decline of the once prosperous clothing trade of the city. The quality of west-country wool is said to have deteriorated after the inclosure of the commons, but perhaps the main cause of decay was the fondness of Elizabeth and her gay courtiers for the light and gaudy mercery produced in distant looms. The Government, again, insisted upon "regulating" domestic industries, more to the injury than the benefit of those concerned. In 1601 the Statute of Apprentices, fixing the number to be employed by each master, the rate of wages, and the hours of work, and debarring men from exercising any trade to which they had not been bound for seven years, was made more stringent; whilst a system of granting "monopolies," by which the right of making and selling a number of articles of the first necessity was established for the benefit of royal nominees, who sold their rights to the highest bidder, inflicted much injury on the public at large. From these and other causes, the price of commodities had greatly increased; but the profits were enjoyed by a limited class, whilst wages, as represented by the cost of necessaries, had largely diminished, and the working community, as a consequence, were in a much worse condition than they had been in a century earlier. To take a single illustration, the price of sugar had been raised through a monopoly from the old rate of fourpence to half a crown per pound, a sum equal to an artisan's wages for two days and a half. The consequences of such a policy were seen in the demoralizing Poor Law Act of 1601.

English labour being chiefly devoted to agriculture, the population of even the most important provincial towns was, as compared with the present time, exceedingly small. Weston-super-Mare is a mere village in modern eyes, yet its inhabitants are more numerous than any English city could boast of in 1600, with the sole exception of London. The population of Bristol, one of the largest centres, has been estimated at 15,000, but there is reason to believe that the figures are in excess of the truth. Except a handful of

merchants, whose wealth was probably inferior to that of the Canynges, Shipwards and Sturmys of an earlier age, but who nevertheless lived in mansions regarded as sumptuous, the citizens dwelt in small timber-framed houses, generally of two stories and a garret, having their gables projecting over the street. Many of these have been swept away within living memory, but a typical specimen still stands in Temple Street (No. 115), bearing the date of 1587 upon its door-jamb. The general aspect of the town, apart from the church towers, must have been that of a mass of cottages, crushed together in dark, narrow and ill-paved thoroughfares, of which the Maryleport Street of forty years ago was a much-improved type. In these defiles, the inhabitants, mostly of humble means, toiled at their respective trades, trafficking in little but the common necessities of life. The insanitary condition of the community is sufficiently proved by the repeated ravages of the Plague to be noted hereafter. The average brevity of life is attested by the wills enrolled at the Council House, numerous testators speaking of their offspring as infants, and anticipating a posthumous addition to the family. Of comfort in the modern sense there are few indications. The thatched hovels of the working classes, and even of petty traders, were destitute of glass windows—always specifically mentioned, when in existence, in the conveyance of a house; the floors of the living rooms were of stone, generally covered with soddened rushes; the ceilings were of open rafters; whilst the furniture embraced little more than a table and a few wooden stools, benches and trunks. Dinner was served upon wooden trenchers, unsupplied with forks; the only attainable sweetening compound was honey, and, except in plentiful seasons, household bread was made of barley, with which pease were mingled in times of dearth. Soap was so dear that the clothes of the poor were cleansed by the help of most unsavoury materials. In a word, the sordid and squalid surroundings of the bulk of the population would be offensive in the present age to the poorest agricultural labourer. Evidences of rude well-being were, of course, visible in the houses of prosperous tradesmen, who arrayed themselves in stately “gowns,” and whose wills record the possession of jewellery, valuable pieces of plate, a dinner-service of pewter, and a plentiful stock of linen, cushions and bed-curtains; but chairs were a rare luxury, and the only “carpet” was a covering for the parlour table. A handsome pair of andirons, to arrange the wooden fuel of

the family hearth, and a "great brass pan," for cooking or brewing purposes, are frequently bequeathed with amusing solemnity; but of books, pictures, or household ornaments of any kind there is an eloquent and universal silence.

The difference between the Bristol of Elizabeth and that of Victoria is perhaps most strikingly exhibited in the habits of social life. From the time when the burgesses had purchased from Edward III. a concession of municipal privileges, amounting practically to self-government, free from the interference and exactions of the county sheriffs and other royal officials, the object of the leading townsmen was to defend those franchises from attack by a consolidation of the community into a united whole and by a rigorous exclusion of interloping strangers. That such an arrangement could not be thoroughly carried out without some sacrifice of individual freedom of action was clearly regarded as immaterial. As a member of one great family, every one was expected to give up some amount of personal liberty for the general good. All being presumed to earn their living by industry, the mass was subdivided into industrial companies, in which every man was required to take his place according to his avocation. A youth was at liberty to choose his calling, but a choice once made was irrevocable; after a long apprenticeship he was bound to enter into his special fraternity, to obey its regulations, and to support it by his services. The laws of the various confederacies were ordained by the Corporation, which rigorously forbade the encroachment of one company on another. No shopkeeper could deal in goods made by men of other trades. No carpenter could work as a joiner. No butcher could sell cooked meat. No victualler could bake bread for sale. No one but a butcher could slaughter even a pig. Besides an infinity of such restrictions, the hours of work, the rate of wages, and the number of journeymen employed by a master were peremptorily fixed; articles made by suburban craftsmen and brought in for sale were liable to confiscation; and the introduction of "foreigners" from the rural districts to work as journeymen was interdicted under heavy penalties. The attempt of any stranger to intrude into the city with the view of establishing a business without the consent of the authorities was an unpardonable enormity, punished by speedy ejection. Perhaps the most striking outcome of the ancient principles ruling urban life was the right of supervision claimed by the Corporation over the family and property of deceased burgesses. The Mayor was recognised

as the "Father" of all the orphans in the city. On the death of the head of a family, it was the duty of the man's executors to deposit his assets in the hands of the chief magistrate and his assistants, who undertook to administer the estate until the offspring came of age, and in the meantime to provide for their education and training. Some resistance having been made against these powers, the Privy Council, in 1589, in a letter to the Mayor expressing warm approval of the custom, gave emphatic orders for its maintenance, and authorized the commitment of refractory executors to gaol, "there to remain until they effectually submit." No effort, in short, was spared to maintain the solidarity of the community; and though in practice it must have been impossible to carry out the system in its integrity, that end was always as far as possible kept in view, and met with general approval. It will be found in subsequent pages that this old-world idea of town life, intolerable as it seems to modern eyes, had undergone no sensible relaxation (except as regards orphans) at the end of the seventeenth century.

Little is recorded in reference to the popular sports and amusements of the time. They were doubtless of the rough and often barbarous character common to the country at large, dog-tossing, cock-fighting, bull-baiting, duck-hunting, and cudgel-playing being especially in favour. Alderman Whitson, we are told, "kept his hawks," and hawking could be enjoyed by numerous spectators. The Queen, who maintained some bears, and a pack of hounds to bait them, allowed them to travel from town to town for "entertainments"; and "Harry the bearward" was always welcomed, and rewarded by the Corporation. Many times a year the civic dignitaries were enlivened by companies of peripatetic comedians, the party called the Queen's players being frequent visitors. In John Hort's mayoralty, 1599-1600, six bands of actors, described respectively as the players of Lord Howard, Lord Morley, Lord Pembroke, the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Chandos and Lord Cromwell, received donations from the civic purse for their personations, though in two cases the gift was limited to ten shillings. It may be assumed that the entertainment given before the Mayor and Corporation on each occasion was followed by others for the inhabitants generally. It would be needless to refer further to indoor amusements but for the then rudimentary growth of a habit that was fated to enlist millions of devotees, to overspread the world, and to yield to the

Government of Queen Victoria a revenue twenty-fold greater than the total income of Elizabeth. How early the smoking of tobacco had made its way to Bristol is shown by a document dated October 9th, 1593, only about eight years after tobacco had been first landed in England, and still nearer to the time at which Sir Walter Raleigh had astonished the villagers of Iron Acton by "blowing a cloud" in the garden of Sir Robert Poyntz. In a letter to Mayors and justices in the Western counties, the Lord Admiral Howard stated that he had been informed by Thomas Aldworth, of Bristol, merchant, that a vessel partly belonging to him had been carried off by lewd mariners, who sold her to others, and that the buyers, naming her the Tobacco Pipe, had sent her to sea as a privateer, and had had the good luck to take an Indian prize, which the justices were ordered to seize, together with the stolen ship, and deliver both to Aldworth. The Wiltshire antiquary, Aubrey, who gathered information on the subject from aged yeomen whose memories extended to the reign of James I., states that the pipes first used by the middle classes were made of a walnut-shell and a straw, but that a silver pipe was used by the gentry, who passed it round from man to man during an after-dinner carouse. The manufacture of ordinary clay pipes, however, began in Bristol at a very early date, and employed many workmen. The bowls were at first little larger than a lady's thimble. The price of tobacco was then very high. Aubrey asserts that it sold for its weight in silver, and that when yeomen went to Malmesbury or Chippenham market "they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco."

A more remarkable characteristic of the closing years of Elizabeth's reign must be briefly pointed out—namely, the steady growth of Puritanism in all classes of society, and especially amongst the urban population. The sanguinary measures employed by the Spanish and French Governments to extirpate Protestantism on the Continent, their promotion of reactionary plots against the life of the Queen, and the avowed design of Philip II. to force Romanism upon the English people by dint of conquest and the Inquisition, excited a passionate religious fervour throughout the country, which by no means subsided when the peril to national liberty had passed away. At a time when literature was practically non-existent as regarded the great bulk of the nation, when political discussion in large gatherings had not been invented, and when a newspaper had not been

even dreamt of, the pulpit was the only institution by which the popular enthusiasm could be enlightened, directed and sustained. As was perhaps natural under the circumstances, preachers based their discourses on the sufferings and triumphs of the Hebrews, begirt with implacable heathen foes; and the zeal and eloquence of the clergy imparted a moral and religious impulse upon their hearers which spread in every direction, and had a profound effect on the temper and character of the people. The Queen's treatment of these phenomena displayed little of her customary tact, and had deplorable results. The Puritans of her time bore no hostility to the Established Church, and would have been conciliated by slight relaxations of the liturgy, some abatement of ritual, freedom to abstain from a few "superstitious usages," such as bowing and kneeling, and a moderate restriction of episcopal autocracy. To such requests, approved by a great number of clergymen, the Queen angrily retorted by the institution of a permanent Ecclesiastical Commission, which forbade religious services and lecturing except in church, insisted on absolute compliance with the ritual, on pain of banishment, and punished trivial infractions of the Act of Uniformity with relentless severity. The effect of the spiritual tyranny thus wielded by the bishops was to rouse the indignation of those who sympathised with the sufferers, to raise up a crowd of malcontents, and to extend and deepen the demands for greater liberty. It will be seen in later pages that the citizens of Bristol, who had submitted to Elizabeth's intolerance in consideration for her age and her glorious career, became profoundly stirred after her death by the religious currents of the time, and that their attachment to Puritanism rapidly increased during the imbecile rule of James I.

During the rule of the Tudors, when usurpations on the liberty of the subject, arbitrary taxation, and forced loans were of frequent occurrence, it was but natural that a community like that of Bristol should endeavour to protect itself by securing a powerful "friend at Court." Henry the Eighth's terrible minister, Thomas Cromwell, was doubtless appointed Recorder, with what was then deemed a handsome salary, for this especial purpose. After his fall, the Corporation ingeniously invented the more dignified office of Lord High Steward, in order to confer it upon the

King's brother-in-law, afterwards known as the Protector Somerset. A few years later, when the Earl of Leicester became Queen Elizabeth's "Sweet Robin," he was speedily offered the same tribute of adulation; and after his disappearance from the scene, the office was conferred on her Majesty's greatest minister, Lord Burghley, who graciously received £4 per annum as an honorarium for the rest of his life. His portrait, executed by the Queen's Sergeant Painter, who received £3 for the work, is still in the Council House. On his death, in 1598, the Corporation, satisfied with the results of its policy, proffered the dignity to Elizabeth's last favourite, the Earl of Essex, and complimented him by setting up a costly picture of his arms in their place of meeting. His reckless ambition, however, soon warned the Council of their blunder, and in 1600, before the final catastrophe, they sought to ingratiate themselves with a new patron, the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, by sending him a copious present of the wine for which the city was already famous. On the 17th February, 1601, immediately after the execution of Essex, the Council ordered that a patent of the Lord Stewardship, ornamented with gold and silk and accompanied with "the accustomed fee," should be forwarded to the Treasurer "with all convenient speed." The Court limner was also commissioned to paint the minister's portrait, which is still to be seen. As will be shown later on, the city's need of an influential friend at the seat of government became more urgent than ever after the accession of the Stewarts.

Owing to the enormous price of foreign iron, by which the English market was chiefly supplied, some attempts were made at this period to produce the metal from local sources; but as smelting could be effected only by the use of charcoal, the enterprise was regarded with much disapproval. In December, 1600, the Corporation resolved on renewing an appeal to the Privy Council, made in the previous year, for the suppression of the "iron mills" set up at Mangotsfield by Arthur Player and others, it being alleged that the extensive destruction of the woods had raised the price of timber, to the injury of "poor craftsmen." Another mill was alleged to be working similar havoc at "Staunton" (Stanton Drew?). The reply of the Privy Council is not recorded.

Some references in the corporate minute-books of 1600-1 to a then infant institution, Queen Elizabeth's Hospital,

cannot be fully understood without a brief glance at the events of a few previous years. John Carr, the founder of the school, was a soapboiler, having works in Bristol and at Bow, near London, and had acquired great wealth by means of a secret process of manufacture. He died in 1586, having vested his estate by will in the hands of trustees, who were directed to sell certain portions within three years for the payment of mortgages and debts, and then to retain the profits of the remainder for five years more, in order to wipe off annuities bequeathed by the testator and to provide a surplus stock. This being accomplished, a hospital was to be established for the maintenance and tuition of boys on the pattern of Christ's Hospital in London. The Corporation were appointed governors of the projected charity, Mr. Carr expressing a hope that they would provide it with a suitable building. Under the founder's scheme the hospital would not have come into existence until 1594; but the Corporation were unwilling to admit this delay. Immediately after the death of Mr. Carr, they began to make advances to liquidate his liabilities, seeking donations for this purpose from the parish vestries and private persons, induced creditors to release sums due to them, and imposed local taxes on lead and iron in aid of the object in view. The validity of the will was disputed by Carr's brother and heir-at-law, but this difficulty was also surmounted by surrendering to him the Woodspring Priory estate, remitting a debt of £666 which he owed to the testator, and making him a gift of £1,000, which was advanced by the Corporation. Having thus cleared the ground, the Common Council, in March, 1590, less than four years after Carr's death, obtained a charter from the Crown for the foundation of "Queen Elizabeth's Hospital," as it was styled in compliment to her Majesty; the letters patent setting forth that the Corporation had "bestowed and laid out some thousands of pounds" in order that the founder's intentions should be "more quickly hastened and performed." The school was accordingly opened in or about September, 1590, the "mansion house" of the former monks of Gaunt's Hospital being granted to it by the Council. Some charges, however, still remained on Carr's estate, while the Corporation were burdened with a debt of £3,800 borrowed to hasten the work; and to clear off these liabilities portions of the estate were sold between 1592 and 1596, producing over £5,000. The financial position being

at length deemed satisfactory, Carr's trustees, in June, 1596, transferred the estate to the Corporation, who in the following year obtained an Act of Parliament, which settled the property, together with the "mansion house," on the charity for ever, and apparently precluded further alienations of the property. Nevertheless, in September, 1600, the Common Council, ignoring their former professions of munificence, appear to have thought themselves entitled to reclaim the money they had "bestowed" for hastening Carr's intentions, a resolution being passed that so much of the school lands should be sold as would satisfy "all debts." The Corporation were then the only creditors of the charity, and their claim was set down at £4,000. Accordingly, by September, 1601, sales had been effected to the value of £3,856. The purchasers were members of the Corporation and their relatives or connections, and it is significant that, in violation of long-established custom, two aldermen and a councillor, who acquired a large part of the land, were not described by their titles in the conveyances. Strange to say, although the alleged liabilities were practically discharged by these alienations, a memorandum occurs in the corporate audit book of 1606, to the effect that the charity was still indebted to the civic body in "£3000 and a more sum." But no action was taken on this statement, and in December, 1620, the Council, again posing as great benefactors, ordered that the schoolboys should wear badges distinguishing the patrons of the hospital—eight of which were to be in memory of Carr, six in honour of the Corporation, ranking the civic liberality as little less than that of the founder, and ten in commemoration of various later bequests. A further reference to the management of the institution will be found under 1700. For the later story of the alleged "debt," reference must be made to the Annals of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

The ruinous state of the roads leading to the city was a chronic grievance throughout the century, and somewhat extraordinary measures were sometimes taken in the vain hope of remedying the evil. At a meeting of the Council in April, 1600, it was ordered that every inhabitant "scassed" (assessed) for raising the Queen's subsidies should pay 4*d.* in the pound on the amount at which he was rated. (The burden was not an onerous one, for only a few magnates of the city were rated at so much as £8.) The proceeds were to be employed towards the repair of the

“decayed” highways in the city suburbs; and every householder exempt from the subsidy was required, when summoned, to personally work on the roads for one day of eight hours yearly, providing his own pickaxe and shovel. This ordinance was re-enacted in 1605, when those refusing to pay or work were ordered to be imprisoned until they submitted. The cleansing of the streets was another endless difficulty. The Corporation appointed a Raker, whose wages, collected from householders, were fixed at ten shillings a week, horse hire included. Efficient scavenging was, of course, impossible under these conditions, and as if to make matters worse, many of the inhabitants, in spite of corporate interdicts, obstinately threw their household refuse into streets that were always rank with the garbage of the open markets. Some even refused to contribute towards the Raker’s humble salary, and the Council were compelled to order in 1605 that defaulters should be committed to gaol till the money was forthcoming. The work of paving the streets was thrown upon householders, who were required to repair the pavement in front of their premises, as far as the central gutter that ran along each thoroughfare. Shortly before the beginning of the century, the Corporation munificently rewarded a new Pitcher with the sum of twenty shillings “for taking up his abode here until he pitches all the streets, and will take not above threehalfpence a yard to do his work well.” By a vote of May, 1602, the Mayor and Aldermen were directed to set this official to work when and where they thought fit, and his charges were ordered to be levied on the occupants of the adjoining houses, who were to be imprisoned in default of payment.

The Corporation, at the period under review, possessed a singular source of income—namely, the profits arising from the issue of copper tokens called farthings—a fact that has been somewhat overlooked by local historians. The story of Bristol farthings begins in the last quarter of the previous century, but a retrospective glance may be permitted to show the extent of the operations. In December, 1577, the Corporation, through their Recorder, Thomas Hannam, represented to the Privy Council that great abuses had arisen in the city through the stamping and uttering of farthing tokens by innholders, bakers, brewers, and other victuallers, who refused to receive them again from the public, alleging that many had been counterfeited; for remedy whereof, and for the benefit of the poor, the Recorder recommended the use of a general stamp, by which he meant a die

belonging solely to the Corporation. The Privy Council, to use their own language, "very well allow this, commend the providence of the citizens, and notify their contentment that the use of these farthings shall continue, provided the quantity do not exceed the [yearly] value of £30, and that they may be made current only within the city." The first issue was accordingly made in 1578, when the Corporation obtained the services of a goldsmith, who provided the metal and struck the pieces, receiving one third of the nominal value for his trouble. The city Chamberlain, as the treasurer was then styled, thereupon got rid of the tokens at their full value by paying them as wages to the corporate workmen and others, a clear profit being made of £20. A similar issue was made in 1580, in 1581, and in 1583 (when a new mould cost 6s. 8d. extra), and probably in 1582 and 1584, the audit books of which years are missing. In course of time the excessive profit derived from the tokens—a shilling's worth of copper producing a pound's worth of farthings—excited the cupidity of knavish persons, and large counterfeit issues made their appearance, to the serious loss of the community. In 1587 one Gallwey, a butcher, was convicted of coining, and was fined £5; but his detection failed to deter similar rogues, and in the same year, by a vote of the Common Council, the Chamberlain disbursed £13 2s. 10d. "to divers persons, as well of the city as of the country, for 12,600 false farthings" that had been palmed off by illicit coiners. In 1594 the Privy Council, in a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, stated that it had come to their knowledge that many small tradesmen in the city had illegally stamped lead and brass farthing tokens and uttered them to their customers, but refused to accept them again in payments, whereby grievous inconvenience was caused to the poor. The Mayor and Aldermen were therefore required to suppress such proceedings, and to compel the fraudulent utterers to change the tokens for current money. Some further powers must have been obtained from the Government, for the Chamberlain's accounts for the same year show that he had obtained £40 worth of new tokens—equal to 38,400 farthings—whilst he had paid £7 for the Privy Council's warrant authorizing the issue, 3s. 4d. for a stamp, £6 for stamping, and £2 for the copper, which, deducting £2 more for himself in compensation for his trouble in paying away the tokens, left a clear gain of £22 16s. 8d. The accounts for the next two years have been lost; but it may be surmised from the

audit book of 1597 that the issues had proceeded swimmingly. The item reads:—"Received of Thomas Wall, goldsmith, in copper tokens made this year, £13 10s. [equal to 12,960 coins], whereof abated for the stuff, stamping, cutting and exchanging at 5s. per lb., £3 7s. 6d. So rests clear £10 2s. 6d." In another corporate book is a minute stating that a new and broader stamp was cut in 1598, doubtless in preparation for a further coinage. But by that time the Corporation had so deluged the market that a crash took place in the summer, and the Chamberlain was constrained to employ Mr. Wall to buy up no less than 32,470 tokens at full price to allay the popular clamour. The transaction involved an outlay of £33 16s. 6d., wiping away about three years' profits. In 1600, however, a fresh issue took place, leaving a gain of £3; in 1601 there was a further profit of 31s. 4d., and in 1603-4 upwards of 10,000 tokens were put in circulation, though the net gain was only 29s. 5d. This appears to have been the last corporate issue of farthings previous to the Commonwealth, but curious references to local tokens will hereafter be found under 1613 and 1636. So far as is known, all the Elizabethan issues were square or diamond-shaped. There are numerous types extant, most of them bearing the arms of the city, rudely cut, and sometimes reversed, on one side, and the letters "C.B." on the other.

Vagrancy was a social evil in England throughout the Middle Ages, and greatly increased during the reigns of the Tudors, in spite of legislative enactments. On the 5th February, 1601, the Common Council resolved that a special officer should be appointed to search for and apprehend rogues, vagrants, idle and disorderly people, and "inmates" infesting the city, and to carry out the orders of the justices concerning these offenders. A "beadle of the beggars" thereupon came into existence, and one officer proving unable to cope with the work, a second beadle was soon after elected, together with a "beadle of the rogues," for whose use whips were provided, and a "cage" was set up in Newgate to incarcerate strollers. Irish beggars especially abounded. On one occasion 66 of these tramps were shipped off to Ireland in a drove, the Corporation disbursing a shilling a head for their passage; and in 1607 the Government, through Alderman Whitson, paid £21 18s. for the transport of others, who, if the same rate of transport continued, must have numbered several hundreds. The "inmates" referred to above were a peculiarly unhappy class.

They were, in fact, workpeople from districts outside the city, who took lodgings in it and strove to earn a living in contravention of the orders of the civic body, in whose eyes all strangers were "foreigners," and who took constant pains to exterminate them, lest they should gain a "settlement" under the poor laws. Under a corporate ordinance then in force any tradesman or artificer within the city who employed a "foreigner," even though the stranger's family lived elsewhere, was subjected to a fine of 6s. 8d. per week so long as he retained the workman, while innkeepers were mulcted in the same penalty if they harboured such intruders, except during the fairs.

The miserable stipends of the Bristol clergy during the whole of the seventeenth century will be noticed from time to time. In 1600-1 a rate, producing £44 6s. 8d., appears to have been levied on the inhabitants for the relief of the incumbents, out of which the vicar of St. Nicholas (who received only £2 13s. 4d. yearly out of the parochial estates) was to have £10, the parson of All Saints' £6, and his colleagues at St. Werburgh's and Christ Church £4 each, the remainder being doled out to the other clergy in sums of from £5 to £1. The Corporation, however, had really no power to impose a tax of this character, and evidence is wanting that the householders submitted to it. At a meeting of the Council in October, 1601, a committee was directed to consider the necessitous circumstances of two clergymen styled "city preachers," apparently nominated by the Corporation, though, owing to the loss of most of the minute-books during Elizabeth's reign, no record exists as to their appointment, nor is there anything to show how their stipends of £40 each were raised. The committee never reported. This is an early indication of the Puritanic predilection for sermons and antipathy to the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer which rapidly increased during the reign of James I.

The granting of monopolies and licenses which crippled private manufactures and commerce was an unhappy feature of the later rule of Elizabeth. Bristol merchants, forbidden to trade with India, the Levant, and other regions, naturally sought compensation by applying for privileges of a similar character, and brief entries in the civic records for 1600 show that the Merchant Venturers' Society had made suit to the Crown for a license, overriding the statute law, giving them permission to export tanned calf-skins, that such a license was granted, by dint of con-

siderable outlay, in favour of the Corporation, and that it was sold for £45 to one William Lewis, Customs' Searcher, who possibly acted as agent for the merchants. But in 1601 the Queen, daunted by the protests of the House of Commons, assented to an Act for abolishing monopolies, and the above license sank with the rest. See September, 1614.

A general election took place in September, 1601, when George Snigge, Recorder and Serjeant-at-Law, and Alderman John Hopkins, then retiring from the civic chair, were elected members for Bristol. The principal event of a very brief session has just been recorded.

John Hopkins, fishmonger, mayor of the city for the year ending Michaelmas, 1601, had gained great renown in 1596 for having equipped a ship, which sailed under his own command and took part in the memorable sack of Cadiz. On his return, says a local chronicler, "he was with much joy met by the citizens on Durdham Down," who conducted him home in triumph, and lighted "all their tallow candles and a great bonfire at the High Cross, very beautiful to behold." In the audit book of his mayoralty there is the following somewhat obscure item:—"Paid the Mayor for the loan of four pieces of ordnance put aboard the Pleasure of Bristol in the voyage for Cales, £9 5s."

One of the greatest troubles of the magistrates at this period arose out of the frequent arrivals of troops despatched by the Government for shipment to Ireland. When unfavourable winds prevailed, the soldiers were often detained for weeks in the city, and their chronic unruliness caused many disorders. On one or two occasions the Common Council took the singular step of erecting a gallows at the High Cross to strike terror in those disposed to run riot. In Hopkins' mayoralty upwards of 1,000 soldiers were sent to the city, and his worship's exertions to keep order were of little avail. "They were so unruly," says a chronicler, "that the citizens could not pass the streets in quiet, especially in the night, so that many frays took place, though the soldiers had still the worst." At last "they began to draw their weapons in the Marsh against the Mayor"; but the town bell was rung, the citizens flew to arms, and the troopers were so thoroughly beaten that they were glad to take refuge in the transport ships. "Some were sore hurt, and one was killed, and the chiefest put into prison." Extraordinary burdens were imposed from time to time on members of the Corporation for the

victualling and shipment of these unwelcome visitors. On January 1st, 1602, the aldermen and such of the councillors as had been required to advance money for these purposes were ordered to bring in their loans. The Mayor was called on for £100; the aldermen had to find £20 each (save one who escaped for £10), and various councillors lent from £10 to £20. Those who failed to pay up were to have as many soldiers billeted upon them as the Mayor should think fit. The total sum advanced on this occasion was £670, and a second imposition of the same kind was made four months later. Occasionally the charge was much heavier, and though the loans were eventually repaid by the Government, there was always delay and the money was never recovered without a journey to London and many "tips" to Court officials. One of the Chamberlain's items during Lord Burghley's treasurership is amusing:—"Paid one of my Lord Treasurer's secretaries, 10s. for his pains in examining my account, for it was very much disliked and evil taken by my Lord Treasurer, the charge was so great, being £1160 8s. 8½d., so that two days was spent in trying of the said account, which thanks be to God could not be faulted in one half-penny." This money was conveyed from Whitehall to London by water, but how so large a sum was brought to Bristol in safety is not stated. The Chamberlain's journey altogether occupied twelve days, and the modesty of his expenses is worthy of note. The hire of two horses for himself and servant cost 2s. a day, the man's wages were 6d. a day, and the various innkeepers' charges for food and lodging, for both the travellers and their steeds, amounted only to 6s. 8d. daily.

Another singular burden on the members of the Council was the provision of armour for the use of the city trained bands, which were mustered annually. The Corporation had a large store of muskets, calivers, corslets, etc., for this purpose: but each common councillor also furnished a corslet and a musket, while other wealthy citizens, when called on by the Mayor, were required to engage one or more soldiers for the training, and to find them coats, under a penalty of 20s. for each default. Still another anomalous charge may be noted. About this period the Corporation took up a loan of £500, and payment of the interest was imposed *pro rata* on the members of the Council!

In September, 1601, the Corporation granted a lease for 99 years to the Merchants Company—a body then, as will presently be shown, in a decayed and almost moribund

condition—of “all those duties which usually and of right ought to be taken of all vessels arriving in the port for anchorage, cannage and plankage.” The rent reserved was £3 6s. 8d. This is the first mention in the records of cannage and plankage, and anchorage appears to have been previously an occasional tax imposed only on foreigners. It is not improbable that all the charges were now laid on citizens for the first time.

The ordinances of the Weavers' Company, revised and re-enacted by the Corporation in 1602, indicate the narrow prejudices of the age. Any citizen sending linen or woollen yarn to be woven outside the city, or who confided it to any “foreigner” living in Bristol, was to forfeit the goods and to be fined 13s. 4d. A “foreigner” desiring admission into the Company was required to show that he was worth £40, and to pay an entrance fee of £20. Youths were to be at least 17 years of age when apprenticed, and were to serve for seven years; but no one born outside the city could be apprenticed on any terms unless with the special license of the Mayor, and any master infringing the latter rule was to forfeit 40s. The trade Companies were at this time in high reputation, and it was accounted an honourable privilege to be admitted to membership. For example, it is entered on the minutes of the Tailors' Company under June 24th, 1602:—“The right worshipful William Vawer, Mayor, received Brother, and Anne, his wife, Sister, and sworne for term of their lives.” Two days later the vicar of St. Nicholas and his wife received a similar honour, the reverend gentleman having promised to preach a funeral sermon at the burial of any Master of the Company that might die during his incumbency. The Tailors were an exceptionally powerful fraternity, and in the middle of the century they demanded a fine, on the admission of a stranger, of no less than £30, a larger sum than was then imposed on “foreigners” by the Merchant Venturers' Society.

Early in 1602 a legacy of £1,000 bequeathed by a native of Bristol, Lady Mary, widow of Alderman Sir Thomas Ramsey of London, to be laid out in lands for the use of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, came into the hands of the Corporation. Shortly afterwards a large estate at Winterbourne was purchased for £1,400, half of the additional outlay being advanced by Ann, wife of Alderman Thomas Colston (a niece of John Carr, founder of the school), and the rest by the Corporation.

In spite of her advanced age, Queen Elizabeth made many gay progresses in the last few years of her reign. The corporate records show that Bristol was promised a second visit in the summer of 1602 ; and the authorities, in view of the heavy outlay that a fitting reception would entail, ordered a tax to be levied on the leading inhabitants at the rate of ten shillings in the pound on the amount they contributed to the royal subsidy, while three assessors were appointed for each ward to assess the less wealthy citizens "as they shall think meet." Recalcitrants were threatened with imprisonment in Newgate until their quotas were forthcoming. The Queen, however, relinquished her intention, and died in the following March, to the deep regret of her subjects. In Bristol her birthday continued to be celebrated by several generations.

A few days after Her Majesty's demise, the accession of her successor, King James of Scotland, was proclaimed at the High Cross with as much lip-reverence as the civic fathers could muster. A trumpeter walked four times round the edifice sounding mournful strains for the late monarch, and then pranced four times about it joyfully for the new king, a picture of whom, by some imaginative artist, had been hoisted upon the Cross for the admiration of beholders. Genuine enthusiasm for the foreigner was, of course, out of the question, but his accession stirred up the Council to a display of mock loyalty, largely at the expense of other people. On May 3rd it was determined that presents from the city should be provided and sent to the King, the Queen, and the new Prince of Wales on their arrival in London, and that for such purpose a Benevolence should be extracted from the inhabitants. In the Council, John Barker, perhaps the first local merchant of the time, gave £20 ; Alderman Whitson, £8 ; two aldermen, ten marks each ; sixteen other members, £5 each ; and six contributed smaller sums. The remaining members seem to have declined to subscribe. Owing to the loss of the year's audit book, the amount obtained from the citizens generally is unknown, but it is unlikely to have been liberal.

Bristolians had, in fact, a subject of much greater gravity to consider than the coming of a Scottish king. The Plague made its appearance in London during the spring, and it was only too likely to spread westward. In June the Common Council issued an order that no Londoner should send wares to the great summer fair, or be admitted to lodge in

the city, unless he could produce a certificate from the Lord Mayor that his house had been free from infection during the previous six weeks. The goods of such certified persons were to be thoroughly aired for some days at a place outside Lawford's Gate, at the charge of the owners. In spite of precautions, the pestilence broke out in Marsh Street even before the fair, and a committee was appointed to dispose of infected persons and to bury the dead, the inhabitants being taxed to meet the outlay, and defaulters being threatened with imprisonment. The malady having wrought unprecedented havoc, the Corporation in September ordered every wealthy burgess to be taxed to the value of a royal subsidy, other householders being rated at one tenth of their rental for the relief of suffering families. This order was repeated in May, 1604, and the Privy Council soon afterwards issued a proclamation forbidding Londoners to resort to the fair. The scourge did not disappear until February, 1605. A chronicle in the Council House states that the total number of deaths during this visitation amounted to 2,956, probably representing about one fourth of the population.

A local adventure of historical interest marked the year 1603. The best account of it is to be found in "Purchas's Pilgrims," volume iv., which contains a section headed:—"A voyage set out from the city of Bristol, at the charge of the chiefest merchants and inhabitants, with a small ship and a bark, for the discovery of the north part of Virginia, under the command of me, Martin Pringe." This gallant sailor, then only twenty-three years of age, states that the voyage was undertaken through the "reasonable inducement of Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of the cathedral church," whose fame is still high amongst geographers. The "chief furtherers" of the undertaking, he adds, were Aldermen Aldworth and Whitson, and altogether £1,000 were ventured on the enterprise. The ships under the young explorer's command would in modern days be regarded as absurdly unfitted to confront Atlantic storms. The *Speedwell* was of fifty tons burden, with a crew of thirty-five men. Her companion, the *Discoverer*, was of only twenty tons, and carried thirteen men. Pring, however, fearlessly sailed from Kingroad on March 20th, 1603, and reached the coast of Northern Virginia—the New England of later days—early in June. He remained nearly two months in or near the Bay of Massachusetts, lying for some time in a harbour to which he gave the name of

Whitson, but which was afterwards to become memorable as the Plymouth at which the Pilgrim Fathers landed seventeen years later. Having closely surveyed the coast, discovered several rivers and harbours, and loaded his ships with sassafras, then a valuable medicinal plant, Pring set sail homewards, and reached Bristol on October 2nd, when he reported the new land to be "full of God's good blessings." It may be remarked that not a single European settlement then existed on the American continent to the north of the Spanish colonies in Mexico.

James I. had scarcely been seated on his new throne before he set up that claim of absolute power to override the privileges of Parliament and the laws of the realm which was fated to lead to an eventful struggle, and a tragical result to his successor. His first great innovation was the imposition of Customs duties on almost all kinds of merchandise, and this was followed by illegal extortions under the form of what were styled compositions for purveyance, under which merchants were compelled to pay large sums, on pain, in default, of having their wines and other goods appropriated for the royal household. As Bristol was the largest of the provincial ports, the exactions naturally excited indignation, and on April 26th, 1604, the compositions grievance was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas James, who had just been elected one of the members for the city, in conjunction with Mr. Serjeant Snigge, Recorder. Demands for a composition for groceries had been, he stated, made by the King's Customer by order of the Board of Green Cloth, but they had been resisted by the Mayor (Ald. Whitson) and other merchants, who had indicted the Customer for his illegal proceedings, and the Board had thereupon despatched an angry letter, which was read to the House. The writers sternly rebuked the Mayor for his opposition to the King's commission, alleging that it was a great contempt of the royal prerogative, and that a warrant for his appearance at Court was withheld only because of his official duties during the visitation of Plague. Nevertheless, continued the letter, he must expect to hear further respecting the audacious proceedings of himself and others, unless he gave good satisfaction to the Customer. Mr. James further complained that his own action in the matter had evoked some insolent remarks from one of the members of the Board. The House, after a debate, presented a petition to the King, detailing the gross abuses sanctioned by the Board, one of whom had

openly boasted that the Commons should have no redress. As regarded Bristol, the petition stated that large sums had been extorted from merchants, and that those who resisted payment had been carried up in custody to London, where some were committed to prison, and forced to pay great sums to pursuivants for fees. The Green Cloth authorities now found it expedient to forward to the House a lengthy answer to the charges, in which they alleged that the composition was first demanded during the previous reign, and that the Bristolians had offered no resistance until after the accession of the King, both which statements were declared in Bristol to be absolutely false. It was also contended that the Board's prohibition of the action against the Customer had prevented a great breach of the royal income from this source. Parliament was angrily prorogued by the King on July 7th, owing to the resolute attitude of the Lower House, and the abuses in Bristol were at once revived by a new warrant from Court, authorizing the collection of compositions on wines and groceries. In November the Corporation resolved that suit should be made to the Privy Council for the exemption of the city from imposts that were held to be contrary to the liberties granted to it by charter. The expenses attending this suit were characteristically evaded by the civic body, which ordered that the charge should be borne by merchants and others of ability, who were also to save harmless such persons as might be prosecuted by the Crown officials. In January, 1605, the Common Council adopted a petition to the King praying for relief from the new burdens, Alderman James being nominated to present the appeal, and £50 were voted to defray his travelling expenses and to satisfy the greedy underlings at Court. In May Alderman Whitson was despatched on a similar errand; and in August Mr. John Aldworth, who had been summoned to the Privy Council and imprisoned for refusing to pay the impost, was granted £17 11s. 4d. towards his expenses. How fruitless were the efforts of the Corporation may be judged from the fact that in the same year, when the King paid a visit to Woodstock, his purveyors made a swoop on the merchants of Bristol, and carried off fifty-one hogsheads of claret and ten butts of sack, the prices promised for which were greatly below the market value. No money being forthcoming—the wine, in fact, was not paid for until ten years afterwards—the Corporation were compelled to advance about £350 on loan to those who had been despoiled. The Council, however, re-

couped themselves, as will shortly be seen, by imposing a permanent tax upon the commerce of the port.

A suspicion as to the evil consequences likely to arise if the Bakers' Company were permitted to establish a monopoly in that branch of trade seems to have long weighed on the local authorities. "Foreigners," hateful in nearly all other occupations, were at this time allowed to bring in bread from the country, but the number of intruders was carefully limited to five. In August, 1604, an additional country baker was suffered to trade, but, as before, the "foreign" bread was admitted only on Tuesdays and Thursdays. It will be seen under 1615 that the city bakers, greatly irritated at this competition, sought to set up a monopoly by the help of the Crown.

The Chamberlain's accounts for 1604 contain the following item:—"Paid for the charge of our new Charter and Commission of Piracy granted by the King, £88 9s. 2d." About £23 more were paid to the Town Clerk and Chamberlain, who had been sent to London to bestow the obligatory "tips," without which no business could be transacted at Court. The Charter, dated July 12th, 1604, conferred no new privileges, simply confirming the two charters granted by Elizabeth, but the Corporation always deemed it prudent, at the beginning of a new reign, to secure the rights they already possessed. The Commission of Piracy was doubtless obtained to empower the justices to try buccaneers captured outside the city boundaries, who would otherwise have come under the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Court.

From the earliest days of the House of Commons, the Corporation, according to a custom at first universal, paid "wages" to the members returned to Parliament. The amount for about three centuries was 2s. per day, and this rate was continued in Bristol until the early years of Elizabeth's reign. In 1571 it had risen to 4s. per day, and subsequently it was increased to 6s. 8d., with a small allowance for travelling expenses. In September, 1604, Alderman James received £31 10s., and George Snigge, Recorder, £30 5s., for the services they had rendered in the session already referred to. In October, 1604, Mr. Serjeant Snigge was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer, but continued to sit in the Commons until a question arose as to his qualification, his legal functions requiring frequent attendance in the Upper House. The Commons resolved that he was "not to be recalled," and in November, 1605, Alderman John

Whitson was elected in his room, and took an active part in public business.

Sir George Snigge having announced his intention to resign the Recordership soon after his elevation to the Bench, an incident occurred characteristic of the age. The Earl of Salisbury, then all powerful at Court, wrote to the Mayor recommending a then obscure barrister, Laurence Hyde, as a fitting successor, whereupon the ancient civic ordinance requiring a Recorder to be a Bencher of one of the Inns of Court was summarily repealed, and Hyde was practically elected before Snigge had resigned. That some trickery had been employed to bring about the appointment is indicated by the proceedings of the Council a few weeks later, when it was ordered that, whenever a meeting was to be held for the election of any officer, the Mayor should, under pain of being fined £100 in default, summon every member to attend, it being further decreed that any councillor accepting a bribe, either personally or through his wife or child, for giving his vote should forfeit £200, "unless he should first receive the consent of the Common Council to receive such bribe." A good understanding with Mr. Baron Snigge was kept up by means of presents of wine. A butt of sack was sent to him in 1607, and another in 1609, and we shall hear of his lordship again.

It would appear that sermons were not generally preached on Sundays in the city churches. Some clergymen held two livings, and could not afford to keep curates, and others contented themselves with a liturgical service. The Corporation, which had a growing taste for sermons, were much dissatisfied, and in November, 1605, the Council directed the Mayor and Aldermen to write to the President of St. John's College, Oxford, requesting his aid in procuring a learned minister to preach a lecture twice a week in the city, at a stipend of £50. The application must have been unsuccessful, for in October, 1606, two councillors were deputed to wait upon the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford for the same purpose. No result is recorded in the minutes, but in January, 1607, the Council ordered that Mr. [Edward] Chetwynd should have a stipend paid him for the quarter ending Christmas, in consideration of his expense in removing his wife and family from Oxford. This was followed in June by another resolution, ordering that Mr. Chetwynd should preach every Sunday afternoon, and on holy days, in a church selected by the Mayor. The stipend was fixed at £52, with a house rent-free, but instead of the salary

being furnished by the Corporation, as was originally contemplated, it was determined that the money should be paid by the churchwardens out of the church estates of their parishes! Puritanical feeling peeps out in a further provision that Mr. Chetwynd was not to lecture at the Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide holidays unless he thought fit. The preacher gave satisfaction to the corporate body, and the following curious minute occurs three months later:—"This day there were committees appointed in every parish to deal with the citizens for the raising of a contribution for the maintenance of two preachers in this city, besides Mr. Chetwynd, of which two Mr. Yeomans is to be one." Mr. Yeomans was vicar of St. Philip's, and was held in great esteem by the adherents of Puritanism. In December of the same year one Mr. Arnold was paid 6s. 8d. for "reading service and prayer in the Council House," but the item does not occur again. Another preacher was nominated soon afterwards, with a stipend of £40, which was to be collected from the inhabitants. In Mr. G. E. Weare's library is a rare pamphlet, printed in London in 1612, with the following title:—"A Diet for a Drunkard; delivered in two sermons in St. Nicholas' Church in Bristol. By Thomas Thompson, B.D., one of the public preachers in that city."

At an interesting and important meeting of the Common Council on December 31st, 1605, the condition of the Society of Merchant Venturers underwent grave consideration. As readers of local history are aware, this Society, which unquestionably developed out of the Merchants' Guild of Bristol, a body of immemorial antiquity, was established as an independent corporation under a charter granted by Edward VI. in 1552, confirmed by Elizabeth in 1566, with power to choose its own Master and Wardens; its members being given an exclusive right to pursue the art of merchandise within the city. The Society, however, fell into decay during the reign of Elizabeth, and seems to have been held together at the accession of James I. only by an alliance with certain merchants in London. The Common Council now resolved that the Society should exempt themselves from the control of the Londoners trading to Spain and Portugal, and that there should be established a Company of Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, to be governed amongst themselves by such orders and conditions as should be laid down by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council according to the charters of the city. Further, that any burgess

desirous to be of the Company should, if he applied within a year, be admitted on payment of a fine of 20s., providing that he gave up other avocations and made his living solely as a merchant. Those applying at a later period were to pay such sum as was paid in London, except members of the Council, who were never to be charged more than 20s. Existing members were to pay only 6s. 8d., and the same fine was fixed for the admission, at any future time, of the sons or apprentices of members. Completely ignoring the charter of Edward VI., the Council went on to appoint Alderman John Hopkins as Master, Aldermen William Vawer and John Whitson as Wardens, and Alderman William Hicks as Treasurer of the Company. "And every man to bring in his fine before the 15th January next." The Municipal Corporations Commissioners of 1835, after recording these facts, observed:—"It deserves to be noticed that the continuous record of the Society of Merchants begins from this same December, 1605, and refer to it as the year in which, after much debate, the Society had been re-established." The Corporation thenceforth relinquished its assumed right to appoint the Society's officers, but the persons elected at Merchants' Hall were expected to present themselves to the Mayor and Aldermen to receive confirmation. This practice was, however, quietly dropped a few years later.

The civic rulers were almost constantly engaged in strengthening and extending the privileges of the trading companies. In 1605 the Hoopers' (Coopers') Company were granted new ordinances under which tradesmen were forbidden to buy "foreign" (that is, country-made) casks or pails to sell again, on pain of forfeiting ten shillings, while any citizen not free of the Company presuming to pack herrings, etc., in casks was liable to a penalty of 3s. 4d. per cask. In March, 1606, a new ordinance in favour of the Innholders' Company forbade butchers to cook victuals for sale either in their own houses or elsewhere. Any one save an innholder taking money for stabling horses coming to market, or taking in a horse to graze or livery, was to be fined 1s. in the former case, and 6s. 8d. in the latter. The ordinance of the Joiners' Company, issued in the same year, imposed a heavy fine on persons bringing in joinery work from outside the city. Any man working as a joiner, not being a member of the Company, was to be fined 40s., and a carpenter presuming to work as a joiner was mulcted in 10s. No member was allowed to employ more than two

journeymen. The Whitawers (white leather dressers), Pointmakers, and Glovers were at the same time protected by similar provisions. A "foreigner" caught buying skins was liable to a fine of £5; no woman was to be permitted to work at these trades, and a pointmaker making gloves, or a glover making points, was liable to disfranchisement. By the Smiths' and Cutlers' ordinance of 1607, a joiner or carpenter undertaking in a contract to supply locks or other ironmongery was to forfeit 40s., and the same amount was payable by any citizen selling knives, shovels, or carpenters' tools. Even the grinding of knives and scissors by non-members was strictly forbidden. Finally, the Felt-makers' and Haberdashers' ordinance of 1611 graciously allowed "foreigners" to sell hats and caps in the city for one day weekly, provided the articles were approved by the Company, which was to receive a toll of 3d. per dozen for hats and 1d. for caps. As a guarantee of good workmanship, a felt-maker was forbidden to set up in trade until he had made three hats in the house of one of the officers of the Company to that person's satisfaction. The last-named ordinance was confirmed by the Corporation in 1668, when trading restrictions were still rigorously enforced.

An odd entry occurs in the Chamberlain's accounts for December, 1605:—"Paid the Mayor's and Sheriffs' sergeants and yeomen for that they shall not beg at Christmas, 10s. each, £4." The item became an annual charge. The eight men in question constituted the police force of the city, but were apparently often aged and inefficient, being recruited from worn-out servants of civic dignitaries. Their salaries were so small that, on their death, the Council were generally called upon for a donation to bury them.

The manor of Bedminster was purchased in 1605 by Sir Hugh Smyth, of Long Ashton, from a Mr. Nevill. The manor had formed part of the great possessions of the Duke of Buckingham, of Thornbury Castle, judicially murdered by order of Henry VIII., and being held of the Crown in capite, a royal license ought to have been obtained previous to Nevill's conveyance. The defect was detected some years afterwards by some legal official with a keen scent for fees, and Sir Hugh Smyth had to petition King James in 1613 for letters patent confirming his title, which were not granted without a heavy fine. The Smyths, who made a large fortune as Bristol merchants, had purchased the manor of Long Ashton in 1545. It had previously belonged to Daubeney, Earl of Bridgwater.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who has been termed "the Father of English Colonization in North America," came of a family of good position long seated at Wraxall, near this city. Probably born in 1566, he adopted the profession of arms, and whilst still quite young he had charge of the defences of Plymouth, and generally resided there. In 1605 he took an active part in promoting a voyage made by one George Weymouth to the coast of what is now the State of Maine, and when the explorer returned to Plymouth in the same year, bringing five natives of the country, Gorges received the "Indians" into his own house. Moved by the information he derived from them, he formed a project for colonization, and through his efforts a Virginia Company was established in 1606. By a charter of April in that year James I. authorized the foundation of two separate colonies, the principal promoters of the northern settlement being Gorges and Lord Chief Justice Popham, backed by several West-country gentlemen and merchants. This document, says the historian Bancroft, was "the first colonial charter under which the English were planted in America." The projectors were naturally solicitous to obtain the support of Bristolians, and at a meeting of the Common Council on March 12th a letter was read from the Lord Chief Justice, who had been Recorder of the city, desiring the co-operation of the local merchants. The Council, says the minute-book, "were all of opinion not to adventure anything in that scheme unless the King undertakes to join in the charge, and then they will be contributory in some reasonable proportion"; and an answer to that effect was forwarded to Popham. A few weeks later, however, when the terms of the royal patent became known, a subscription in support of the scheme was opened at the Council house for "the plantation and inhabiting of Virginia," the contributions to extend over five years. Only thirteen merchants, however, responded to the invitation. The Mayor, Thomas James, M.P., promised £13 6s. 8d. yearly, and the same sum was offered by John Guy, sheriff, who will be presently heard of again in connection with colonial enterprise. Alderman John Hopkins and Mr. Robert Aldworth offered £12 10s. each. The other subscriptions varied from 10 marks to 50s. Soon afterwards, Sir F. Gorges despatched a ship from Plymouth on an exploring expedition, and Chief Justice Popham and the above subscribers equipped another vessel at Bristol with the same object, of which Thomas Hannam was commander and Martin Pring master. The

latter ship sailed in September or October, but there is little recorded of its adventures save a brief note by Gorges, stating that several more harbours were explored, and that Pring returned with "the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands." The adventurers were at all events so satisfied with the results that in May, 1607, two ships with emigrants were despatched from Plymouth, and a colony styled St. George was attempted in "Northern Virginia" (really New England), but proved wholly unsuccessful, the emigrants returning to England in the following year.

It has been already stated that the exactions of the Crown in the shape of illegal imposts induced the Corporation to devise a new method of raising money to defray the burdens. On May 20th, 1606, the Common Council ordered that every trader not a free burgess should pay sixpence per ton on the merchandise he entered or cleared at Bristol, excepting salt, corn, fish, coals, and goods brought in or carried away by trows or woodbushes (market-boats). It was further resolved that Londoners importing or exporting here should pay the same dues for weighage and wharfage as were charged on Bristolians in London. As it would have been imprudent to declare the real object of the new tax, it was asserted that the money was needed for the reparation of the quays. Soon afterwards doubts arose as to the power of the Corporation to impose the dues, and in February, 1607, the members of Parliament for the city were instructed to appeal to the King for a confirmation of the tax, which was now stated to be payable by free burgesses as well as strangers. The result is not recorded, but wharfage from this time became a permanent charge on goods, and eventually produced a large revenue.

The real object of the tax is disclosed in the Council minutes of July 8th, 1606. A considerable sum being still due to merchants for the wines seized by the royal purveyors, it was resolved that £200 should be raised by loan, to be distributed amongst them on account. The resolution proceeds:—"And for the full payment of the said King's debt due to the merchants there shall be levied a tax of 12*d.* per ton on all merchandise brought to this city, except salt and fish, tar and pitch, trayne (*sic*), iron and wool; the tax to be continued until the debt be paid either by the King or this taxation." At a meeting in September it was further decreed that any one refusing to pay should be discommoned and regarded as a foreigner.

In the meantime the abuse of purveyance had been exposed in the House of Commons by Alderman James, who took an active part in public business. A conference on the subject took place between the two Houses, when it was stated that the Lord Treasurer had admitted the merchants' complaints to be true, and that the royal officials, like the Egyptian plague of frogs, leaped into every man's dish. The Peers undertook to represent the grievance to the King, but Parliament was soon after angrily prorogued, and the purveyors lost no time in demanding a fresh composition for groceries. In May, 1607, notification was received that a commission for purveyance of wine would also be put in execution unless a money composition was offered by the city; and Aldermen Whitson and James were earnestly directed to appeal for relief. The issue is unrecorded, but it is highly probable that further exactions were made on the citizens, who were practically defenceless.

Complaints were repeatedly raised about this time as to the deficient measures used by the Kingswood colliers in supplying "stone coal" to the inhabitants. In August, 1606, the Chamberlain took the heroic step of riding into the Chase to measure the miners' bushels, a guide being employed to conduct him to the pits. By dint of a gift of a couple of shillings the colliers proved tractable, and the somewhat perilous commission into a lawless region was successfully performed. It may be noted that although coal was used by the inhabitants, the fires at the Council House were always supplied with wood or charcoal. Only twice during the entire century does a small item occur for stone coal in the civic accounts.

In September, 1606, the Corporation resolved upon a perambulation of the city boundaries, a custom that had been suspended for several years. A little entertainment took place in the morning, and another, composed of cheese, cakes, marmalade, conserves, confits, carraways, fruit and beer, occurred later in the day. There was also a "drink" at Jacob's Wells, costing 2s. 6d., and another at Lawford's Gate, for the small consideration of sixpence. The dinner of five porters cost only 1s. 8d., and the entire outlay was but 50s.

In October the Common Council came to a resolution that eventually brought about much excitement and ill-feeling. It was ordered that a convenient structure should be erected in the Cathedral, where the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors, and their wives might sit and hear "the

sermons" on "Sabbaths" and festival days. Each member was to contribute 40s. (afterwards reduced to 20s.) towards the work. The Dean and Chapter, after some demur, consented to the proposed erection and also to the removal of the pulpit to a spot fronting the intended seats. The cost of these operations exceeded the subscription, and £9 were paid out of the civic fund to "even the account." The municipal construction is described by a contemporary chronicler as a fair gallery, curiously wrought, standing upon pillars, the centre part being reserved for the King or any noble visitor, while underneath were seats for the wives of the city rulers. This statement, however, needs correction on a point which soon proved to be of serious importance. By the Dean and Chapter's formal grant to the Corporation it was stipulated that the Bishop, and also the Dean, might take their places in the new seats "by the side of the Mayor at their will and pleasure." The fabric had not been long finished when the Bishop, Dr. Thornborough, who was also Dean of York, paid a visit to his diocese after a lengthy absence, and, taking offence at the imposing gallery, in which he had not been allowed, or perhaps not invited, to seat himself, he informed the Archbishop of Canterbury that it made the church look like a playhouse, and induced the Primate to send down orders for its removal. The Council, greatly incensed, requested the Bishop to allow the seats to remain until an appeal had been made to the Archbishop, and letters and deputations were sent off in hot haste to his grace and Lord Salisbury desiring their favour, large sums being disbursed for travelling expenses. The Bishop, however, was obdurate, treated a corporate deputation with contempt, and peremptorily ordered the gallery to be swept away, which was accordingly done. It will be observed that the Corporation had the seats erected simply to hear "sermons," and the objection of the Puritanic section of society to the liturgical services of the Church had become so deep, and the party so numerous, that the bells of each church were specially rung to give notice when the sermons were about to be delivered. The chroniclers go on to state that the Bishop was so wrath at the opposition he encountered that he forbade the parish bells to be rung in this manner, but that the Primate, on the appeal of the Mayor, gave the Council permission to have as many sermons as they liked, and where they chose; whereupon the worshipful body forsook the Cathedral, and went every Sunday to hear the

sermons at St. Mary Redcliff, a church outside the Bishop's jurisdiction. One annalist adds that the Corporation found friends at Court, and that the King, after sharply rebuking the Bishop, ordered him to replace the gallery, which was forthwith set about, though on a humbler scale. The latter statement, however, seems at variance with the records in the Council House. In 1613 the Council resolved that if the Archbishop would allow the seats to be set up as first erected, the cost of the work should be defrayed by the Chamberlain, provided the Dean and Chapter would make a new grant of them to the civic body, leaving the Bishop and Dean to seat themselves elsewhere. This was not acceded to, for in 1614 the Council desired the Mayor and Aldermen to give directions for removing the timber work for the use of the city, and this was immediately done. Dr. Thornborough—a servile flatterer of King James—was preferred to Worcester a few months later. He was still allowed to hold the deanery of York, to which was attached the rectory of the large market-town of Pickering. In 1615 the people of the latter place complained to the Privy Council that for many previous years scarcely a single sermon had been preached in their church. Thornborough thereupon impudently offered to get a discourse delivered once a month, but, being warmly rebuked, he doled out money for a weekly sermon.

“1606, November. Paid the bellman for giving warning to hang out candle light, 2s. 6d.” This entry in the corporate accounts is the first indication that some modest illumination of the streets in the winter months had been approved of by the authorities. The minute-books are silent on the subject until half a century later; and as there was no penalty for default, the bellman's summons is not likely to have been widely complied with. The entry, however, may have another explanation. From casual items in the accounts, it would appear that the Corporation had set up lanterns at three or four busy localities, such as the High Cross, the Quay, Froom Gate, etc., and in December, 1608, a man was paid half a crown “for looking to the lanterns this quarter.” But there was no outlay for candles for a long series of years, and it is possible that the illumination was supplied by the neighbouring householders according to the bellman's directions.

The civic records afford ample evidence that in the opinion of the Common Council a slender stock of education was sufficient for the working classes. In November, 1606,

directions were given that the boys in Queen Elizabeth's Hospital should be set to work on the afternoon of every day, "whereby they may be better able to get their living." The order was frequently renewed in subsequent years.

A phenomenal flood tide occurred in the Severn on the morning of January 20th, 1607, whereby the lowlying lands on each bank of the river from Gloucester downwards were inundated over some hundreds of square miles. The loss of life was estimated at 500, and a greater number of people were saved only by climbing upon trees, haystacks and roofs of houses. In Bristol the tide, being partially dammed back by the Bridge, flowed over Redcliff, St. Thomas and Temple Streets to a depth of several feet. St. Stephen's Church and the quays were deeply flooded, and the loss of goods in cellars and warehouses was enormous.

The manufacture of pins appears to have been introduced into the West of England about this time, and led to the employment of numbers of young children, who were easily trained as "headers." (Solid heads were not introduced until about 1834.) In April, 1607, the Corporation advanced Thomas Nash, pinmaker, a loan of £6, free of interest, on his undertaking to employ poor children in his manufactory.

In the same month a haulier's sledge delivered at the Mayor's house, for the delectation of himself and family, a strange fish just caught at Kingroad. The creature is described by a veracious chronicler as being five feet in length by three in breadth, with a huge mouth, two hands and two feet! What the Mayor did with the prize is not recorded.

An outbreak of Plague in London excited great anxiety during the summer. All wagons and carriages from the capital were forbidden to enter the city, and their passengers had to submit to a lengthy "airing" before admission. The alarm subsided in the autumn, but in May, 1608, the pestilence made its appearance, and a Pest-house was established in the suburbs. Other remarkable measures to prevent infection were adopted by the Council. The Guilders' Inn was one of the leading hostelries, and the landlord, Henry Hobson, afterwards served the offices of sheriff and mayor. But a case of Plague having occurred in his house, the great gate of the inn was boarded up, and watchmen were appointed to stand, day and night, at the front and back doors to prevent ingress or egress. After a fortnight's isolation the premises were allowed to be re-

opened, but Hobson was ordered to pay £7, half the cost of his imprisonment. A similar course was adopted with the house of a cutler in St. Thomas' Street, the inmates of which were fed during their incarceration at the expense of the city. In this case the Corporation attempted to recover the outlay from the churchwardens of the parish, but only 28s. could be extracted from them.

It has been already shown that the authorities were accustomed to commit burgesses and other inhabitants to prison on their refusal to pay local taxes arbitrarily imposed by the Council. The cruelty of forcing such defaulters to herd with thieves and ruffians in Newgate seems to have been at length recognised, and in August, 1607, a house adjoining the prison was hired at £4 a year for the accommodation of those "committed to ward" on their paying the ordinary gaol fees.

The Mayor, John Barker, died on the 13th September, two days before the annual civic elections. Following the precedent of 1543, when the chief magistracy became vacant under similar circumstances, a meeting took place on the 14th, when Alderman Richard Smith was chosen to fill the chair until Michaelmas Day. But on the 15th, when the Council wished to elect the same Alderman for the ensuing year, his worship resisted, and undertook to pay a fine of £100 on condition that he should be exempted from the office for life. (Only £40 appear to have been actually paid.) Mr. Barker's interment took place with great pomp in St. Werburgh's Church at midnight on September 21st. The members of the trading Companies attended, bearing torches, the interior of the church was covered with black cloth, and much destruction was wrought by the rabble, who crushed into the building—probably for nefarious purposes. Barker's stately monument is preserved in the new church of St. Werburgh.

The extreme narrowness of the thoroughfare over Bristol Bridge, wedged between the houses on each side, made it unsafe to foot passengers at all times, and highly perilous on market-days through the influx of country people. On October 5th the Council gave order that "the chain at the Bridge End"—clearly an established institution—should be locked up on every market-day from 8 o'clock in the morning until 2 in the afternoon, during which time no hauliers', brewers', or other great carriages with drays (sledges) were to be suffered to cross the bridge. The ordi-

nance was re-enacted in 1651, but the interdicted days were limited to Wednesday and Saturday.

Some irregularity in admissions to the freedom seems to have been discovered at this time, for at the above meeting of the Council a resolution was passed that no person should be entered on the burgess roll unless he had served a seven years' apprenticeship to a freeman, or was the son or daughter of a freeman, or had married a freeman's widow or daughter, or had been admitted by a vote of the Council. A Mayor or Chamberlain acting contrary to this ordinance was to be fined 100 marks.

November 5th, 1607, was the second anniversary of the discovery of the Guy Fawkes Plot, and the records show that the day was already celebrated by popular manifestations. The Corporation on this occasion provided an enormous bonfire, and in many subsequent years, besides exploding plentiful gunpowder, they lighted up two great fires, one at the High Cross and another before the dwelling of the Mayor. The day is sometimes styled in the accounts "England's Holiday."

The harvest of 1607 having proved extremely disastrous the Corporation felt compelled to take energetic measures to avert the danger of famine. They began, it appears, by ordering a census. One of the old calendars states that "a view was taken in the city to know how many people were in it; and there were found, of all sorts, 10,549 in the whole. It was done because they should know how much corn would serve the whole by the week." (The population of the out-parishes of St. James and St. Philip and of the parish of Clifton, not included in the city, may have raised the total to about 12,000.) In April, 1608, the Council ordered that 1,000 bushels of wheat, or more, should be bought at Milford, or "wherever it could be had best cheap," for the provision of the inhabitants; and in the following week £1,000 were directed to be borrowed under the common seal for buying corn in Holland, certain merchants having undertaken to see the Corporation discharged of this debt. A third order, for £300 worth of wheat, was sent to Ireland. Much was also done by private enterprise to mitigate the sufferings of the poor. In the twelve months ending in July, 1609, sixty ships arrived from Dantzic and other ports, bringing in what was then deemed the marvellous quantities of 38,600 bushels of wheat and barley, and 73,700 bushels of rye, then the chief food of the labouring classes.

The office of Lord High Steward having become vacant by the death, on April 19th, 1608, of the Earl of Dorset, it was conferred exactly a week later on Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury and Lord Treasurer. In the previous September, during the violent dispute with Bishop Thornborough, a pipe of wine had been sent to Lord Dorset, in the hope of securing his assistance; and although the cost of this present was practically thrown away through his demise, the Council, knowing the value of a powerful protector at Court, not only sent the new minister a finely decorated patent of office, but accompanied it with a gift of £30 in hard cash, praying for his countenance and support.

Amongst the local institutions of the age were the city waits or musicians, who, in return for a modest quarterly payment from the civic treasury and tips from the sheriffs, were required to take part in processions and rejoicings. In August they were provided with new instruments at a cost of £10, it being possibly thought that their fantasias might cheer up the inhabitants, still suffering from the effects of both pestilence and dearth. Occasional payments occur for the reparation of the elegant silver chains worn by the musicians, still preserved at the Council House. In 1611 there was a further outlay of £4 for a new "sagbutt for the waits."

The Corporation, whose economical administration of the civic revenue had brought about a flowing exchequer, about this time began the purchase of landed estates at Portishead and North Weston, including the manor of the former place, belonging to the celebrated Hall family, of Bradford. The transactions extended over the following eight years, and the total outlay appears to have reached the then considerable sum of £2,000. It need scarcely be added that the investments ultimately proved very profitable.

At the civic elections in 1608, a councillor named Hugh Murcott, to escape serving the office of sheriff for life, consented to pay a fine of £100, which, having regard to the heavy expenditure incumbent on the sheriffs, was a profitable investment. Payments of a similar kind occur from time to time, and the Council was somewhat capricious in fixing the amount of the fine. In 1612 John Tomlinson was exempted from the sheriffdom for life in consideration of £50. In the following year, George White, praying escape on account of private losses, was dismissed from the Council gratis; while Alderman Hicks on paying £40 was

freed for life from the office of Mayor. In 1615 Alderman Vawer obtained the latter favour for the trifling sum of £20.

In the autumn of 1608, the King, having obtained a judgment in the Court of Exchequer by which his assumed right to levy arbitrary Customs duties was confirmed by the abject judges, threw consternation amongst the merchants of Bristol by imposing an additional tax upon sweet wines, styling the charge a composition in lieu of purveyance. The peculiar hardship of this impost from a local point of view lay in the fact that wines imported into Bristol already paid a "prisage" to the lessees of the Crown of one tenth of each cargo, and thus were taxed double what was paid at London and Southampton, the other wine ports, where prisage did not exist. An urgent letter was accordingly addressed by the Corporation to the Lord Treasurer, praying for relief; and after considerable delay, Lord Salisbury, by the direction of the Privy Council, requested the Lord Chief Baron to summon the Purveyors and some of the merchants before him, to hear their respective cases, and to report what was proper to be done for the settlement of the dispute. A commission was first issued out of the Exchequer to take evidence on the subject, and on October 1st the commissioners sat at Bristol, when Robert Aldworth and other local merchants declared on oath, in flat contradiction to the assertions of their oppressors, that purveyance had never been heard of in the city until after the accession of the King. Wines, they added, were being landed in Wales to escape the impost, much to the prejudice of local commerce. Finally, the Chief Baron, calling Mr. Baron Snigge to his assistance, heard the parties in London, and in May, 1609, he reported to the Lord Treasurer that the grievance of the merchants had been attested by evidence, and that prisage was an exceptional burden on Bristolians; but that the merchants, having been admonished as to the King's prerogative, had consented to bear purveyance both for wines and groceries whenever the Court came within twenty miles of the city, provided they were exempted from it at other times; which the two judges considered a reasonable compromise. This decision appears to have been confirmed by the Privy Council, but the minutes of the year have perished. The Corporation, which had presented Sir George Snigge with a butt of wine whilst the dispute was pending, now forwarded a similar gift to the Lord Chief Baron, besides defraying

heavy legal and other charges. It will be seen under 1622 that the relief was but temporary.

In January, 1609, the city was visited by the Earl of Sussex's company of players, who received 20s. as a reward for performing before the Mayor and Aldermen in the Guildhall. In 1610 "my Lord President's" players appeared twice in the Guildhall, and received £2 on each occasion. The same sum was bestowed on the Queen's "revellers" in 1612, on the Lady [Princess] Elizabeth's players in 1613, on the Palgrave's and the Prince's players in 1618, and on four companies, including the King's children players, in 1621. In the last-named year a tumbler also put in an appearance, but this was too much for the authorities, and he was paid 20s. "that he should *not* play." It seems probable that the comedians, after exhibiting before the civic dignitaries, were allowed to act for brief periods for the entertainment of the inhabitants. The poor players, however, gradually became unpopular. See 1630.

Some extraordinary proceedings of the Corporation in reference to the estates bequeathed for the endowment of the Grammar School led to an inquiry in the spring of 1609 by commissioners under the Statute of Charitable Uses. It appeared that Robert Thorne, a wealthy merchant, who in 1532 obtained a grant from Lord de la Warr of the estates of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Bristol, and also permission from Henry VIII. to convey them in mortmain to the Corporation for the maintenance of a free grammar school, died before the execution of such conveyance, although the school was actually opened. His brother Nicholas, as heir-at-law, then took possession of the estate; but although he survived for many years, no steps were taken to transfer it to the Corporation. He appointed, however, the second schoolmaster, and by his will, dated shortly before his death in 1546, he directed that the property should be delivered up by his executors, and bequeathed some money, his library, and his maps and charts to the school. Owing, possibly, to his eldest son, Robert, being under age, the conveyance of the estate was further delayed, and nothing was done until 1558, when Robert was dead, leaving a brother Nicholas, aged 18, his heir-at-law. The Council having at length taken action, Nicholas, in consideration of a promise that certain portions of the estate should be granted him on lease for his life, executed a deed undertaking to carry out the intentions of his uncle and

father; and three years later he granted the Bartholomew lands to the Corporation for ever, to the use of the school, which was to be opened free to the sons of burgesses on payment of an admission fee of fourpence. Almost immediately afterwards, however, in professed conformity with the above promise, the Corporation demised to him, in perpetuity, the entire charity estates acquired by his uncle from Lord de la Warr (saving only the hospital buildings and the school-house), reserving a rent of no more than £30. Nicholas Thorne thus became again seized of all the lands left for the endowment of the school; and on his death, in 1591, this and other property was divided amongst his three daughters, who, by the legal legerdemain of fines and recoveries, became, in fact, independent owners. One of these ladies, Alice, the widow of John Pykes, got for her share the Bartholomew lands, subject to the fee farm rent, and by granting a great number of long leases at low rents secured large sums from the lessees. The indefensible conduct of the Corporation, which had rendered this malfeasance practicable, at length aroused the indignation of the citizens, and on their appeal to the Crown the above commission of inquiry was appointed. The facts being undeniable, the commissioners reported that the demise made to Nicholas Thorne was a fraud upon the charity. Mrs. Pykes, however, clung to the estate, and after some litigation a second commission was granted, when the commissioners advised the Corporation to make terms with her. The Council accordingly determined that she should be allowed to retain the property on paying £41 6s. 8d. yearly, and this arrangement was confirmed by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere in 1610. The bargain being unsatisfactory to the citizens, the Corporation, in 1617, bought up Mrs. Pykes' interest for £650, and recovered the estates.

The reports made by Martin Pring and other explorers as to the climate and resources of North America aroused a strong desire in Bristol and other ports to promote colonization. In February, 1609, an application was made to the Privy Council for leave to found a plantation in Newfoundland, in a district uninhabited by Christians, the promoters being a number of merchants in London and Bristol. The King in the following year granted a patent to the Earl of Northampton, Sir Francis Bacon, and a great many others (the Bristol beneficiaries included Matthew Haviland, Thomas Aldworth, William Lewes, John Guy, Richard Holworthy, John Langton, Humphry Hooke,

Philip Guy, William Meredith, Adrian Jennings, and John Doughty), establishing an incorporation styled the "Company of Adventurers and Planters of London and Bristol for the colony or plantation of Newfoundland in the southern and eastern parts." John Guy, an eminent local merchant, was appointed the first governor of this body, and his heart was thoroughly in the enterprise. Three ships having been equipped, the governor, with his brother, Philip Guy, his brother-in-law, William Colston, and thirty-nine emigrants of both sexes, embarked, a store of live cattle, goats, poultry, etc., was put on board, and the vessels left Bristol early in May, 1610, arriving at their destination in twenty-three days, when a landing was made at a little landlocked harbour called Cupids. The emigrants forthwith began the erection of dwellings, storehouses, wharves, and a fort defended by a stockade, while Guy built himself a mansion, called Sea Forest House. Guy returned to Bristol in the autumn of 1611, leaving his brother deputy-governor, but sailed again for the island in the following year, accompanied by a clergyman and several more emigrants. After his final return to England, William Colston was deputy-governor in 1613-14. The settlement, however, was not a permanent success. By his will, dated in February, 1626, Mr. Guy left his Sea Forest estate to his four sons, then under age, but the historians of Newfoundland have found no record of the colony after 1628.

For many previous centuries the burgesses of the cities and towns held in fee-farm under the Crown were entitled by their charters to import goods into Bristol free from dues levied by the Corporation, whilst Bristolians enjoyed a similar privilege when they carried merchandise into these favoured localities. As an illustration of this system, it is recorded that in July, 1609, Nicholas Ecolston, Mayor of Lancaster, having arrived from that town in a ship, produced before the city authorities the charter granted by King John to the burgesses of his borough declaring them free from all duties imposed in other ports. The claim to exemption was at once admitted. The like privilege was accorded about the same period on demands emanating from Exeter, Stafford, Shrewsbury, and other towns. In 1627 a person living at "Athie," in Ireland, claimed immunity as a citizen of London, and six or eight Irishmen were afterwards granted exemption through being freemen of New Ross, Waterford, and Kilkenny.

On the other hand, vexatious restrictions were placed on

persons applying for the freedom in Bristol. In July, 1609, a painter and also an embroiderer were admitted on paying £5 each, but were forbidden to take as an apprentice a boy not the son of a freeman. Soon after, a virginal maker was made a freeman for life on payment of £2 4s. 6d., but was interdicted from exercising any other trade ; while an inn-keeper, though mulcted in £5, had to covenant to forbear from retail trading and to sell nothing but what was consumed in his house. Much jealousy arose upon a haberdasher from London seeking permission to open a shop. Several members of the Council demanded that his fine should be at least £50, but it was fixed by a majority at the still exorbitant sum of £40, then equivalent to the yearly profits of the average shopkeeper.

Another visitation of the Plague occurred in the autumn, and continued until the following summer. To defray the charge of relieving the sick and guarding infected dwellings, the justices levied a tax for six months which practically doubled the poor rate. The mortality on this occasion is not recorded. Another outbreak occurred in 1611, when a pest-house was established in Earls' Mead, and an infected family in Corn Street was closely immured till the disease disappeared. In 1613 the pestilence was raging in South Wales, and the Council, in alarm, prohibited the performance of stage plays during St. James's fair. A few cases of Plague were nevertheless reported in Marsh Street and on the Quay, which were dealt with in the usual stringent manner.

An attempt was made by the Corporation in the early months of 1610 to introduce a new industry into the city. The initial stages of the scheme are obscurely reported, but on May 15th the Council ordered that such persons as had promised and been appointed to come from Colchester, to set up the trade of "bayes and sayes," should be admitted as freemen gratis, and that the money spent in engaging them to come, as well as the cost of bringing them here with their effects, should be disbursed by the Chamberlain. The charge amounted to £79. In August it was further ordered that six sums of £50 each should be advanced on loan to the baysmakers, whose trade was to be "regulated" by the magistrates. The manufactory was set up in the Smiths' Hall (part of the old Dominican friary). The intrusion of these "foreigners" gave great offence to the ancient craft of weavers, who loudly protested against any infringement of their long-established privileges, and

the Council was much exercised to allay the clamour. It was ultimately ordered that the baymakers should be strictly confined to their peculiar calling, and they were even forbidden to retail their baize in the city. The experiment, thus restricted, was, of course, a failure. In 1613 it was resolved that four of the men who had received the above loans should, on account of their poverty, have a remission of half their debts on giving fresh bonds for repayment of the balance. There is no evidence that any of the money was ever recovered.

The "wages" of the two members of Parliament for the session of this year amounted to £78 4s. 4d. In addition, Alderman Whitson was repaid the cost of a hogshead of claret, £8 5s., which he had presented to the Speaker, doubtless for what was thought to be a good consideration; whilst his colleague, Alderman James, was refunded £11 5s. 8d., "spent in the Star Chamber" in resisting one of the numberless persecutions of the royal officials.

The summer was marked by a great drought. A contemporary chronicler records with amazement that the price of butter advanced from the ordinary rate of 2d. or 2½d. to 6d. per lb., and cheese from 2d. to 5d., while wheat sold at 72s. per quarter, causing fearful distress amongst the poor.

At the annual election of mayor, etc., on September 15th, the minutes record that George Rychards, a councillor, used "very undecent and reproachful words" to Mr. Abel Kitchen, for which he was fined £5; and as he not only refused to pay, but offered unseemly insults to some of the aldermen, he was at once "dismissed from the society and fellowship of the Common Council."

A curious item occurs in the Chamberlain's accounts for November:—"Paid for new gilding and painting of the picture of the Kings set up at Lafford's Gate, £2." The ornamentation was bestowed on the ancient statues fixed on each side of the gate, which, after a somewhat adventurous career, have recently returned to the custody of the Corporation.

Bristol Marsh (the site of Queen's Square and Prince's Street) being outside the city walls, and almost surrounded by the tidal rivers, was at this period the spot to which the citizens, pent up in the contracted streets, and dreading the robbers who lurked in the suburbs, generally resorted to breathe fresh air and gaze on green fields. Some attempts had been made in the previous century to lay out walks

and plant trees, but the Corporation nevertheless permitted all the street refuse, or at least as much as the scavenger cared to remove, to be cast about the green space, and its condition at length became a scandal. Public attention seems to have been called to the matter by a bequest of one hundred marks made to the Corporation in 1609, the interest of which, £4, was to be paid to two labourers for keeping clean the Marsh and the walks about it; and in June, 1611, a committee was appointed for the "decent keeping and beautifying" of the place and the needful regulation of the scavenger. The rents paid by butchers for grazing cattle in the Marsh were afterwards left at the disposition of the committee. Much improvement was thus effected, and the locality became more popular than ever. In 1622 the city surveyors were directed to select a fitting site on the Marsh "for merchants and gentlemen to recreate themselves on at bowles." A space was thereupon enclosed as a bowling-green, which subsequently brought in a good rental; and as a terror to unruly loiterers a pair of stocks was set up in 1631. From an incidental note by a local chronicler, it appears that a "bowling-green and cockpit" existed about this time in the Pithay.

Although many of the regulations of the trade Companies were conceived in a spirit of narrow selfishness, it is but fair to state that some at least of the crafts showed a desire to protect the public from dishonest or incapable workmanship. As has been already stated, a man could not set up as a hatter, even after serving his apprenticeship, until he had passed a severe trial of his capacity. In the same manner, the Tailors' Guild would not permit a member to exercise his trade until he had proved his ability to do so worthily. Thus, in the minutes of June 17th, 1611, it is recorded that Anthony Basset had been "tried and allowed" for a pair of boddes (stays), a pair of trunk sleeves, and a farthingale, "which is newly used now in those days," but for nothing else, and he received warning that, if he intermeddled in the making of other garments, he would be fined 20s. for each such offence. In a somewhat later case, a young tailor was adjudged to be "a perfect workman for a hosier only."

The Council, in August, 1611, promulgated some remarkable orders for the regulation of the port. It was decreed that no ship exceeding sixty tons burden should be allowed to sail up to Bristol without the license of the justices, under a penalty of 40s., such vessels being required to

discharge their cargoes into boats at Hungroad. No ship of thirty tons was to pass beyond the lower penthouse at the Quay, on pain of a similar fine. A number of old and unserviceable ships were lying about the quays, and these were ordered to be forthwith broken up and removed. As to the numerous trows and market-boats, it was directed that such vessels should not come up the Avon until the head of a post at Pill was under water, nor sail downwards until a post at Rownham was no longer visible. The minuteness of the regulations indicates the difficulties attending the navigation of the narrow and tortuous river, the stranding of ships—small as they then were—being of frequent occurrence. But it was easier to make laws than to get them obeyed, and the masters of both large and tiny craft generally ignored the corporate behests.

The condition of the Castle precincts at this period closely resembled that of the precincts of the Whitefriars in London, so graphically described in "Quentin Durward." Being exempt from civic jurisdiction, the place was a safe refuge, not merely for persons in dread of arrest for debt, but for sturdy beggars, swindlers, thieves, highwaymen, and malefactors of every description, who set the officers of justice at defiance, and preyed with impunity upon the city and surrounding districts. On the death of the Earl of Leicester in 1588, Queen Elizabeth had granted the Constablenesship of the Castle (which had long been a sinecure office, since the fortress was "tending to ruin" so early as 1480) to Sir John Stafford, of Thornbury; and that gentleman seems to have turned the post to account by letting off fragments of the buildings as hovels for sheltering the outlaw community. In October, 1611, the Corporation, which had previously petitioned the Privy Council, representing the extent of the evil and praying for relief, commissioned Alderman Whitson to apply to the Lord Treasurer for the purchase of the Castle, for which he was empowered to offer £666. This step must have been taken in consequence of some hint thrown out at Court of the Government's willingness to sell, for Sir John Stafford, having already heard a report to that effect, had urged the Lord Treasurer not to dispose of "the castle of the second city of the kingdom." For some unknown reason, Alderman Whitson met with unexpected difficulties, although the Council resorted to the usual and generally successful plan of seeking favour, orders being given for presenting the Lord Treasurer with "a pipe of Canary or a very good butt of Sack," two hogs-

heads of claret, and a number of sugar loaves. The next document relating to the subject is amongst the State Papers, and is a summary of "reasons" to induce Lord Salisbury to sell the Castle to Sir John Stafford, he being, it was alleged, willing to pay a much larger sum than was offered by the citizens! Eventually the Government declined both offers, and the western Alsatia was left free to develop from bad to worse. In 1615 one Sir George Chaworth was appointed Constable for life, and evidence is given of the state of the fortress by a royal warrant of that year, in which a number of old stone walls and decayed towers within the precincts were presented to the new officer, possibly for the repair of the extensive building (the old State apartments) known as the Military House. Presumably on the death of Chaworth, Sir John Stafford was reinstated in his former office, and the old abuses became again rampant. In March, 1620, the Corporation represented to the Privy Council that the Constable had appointed a mean and unworthy deputy, who suffered upwards of 250 lewd persons and thieves to harbour within the precincts, making them a refuge and receptacle of malefactors. The Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were thereupon directed to summon the Constable before them and to insist upon an immediate and thorough reform of the scandal. Sir John, however, was then very aged, and little or nothing was done, for the Corporation renewed its complaints in successive years until the Constable's death in 1624.

The Corporation, in April, 1612, came to the help of the Merchant Venturers' Company, who, like tradesmen and artificers in every branch of industry, desired to protect themselves from competition. It was solemnly "ordained" that the Society should make an ordinance by virtue of their charter, forbidding every member from exercising any other trade but that of a merchant, and prohibiting any outsider from practising as a merchant until he had been admitted into the freedom of the Company. Like many other corporate edicts, this resolution perished still-born, neither the Corporation nor the Society having power to inflict penalties on its infringement.

Alderman Robert Aldworth, who was at this time one of the wealthiest "meer (oversea) merchants" in the city, and who, in spite of the above ordinance, combined sugar-refining with mercantile trade, dwelt in the great mansion fronting St. Peter's churchyard, originally the seat of the

Norton family, and subsequently, after strange vicissitudes, acquired by the Corporation of the Poor. The house, in 1612, was being reconstructed by Aldworth, who had his initials inserted amidst some bizarre carving in the south porch. In September the Corporation granted him, at a fee-farm rent of £3, the fee of another house in the same parish. It is probable that this acquisition forms the eastern portion of the present building, which the alderman left unaltered. Aldworth died in 1634, and directed his body to be buried in "myne own ile" in St. Peter's Church, where his enormous monument is still to be seen. He bequeathed £3 to each of the workmen in his sugar house, and upwards of £1,200 for charitable purposes.

The Common Council, on October 1st, made a new ordinance for the regulation of Newgate prison. The gaoler was required to keep a stock of beer on the premises for the consumption of the prisoners and visitors, the price of a "full quart" of single beer being fixed at a halfpenny, and of double ale at a penny, "and no more." A prisoner who got drunk on those easy terms was to be fined a shilling towards the relief of his pauper companions who "lived by the bagg"—that is, on the alms of passers-by; in default he was to be put in the stocks. A poor prisoner made drunk by others was also relegated to the stocks, where he was to have a dish of cold water set before him. The payment of "garnish" by new-comers was forbidden. Debtors were clearly allowed to stroll out during the day-time, for it was ordered that the gaoler should not suffer a prisoner to stray beyond the city boundaries without a special warrant, under a penalty of £10. In 1621 the Council ordered that persons imprisoned for debt or for non-payment of fines should pay a fee of 2s. on admission, 8d. a meal for their diet, and 4d. a night for lodging. Poor debtors and felons, consigned to a dungeon called 'Traitors' Ward, were to pay 12d. weekly "and no more."

In the later months of the year great consternation was caused in commercial circles by the arrival in the Bristol Channel of some piratical vessels designing to prey upon merchantmen. The peril was so serious that two ships, the Concord and True Love, were armed and sent out to attack the freebooters, a gang of whom, twelve in number, were captured, lodged in Newgate, and ultimately sent to London for trial. Shortly after, another band of the sea brigands was tried and convicted at Exeter on the evidence of Bristolians and others. The pirates nevertheless became

still more formidable, and in 1613-14 the Merchants' Society, at a large outlay, fitted out four "ships of war" for their suppression. The Government, after being long vainly importuned to deal with the evil, finally despatched a man-of-war to cruise in the Channel, when the plunderers decamped. Sir Thomas Button, the able and vigilant captain of the King's ship, was gratefully entertained in Bristol, and received a handsome present for his services. After Button had departed, however, the pirates reappeared, and three private vessels were engaged to protect navigation, the Council and the Merchants' Society dividing the expense (£150) in equal shares.

Until 1612 it had been customary for one of the city sheriffs to be elected by the Council, and the other on the nomination of the Mayor-elect, and it had not been unusual for a gentleman to be chosen who was not a member of the Corporation. As both practices were in contravention of the charters, they were abolished in December. In the following year the Council abrogated the Mayor's petty perquisites on imports of fish, oysters, oranges, etc., in compensation whereof, "and for divers good causes," the Mayor's yearly salary—then £40—was increased to £52, or, if he were serving a second time, to £104. It was further resolved that no one indebted to the Chamber should be nominated to the office of mayor or sheriff until he had wiped off his liabilities. (This regulation seems to have been unpalatable to some of the members, but an attempt made to revoke it in 1614 was unsuccessful.) By another ordinance the Masters of the trading Companies were forbidden to exact a breakfast or other treat from young men at the end of their apprenticeship, but were to content themselves with a fee of 3s. 4d., on pain of forfeiting £10. Finally, the country butchers permitted to bring meat to market on Saturdays were forbidden to keep open their stalls after three o'clock p.m.

A brief item in the corporate minutes, dated February 9th, 1613, directs that a complete survey should be made of the property "lately purchased" from Mr. George Owen. In 1553 Dr. George Owen granted to the Corporation certain lands, chiefly in Redcliff, in trust, to provide weekly doles of 7d. each to ten poor men, who were to be added to the inmates of Foster's Almshouse. For reasons now inexplicable, the Corporation, at the date of the above minute, had entered into negotiations with the benefactor's representative for a re-grant of the same estate, and a deed

carrying out this object was signed in the following June, transferring the property in fee, but containing no mention of the charitable uses! Founding their rights on this second instrument, which the younger Owen appears to have executed without any consideration, the Corporation, in 1836, claimed the estate as city property; but their pretensions were resisted by the newly appointed Charity Trustees, and set aside by the Court of Chancery. They were, however, suffered to retain the enormous sums received from the charity estates during the previous two hundred and twenty years. The case offers a remarkable illustration of the advance in the value of real property which has taken place since the Tudor era. In 1553 Dr. Owen estimated the profits of the estate as being simply adequate to provide 5s. 10d. a week, or about £15 a year, for charitable purposes. In 1897 the receipts were nearly £1,100. Five-sixths of the proceeds are now devoted to the support of the Grammar School, the remainder being allotted towards the maintenance of Foster's Almshouse.

On March 14th, 1613, another notable local benefactor, Thomas White, D.D., a native of Temple parish, executed a deed in which, after reciting that he had set up ten tenements in Temple Street, to be a hospital for impotent people and for setting poor persons to work, and had placed ten inmates therein, he incorporated those inmates and their successors, under the name of "The Ancient Brother, the Brethren and Sisters of the Temple Hospital," and granted them the hospital buildings for ever. By another deed, of 1615, he gave the hospital certain houses and lands for the maintenance of the inmates, who were each to receive 20s. every quarter-day, and in 1620 he granted to the Corporation some house property in London, the rents of which were to be distributed for certain charitable and religious purposes, £6 being allotted to his hospital. The last-named conveyance could not be effected without a license from the King, to avoid the statutes of mortmain, for which the Corporation were heavily mulcted. Finally, by his will, dated in 1622-23, Dr. White, after endowing his foundation of Sion College, London, bequeathed to the Corporation a part of the rental of his lands in Essex, to be expended in amending the roads around Bristol, in giving marriage portions of £10 each to four honest maidens, and in maintaining two more inmates in Trinity Hospital. Dr. White was an eminent preacher, and acquired wealth from his numerous preferments, being a prebendary of St.

Paul's, a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and a canon of Windsor. His "Road-Money Charity" is now chiefly devoted to the support of the Grammar School.

Sermons were still a crying want in the opinion of the Common Council. At a meeting on April 10th, 1613, any three of the city clergy were invited to preach on Sundays—indicating that many spared themselves that trouble—and a lecture was also requested every Tuesday. If the clergy responded to this proposal, a "convenient" allowance was promised for their pains, the money to be collected from the inhabitants. The answer of the incumbents is not recorded. But in the following month the Council determined that Mr. Yeamans, vicar of St. Philip's, and noted for the regularity of his preaching, should be granted £25 a year out of the living of Stockland Bristol as soon as it became vacant, for which he was to preach an additional sermon weekly on working days in some city church appointed by the donors! The Council, still dissatisfied with the lack of spiritual provision, unanimously resolved in 1614 that every member should contribute 6s. 8d. yearly to maintain a lecture or sermon on Tuesday evenings, the preacher to be rewarded with 6s. 8d. on each occasion. The strange resolution in reference to Stockland proved unworkable, for it was soon afterwards rescinded, and Yeamans' stipend was ordered to be paid by the Chamberlain.

In April, 1613, the consort of James I. journeyed to Bath for the recovery of her health, and Bristolians were forthwith called upon by the royal purveyors to furnish wine and groceries for her Majesty's household, the demands of which were insatiable. In all, 6 tuns, 5 butts, 3 pipes and 50 hogsheads of wine, making a total of upwards of 5,200 gallons, were furnished, together with over £360 worth of sugar and other groceries, spices costing £94, and pepper to the value of £9 6s. 8d. No money was, of course, to be obtained from the Court, and the Corporation had to relieve the merchants by advancing upwards of £1,000. The loyalty of the inhabitants, however, was unimpaired, and on learning that the Queen proposed to pay them a visit on June 4th, the Corporation spared neither labour nor expense to give her a joyous reception. The first necessity was to purify the streets. There was a portentous dunghill at St. Augustine's Back, nearly opposite to her intended lodgings in the Great House, another on the Quay, and two others in the line of streets near the Castle through which her

Majesty had to pass. These being removed, the roadways, scarred with ruts and holes, were repaired, some of the city gates were whitewashed, and a prodigious quantity of sand was brought in to spread over the thoroughfares. Then the sword of state and the maces were newly gilded, drummers and "phifers" were engaged and gaily attired to supplement the waits, 500 of the trained bands were so finely apparelled that they looked to a contemporary annalist more like officers than privates, sixty great guns were stationed on the Quay to fire salutes, the trading Companies were ordered to turn out in their full strength, and a wooden form was bought to enable the aldermen to mount their horses with fitting dignity. The great day having arrived, the members of the Corporation, blazing in scarlet robes, bestrode their steeds at the Tolzey. each attended by a page, and proceeded majestically to Lawford's Gate, where they met the royal train. The Mayor (Abel Kitchin) thereupon fell on his knees whilst the Recorder offered the greetings of the city in a flattering oration, after which the chief magistrate courteously presented her Majesty with a purse (which had cost £4) containing 100 "units" of gold (that had cost £110 more). The royal thanks having been graciously tendered, the Mayor and his legal coadjutor took horse again, accompanied by two gentlemen ushers, and rode bareheaded before the Queen's chariot through the crowded streets. Distrustful, perhaps, of their qualifications to witch the world by their horsemanship, the Common Council had given orders that no salutes should be fired until the procession was ended; but the Queen had no sooner entered the Great House than the cannon thundered from the Quay, whilst the trained bands stationed on the green before the mansion responded with *feux de joie*. A sumptuous entertainment concluded the day's proceedings. Owing to unfavourable weather, the Queen remained indoors on Saturday; but on Sunday she proceeded in state to the Cathedral, the Mayor walking uncovered before her coach, preceded by the aldermen and councillors, while the ladies of the Court, on horseback, and a guard of trained bands brought up the rear. Monday witnessed the crowning effort of the citizens. After entertaining the Court to dinner at his own house, the Mayor conducted her Majesty to Canons' Marsh, near the confluence of the Avon and From, where a bower of oak boughs, garnished with roses and plentifully sprinkled with perfumes, was prepared for her reception. An imposing sham

fight then commenced, an English ship being attacked by two Turkish galleys, the crews of which strove to board, but were finally repulsed with great slaughter (six bladders full of blood being at hand to pour out of the scupper holes). The carnage resulted, of course, in the flight of the galleys and the capture of some of the infidels, who, much begrimed with smoke and blood, were presented to and laughingly complimented by the delighted Queen, who declared that they looked like real Turks and that she had never witnessed so exciting a spectacle. The Mayor again entertained the Court to supper in the evening, when her Majesty sent him a splendid ring set with diamonds as a mark of her approval. On Tuesday, after dinner, the Queen departed for Siston Court, being attended to Lawford's Gate with all the pomp that marked her arrival. Her Majesty, who is described by a humorous historian as a princess of considerable amplitude of figure, massiveness of feature, and readiness of wit, seems to have been really charmed with her excursion. On the Mayor kneeling to take leave, the royal visitor, "with tears in her eyes," promised the city her protection, declaring that she "never knew she was a queen till she came to Bristol." It is needless to add that her entertainment entailed a very heavy outlay, but so much was disbursed by the private subscriptions of leading citizens that the total cannot be discovered. In despite of this liberality, moreover, the royal purveyors made another descent upon the merchants, and the Corporation found it necessary to pay for about 2,200 gallons of wine carried off for the Queen's household.

Amongst the State Papers for May in this year is a document offering "Reasons to prove the necessity for making small copper coins to avoid the great abuse of leaden tokens made by the city of Bristol and others." No farthings had been coined by the Corporation since the accession of James, and, so far as numismatists can discover, no specimen of the alleged leaden tokens now exists. This is the more extraordinary inasmuch as the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton made a suggestion to the Government in 1609 for a legal issue of small coins, alleging that there were then 3,000 persons in London, chiefly victuallers and small traders, and at least as many more in the provinces, who cast yearly £5 a piece in leaden tokens, "whereof nine-tenths," he said, disappeared in the course of a year. Cotton added that the Crown might gain £10,000 a year by suppressing the abuse; but soon after the presentation of the above "Reasons" the

King, besieged by many courtiers for a grant of a profitable monopoly, conceded to one of them, Lord Harrington, the sole privilege for three years of coining farthing tokens, and a royal proclamation was issued prohibiting the currency of tokens issued by tradesmen. In or about 1622 the Corporation of Bristol solicited the Government for a renewal of their former privilege. In a petition to the Privy Council it was stated that the Bristol Farthings had formerly been of great relief and comfort to the poor, a number of the tokens having been given in alms by charitable people, but that none had been stamped since his Majesty's accession, owing to the royal warrant not having been renewed. It was therefore prayed that, in consideration of the great number of poor in the city, greatly distressed by a recent dearth and a visitation of sickness, their lordships would be pleased to revive the warrant for the stamping of tokens. The petition, it would appear, remained unanswered.

At a meeting of the Privy Council on June 6th a singular letter was indited to the Mayor of Bristol. The Council state that they are being constantly advertised from parts beyond the seas, and particularly from Spain, that the masters of Bristol ships do usually carry into Spain and Portugal such a number of youths and children, of both sexes, under pretence of learning the language, that this emigration is much observed, and by experience found to be corrupting in point of religion and dangerous to the State, owing to the pernicious doctrines instilled by the enemies of this country. The Council cannot excuse the Mayor for his neglect in this matter, and require him thenceforth to be vigilant, and to suffer none to pass over except known merchants and factors and persons licensed by the Government. It is somewhat remarkable that no record of this letter, or of any measures taken to obey its instructions, is to be found at the Council House.

The earliest example of a civic pension occurs in the corporate minutes in July. Muriel, the aged widow of Michael Pepwall, a former mayor, was voted £4 yearly "during the good liking of the Common Council." In 1616 the widow of John Young, a former sheriff, was granted £2 a year out of the funds of Trinity Hospital. Relief of this kind to impoverished councillors or their relatives subsequently became common.

On the death of the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, the Council seems to have been in some perplexity as to the choice of a new High Steward. After considerable delay,

the election fell, in August, upon William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain. His lordship was presented in 1618 with a pipe of Canary, and in 1625 he had a gift of another pipe, together with two hogsheads of claret.

A highly interesting donation to the city was offered to the Council on December 7th. Mr. Robert Redwood, a wealthy Bristolian living in St. Leonard's parish, proffered his "lodge near the Marsh" for conversion into a library for the benefit of the citizens; and the gift was thankfully accepted. With one exception—at Norwich—this was the first public library established in England. The donor had probably been in correspondence with Dr. Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York, born over the shop of his father on Bristol Bridge, and may have been induced by his grace to take the step just recorded. At all events, the Archbishop hastened to forward a number of books drawn from his extensive library, which he desired should be preserved "for the free use of the merchants and shopkeepers of the city." In January, 1616, the Council resolved that "40s. yearly should be allowed to him that now keepeth the new erected Library." In a few years the institution became so popular as to require extended accommodation, and in April, 1634, the Corporation determined on its enlargement, "for which purpose," says the minute, "Mr. Richard Vickris hath freely given a parcel of ground adjoining the said Library." A vote of not exceeding £30 was then granted "as well for new building the addition to be made as for repairing the old house," the money being handed over to a gentleman charged with superintending the work, whose tragic fate was then undreamt of—"Mr. George Butcher" (or Boucher). In 1640, when the extension had been completed, an ironmonger was paid £3 17s. 6d. "for 15 dozen and a half of book chains for the Library," a mode of protection against thieves that, having regard to the portliness of most of the volumes, seems somewhat superfluous.

On December 12th the Privy Council addressed a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol and other towns, and to the sheriffs of counties, respecting the observance of Lent. Notwithstanding the strict orders previously issued on that subject, the Council found they had been contemptuously neglected, and their lordships directed that an account should be taken of non-observers, and that the magistrates should show a good example in their own families. A second mandate to the same effect was sent down a twelvemonth later. It appears from the Privy

Council minutes that many butchers were prosecuted for selling meat during Lent, while the acting of dramas was suppressed by the threatened imprisonment of the players.

In the spring of 1614, when Parliaments had been dispensed with for three years, during which the King had vainly striven to meet the boundless extravagance of his expenditure by imposing arbitrary Customs duties, and selling monopolies and baronetcies to the best bidder, legislative help was found to be indispensable for the liquidation of the royal debts. The elections evoked an unparalleled spirit of opposition against the nominees of the Government, and the House of Commons met in a state of excitement. The members for Bristol were Alderman Thomas James, whose resistance to the Court has been already noticed, and Alderman John Whitson, who forthwith displayed an equal zeal against abuses. On April 18th, during a debate on the second reading of a Bill "concerning taxes and impositions on merchants," it was shown that only two or three such impositions were in force at the King's accession, while they now numbered nearly eleven hundred. Mr. Whitson declared that if he had forty hearts they would be all for the Bill. No man could wear a shirt or a band without feeling a grievance. He would rather pay a subsidy every month than allow those imposts to stand. Edward III. once prayed his subjects to pay an imposition from Candlemas to Whitsuntide; he would not have prayed if he had had the power to demand it. Another great debate took place in May, when the policy of the Court was again warmly denounced. Some of the Court party having suggested that the House should confer with the King, Whitson protested against the manoeuvre. In presence of his Majesty, he said, none dared speak their thoughts. On the previous day the King had told some of them that no merchant was a groat the worse for impositions, and no man dared reply; yet every merchant felt the smart of the burdens. Unhappily the Commons soon afterwards quarrelled with the Lords on a point of privilege, and the King, seizing this pretext, ordered a dissolution early in June, and declared all the proceedings of the session null and void. The Corporation of Bristol were so satisfied with the conduct of the city members that Alderman James was elected mayor in September, and Alderman Whitson was his successor.

Moved either by intolerance of absentees or by the pressure of aspirants to office, the Council, in April, 1614, dealt summarily with two members who were alleged to be un-

able to attend and give their advice in the Chamber, and were in consequence dismissed. Four seats had previously become vacant, and eight candidates appear to have sought for admission. One of those elected was Henry Hobson, host of the Guilders' Inn, already mentioned in connection with the Plague. Another was Humphrey Hooke, a native of Chichester, who acquired a great fortune in mercantile adventures, and eventually purchased Kingsweston and other large estates. In 1616 another councillor was dismissed, "for special causes thereunto moving." Whether the "special causes" were represented by the six gentlemen who sought election to the vacancy is left to conjecture.

At a meeting of the Council in August, 1614, it was announced that a bequest had been made to the Corporation by the late Mrs. Katherine Butcher, widow of Alderman John Butcher. Owing to the loss of the audit book for the year, the amount of the legacy is unknown, but it was resolved that the money should be devoted to the purchase of a silver gilt "skinker," and of a similar "bowle; to remain always with the Mayor for the time being." It was further ordered that, in conformity with Mrs. Butcher's will, a yearly sum of 6s. 8d. should be disbursed for a sermon on the day of each Mayor's election; but this ordinance, like many others, was rescinded in 1703.

The cool manner in which many corporate bodies presumed to levy illegal taxes for their own profit is a marked feature of the age. In August the Council directed a letter to be written to the Mayor of "Lymbrick" and his brethren, requesting them to restore the money they had unlawfully taken from a Bristol merchant under the name of Customs. It was further ordered that if the demand were refused the goods of any Limerick man found in Bristol should be sequestrated to indemnify the person aggrieved, and that similar reprisals should be taken as regarded other Irish ports.

King James, reckless of the signs of the times, was at this period inclined to dispense with Parliaments, and to adopt means of raising money that even the iron government of Henry VIII. had been forced to abandon. In August a letter was addressed by the Privy Council to the Mayor and Sheriffs of Bristol, in common with other towns, demanding a Benevolence, or gift of money or plate, to be presented to the King towards the payment of his ever-increasing debts. All the inhabitants of ability were to be "moved" to contribute generously, and the names of

those who refused to subscribe were to be sent up to the Privy Council. The Corporation appointed a committee in conformity with the mandate, but the Council made no contribution on their own account, and there is no evidence that the wealthy merchants were more liberally disposed. Similar reluctance was displayed in other parts of the kingdom, and, in spite of threats and intimidation, all that could be collected in three years did not exceed £60,000.

At a meeting of the Council in September, three men, one of them a "platemaker," meaning probably a silversmith, were admitted to the freedom on payment of £2 4s. 6d. each. It was, however, provided that if they, or any others admitted by fine, should open an ale-house without the license of the justices, they should be forthwith disfranchised.

At a time when every branch of trade and commerce was harassed by monopolies conceded to Crown favourites and wealthy confederacies in London, it was natural that local merchants should seek to better their condition by taking part in a system that enriched their rivals. In the summer of this year they applied to the Government for a revival of the license to export calf-skin leather, which had been granted and subsequently withdrawn by Queen Elizabeth (see p. 16), and in September the King, doubtless for a valuable consideration, issued letters patent to Alderman Whitson and four other merchants, granting them liberty to export yearly, for forty years, 1,000 dickers (120,000) of tanned calf-skins, a Crown rent of £250 being reserved. For some unexplained reason, this patent was soon afterwards set aside, and a new one granted on the same terms to William Lewis, Customs Searcher, the patentee of 1600, who immediately conceded his privilege to the local merchants in consideration of a yearly rent. The trade thus created in contravention of the statute law was exceedingly profitable for many years. The subject will turn up again in 1640.

Down to this year the only gathering-place for discussing and transacting mercantile business in the city, as well in winter as in summer, was practically the open street. Some protection against inclement weather being thought desirable, the Corporation, in December, entered into an agreement with the vestry of All Saints, by which the latter granted permission for the building of a merchants' Tolzey on that part of Corn Street which adjoined the church, the penthouse to be of the same length and form as the civic

Tolzey opposite, and to be covered with lead. The Corporation laid out about £44 on the work, to which the Merchants' Society also contributed. The new Tolzey was provided, for the conveniency of signing documents and settling accounts, with several brazen-headed pillars, similar to those now standing before the Exchange.

Abuses respecting the use of proxies at the yearly election of officers were dealt with by the Common Council in January, 1615. Certain members having claimed to give votes for several absentees, it was ordered that each person present at an election should have only one voice in addition to his own whilst representing a friend having reasonable cause of absence, and that the authority for this second voice should be in writing.

The first mention of a postman in the local annals occurs in the spring of 1615, when the Chamberlain paid a tradesman 12s. "for cloth to make Packer, the foot-post, a coat." In 1616 Packer was sent by the same official to Brewham to collect rents, and was paid 3s. 8d. for a journey, out and home, of 60 miles. At the same time there is a record of "Baker the foot-post," who for travelling to London and back on city business received 13s. 4d. for his pains and expenses. At a somewhat later date there was a payment of £2 2s. "given to the foot-post for his badge." Whether these men were simply engaged by the Corporation when there was need of a messenger, or made their living by offering their services to the public at large, cannot be determined. No Government postal establishment existed in the provinces until 1635.

In the State Papers for July, 1615, is a curious letter, in the nature of a circular, signed by Sir George Buck, the King's Master of the Revels. It sets forth that his Majesty had been pleased, at the solicitation of the Queen, to appoint a company of youths to perform plays at Bristol and other towns, under the name of the "Youths of Her Majesty's Royal Chamber of Bristol." [The Queen had been informed during her visit by her local entertainers that by ancient custom the city was entitled to be styled the Queen's Chamber, just as London was called the King's Chamber.] The license to the above effect was granted to John Daniel (brother of Samuel, the well-known poet), who was to bring up the children properly. In April, 1618, permission was given by the Privy Council to three men to act plays in Bristol and other towns under Daniel's patent, the company to stay only fourteen days in each place, and "not to play

during church hours." Two months later, these players arrived at Exeter and offered an entertainment, but were summarily suppressed by a puritanical mayor. His worship, in a letter to Under-Secretary Coke, stated that he had stopped the Bristol players because their patent was only for children and youths, whereas most of them were men; nevertheless, as they were appealing to the Court, he was willing they should play if such was the pleasure of the Privy Council, "although those who spend their money on plays are ordinarily very poor people." In the autumn following, the Corporation of Bristol gave 21s. to "Sir George Buck's players," possibly the same party.

In August, 1615, Sir Laurence Hyde resigned the Recordership, and the Council forthwith appointed his more celebrated brother, Nicholas, afterwards Chief Justice, as his successor. The election was informal, as an ancient ordinance required the Recorder to have been a reader at one of the Inns of Court; but powerful influence was privately exercised, and the rule was set aside "for this time only."

At the same meeting, the Council dealt with a grievous offender, one Matthew Cable, a member of a family long resident in St. Thomas's parish. It was ordered that unless Cable, then a prisoner in Newgate, did in open session humbly submit himself to the Mayor, and acknowledge his great fault in uttering lewd words against his worship whilst being carried to prison, he should be indicted and punished at the next gaol delivery. The assize records have unfortunately perished.

It would be tedious to narrate all the vexatious annoyances inflicted on merchants through the persecutions of the royal purveyors. In the hope of a respite the Corporation offered at this time a gift of £110 to the King's grocer, on condition of his demanding no purveyance of grocery for the remainder of his life, and a bargain was struck to that effect. The relief was for freemen only, "foreigners" being left to the tender mercy of the extortioner.

The grotesque headgear still worn on State occasions by the civic swordbearer was an established institution in 1615, when it was a somewhat expensive adornment. A new "hat of maintenance" was purchased this year, the fur and trimmings of which cost £8 6s., equivalent to about £40 in modern currency, and 17s. were paid for a box to preserve it. The office of swordbearer was one of great dignity, and

the salary attached to it of £20 (exclusive of numerous fees) equalled that of the Recorder. Occasionally, too, the holder turned his place into a sinecure by appointing a poorly paid deputy. The Mayor's head covering was still more costly than that of his henchman. In 1621 a new hat of crimson velvet with gold lace embroidery, etc., cost £10 9s., but its box was provided for 10s.

An indication of increasing reverence for what Puritanism styled the Sabbath is observable in the minutes of a Council meeting in October. Previously, the premises of vintners, victuallers, and ale-house keepers appear to have been open throughout Sundays; but it was now decreed that no eating or drinking should be permitted in such places between eight o'clock in the morning and five in the evening, except for two hours in the middle of the day; and the same restriction was imposed on the selling of fruit by hucksters and boatmen. Some general police regulations were also resolved upon. No cart or car having wheels bound with iron was to be admitted within the walls, except those which stood at St. Peter's "plump" and at the end of Broadmead. Wood for fuel was to come in on drays (sledges) only. As coal was brought only on the backs of horses and asses, it escaped supervision. Hay, however, was a frequent difficulty. In 1617 a payment was made for letting down the portcullis at Temple Gate to debar the entrance of hay wains; and as 23s. were spent a few weeks later for repairing the portcullis at Redcliff Gate, it was doubtless made use of for the same purpose.

A revolt of the Bakers' Company against the city authorities caused much excitement towards the close of the year. Irritated by the restrictions which the magistrates imposed upon prices, and by the competition of the country bakers authorized by the Council (see p. 22), the bakers, by dint of a heavy bribe sent to Court, obtained from the King a special grant of incorporation with power to frame their own laws, by which they proposed to set the civic body at defiance and to establish a lucrative monopoly. The new charter, however, required the Master of the Company to be sworn in before the Mayor and Aldermen, and on the bench insisting on certain conditions the Master-elect refused to take the oath, while his brethren, to support him, threatened to close their shops. Alderman Whitson, then Mayor, was nevertheless equal to the crisis. Two "foreign" bakers, one at Wrington and the other at Portbury, received permission to bring in as much bread as they chose, and, as

the twopenny loaf thus supplied was half a pound heavier than that of the Bristol men, the latter were compelled to change their tactics. After an interval, however, they again attempted to put their new charter into operation, whereupon, in 1619, the Corporation instituted a suit against them in the Star Chamber. The Privy Council then took the matter in hand, and their lordships resolved, in November, that the King's charter was against all good policy, the bakers having availed themselves of it to diminish the size of their bread and to shut out their country competitors, who had served the city time out of mind. The Attorney-General was therefore ordered to take legal steps to annul the charter, leaving the bakers to be governed by the Corporation as in former times. The triumphant city authorities next resolved on prosecuting the bakers for their conduct before the King's charter was revoked, but the Privy Council ordered the judges of assize to stop the proceedings. The State Papers for July, 1621, contain a petition of the bakers to the Privy Council, praying for protection, but it was left unanswered. Being at length compelled to capitulate, the Company were granted a new ordinance by the Common Council in 1623, imposing some strange restrictions both on themselves and the public. The only kinds of bread permitted to be made for sale were white and household bread, and biscuits. Buns or cakes, if produced, were liable to confiscation, except during Lent, when cracknells and symnals might also be sold. No baker was to open two shops or to employ a "foreigner" as journeyman. Four "foreign" bakers living at or near Pensford were to be licensed by the Mayor to bring in five horse-loads of leavened bread twice a week, but were to sell only at the High Cross, and not to hawk in the streets. Finally, no innholder or victualler was allowed to bring in country bread, or even to bake in their own houses, under pain of a heavy fine! In 1624 the Company resolved that no bread of any kind should be sold to hucksters to sell again. Of twenty-two members who signed this agreement ten could not write their own names.

The State Papers for 1615 include a document endorsed:—"The Surveyes of the Forest of Kingswood and Chase of Fillwood," drawn up by one John Norden, who with others had been appointed by the King as commissioners to inquire into the state of those royal possessions. It is evident from Norden's statements that the woods in question, through the neglect or more probably the suborned apathy of the

royal officers employed there for a long series of years, had been practically lost to the Crown and appropriated by neighbouring landowners. In Plantagenet times the King was the sole proprietor, and, as records testify, was wont to grant timber for building purposes to religious houses in Bristol. In 1615 the claims put forward by local landlords, says the report, "swallowed up the whole forest, not allowing his Majesty the breadth of a foot," and the profits of the timber, soil, coal-mines, etc., were carried off from the King by those who had usurped his rights. Nothing, in fact, was left to the Crown but the herbage for the deer, and even this was in jeopardy, as every "pretended owner" cut down and consumed the "vert" at his pleasure, in despite of law. Four keepers were maintained, each with a separate "walk," but instead of the 2,000 deer that had once roamed through the woods, the men admitted that none of them had more than about a hundred under his charge. The keepers had deserted their lodges, the oldest of which was in ruins, while another, in the principal part of the forest, had been appropriated by Mr. Richard Berkeley, who had converted it for his own profit into an alehouse, haunted by poachers and thieves. Each keeper had 40s. a year, and the ranger under Sir George Chaworth, Constable of Bristol Castle and Master of the Game, had a salary of £3 8s. 1½d., which sums were paid by the Sheriffs of Bristol. "Sheep and goats, most pernicious cattle in a forest, make a far greater show than his Majesty's game." The goats had spoiled an infinite number of holly trees, "the chief browse," by barking them; the colliers had destroyed many more, using them to support the workings, and large spaces had been laid waste by the throwing about of pit refuse. In former times the keepers used to cut down oak boughs as food for the deer, but this was now forbidden by the pretended owners, as was the cutting of bush browse; and the herds, from want of nourishment, were consuming away. The number of cottages that had been erected far exceeded the needs of the coal-mines, and the inhabitants, who paid rent to the assumed landlords, committed great spoil. The value of the coal carried out of the forest was alleged by witnesses to be about £200 yearly, but Norden had been informed privately that it was worth at least £500. A man named Player farmed the whole of the coal-pits, and the report suggested that he should be inhibited until he proved his pretended rights. Thomas Chester, who claimed a portion of the Chase, had cut down forty great

trees, and had lately sold about forty more to a Bristolian, though the land was said to belong to the King. The total area of the forest was estimated at 4,297 acres, of which Chester made claim to 1,380, Lord Berkeley and Lady Newton to 1,350, Sir Henry Billingsley to 810, and Richard Berkeley to 540. The remainder, about 200 acres, was alleged to belong to a Mr. Weston, Ralph Sadler, Lady Stafford, Sir R. Lacy, and one Evans, of Bitton. Turning to Fillwood Chase, on the south side of the Avon, and anciently appurtenant to Kingswood, Norden was unable to determine its true boundaries, owing to ages of neglect, but he believed that Bedminster, Bisford (Bishport), Knowle, Whitchurch, and Norton Malreward were formerly within the perambulation, as those places paid, or should pay, 32s. yearly for what was called wood-lease-silver, supposed to belong to Bristol Castle in right of the forest, but now chiefly received by one Chester for his master's use. It was proved on oath that in former times the deer, crossing the Avon from Kingswood, used to feed freely as far as Dundry hills, but the bounds had been altered, the old names of places forgotten, and the King's lands lost. One Hugh Smyth, uncle of the living Sir Hugh Smyth, once impaled a park there, but the palings had since been carried to Ashton. Certain lands, retaining the name of Fillwood, were 249 acres in extent, and of about £209 yearly value, and the estimated value of the timber thereon was £1,300. If the entire estate were in the King's hands it was estimated to yield £5,487, exclusive of land and a common near Whitchurch, worth £4,000, which were probably part of the Chase, though claimed by Sir Hugh Smyth. There was also a common of 200 acres called Bristleton (Brislington) Heath, supposed to be part of the Chase, with coal-mines there; but the neighbouring land-owners were turning the whole to their own profit. The Government took no action upon this report, and the "pretended owners" were practically left undisturbed until 1661, under which year the subject will be continued. In the Record Office are some depositions taken at Bristol Castle in September, 1629, the only interesting feature of which is the evidence of one of the rangers respecting a singular right of himself and his brother officers. They were entitled, he swore, by ancient custom, to take a toll called conducting money, or cheminage, at Lawford's Gate, from all passengers bringing in or carrying away goods in wains, carts, or pack-saddles, to or from the great fairs of

the city, the privilege extending from nine days before St. Paul's tide to Lady Day (about ten weeks), and from a fortnight before St. James's tide to St. Lawrence's Day (about six weeks). The toll was fourpence for a wheeled vehicle and a penny for a pack-horse.

The year 1616 was singularly uneventful in a local point of view. In the absence of subjects of serious import, the citizens resolved upon challenging the merchants and traders of Exeter to a shooting match, and the details of the subsequent competition are related with somewhat tedious minuteness in what is known as "Adams's Chronicle." In brief the story is as follows. The Devonians having accepted the challenge, a party of fifteen Bristol marksmen, gallantly arrayed, and accompanied by Sheriff Tomlinson, two captains, and about forty worshipful men, set off on horseback on May 27th, and arrived next day at their destination, where they were cordially welcomed and sumptuously feasted. On the 29th the visitors had a private trial of their muskets, but a spy gave an account of their skill to the opposite party, and on the 30th, when the match should have come off, the Exeter men fell to wrangling, and nothing was done. In the evening the visitors were entertained by the Sheriff of Exeter, and so plentifully supplied with burnt sack that "the young wilful heads" spent nearly all the night in drinking healths, while the Exeter men stayed soberly at home. The morning bringing much sickness, fatigue, and reflection, the Bristolians seriously thought of returning forthwith, but the jeers of their hosts supplied the needful stimulus, and the match at length began. In the result, the Exeter men were adjudged to be the victors by "two rounds to one," and the wager of one hundred nobles was consequently awarded them. In other respects the Bristolians had nothing to complain of. They were not suffered to expend a penny in the city, and they, in return, distributed £100 amongst the local officers and poor. On July 1st the Exeter marksmen arrived in Bristol for the return match, being met four miles off by 300 horse, escorted to the Bear Inn, and bountifully feasted. Next day butts were erected in College Green, but on the 3rd, when the Mayor and Council, knights and gentry, had assembled to witness the competition, it was not until after a long delay that the visitors could be induced to present themselves. Shooting then began during a severe gale, in consequence of which, out of fifty-two shots on each side, the Bristolians made but seven hits and their rivals only five.

The contest was renewed next morning in calm weather, when the home team scored three and their opponents nothing. "So our men were best, second, and third, won the three rounds, and £100, besides much bets, all of which was spent upon them (the Exonians), and £100 to double repay their courtesy; our captains not suffering them to give aught to any officer or poor in our city."

At the gaol delivery this year the horrible punishment of the *peine forte et dure* was inflicted upon a prisoner who refused to plead to his indictment in proper form, and insisted on being tried "by God and Somersetshire." Being taken back to Newgate, the prisoner was placed under the pressure of heavy weights, which were gradually increased until life was extinct.

A curious contest for precedence in the Common Council arose at Michaelmas on the conclusion of Alderman Whitson's second mayoralty. Mr. Whitson proposed to resume his previous place as senior alderman, but was withstood by Alderman Thomas James, on the ground that as he (James) had twice filled the chair before a similar honour was conferred on Whitson, he was entitled to priority; while Whitson contended that he was James's senior by four years in the aldermanic office. The struggle appears to have ended in a personal conflict, in which Whitson was worsted. The Court of Aldermen at once took the dispute into serious consideration, and as the members were divided in opinion, a case was drawn up for presentation to Garter King-at-Arms. That official soon afterwards decided in favour of Whitson, on the ground that as both the parties had been twice mayor, precedence must be given to seniority in the position of magistrate. In August, 1617, the Council practically carried out this judgment by requesting James to take rank after his rival until he could show his right to the premier position. James's death, a few months later, put an end to the controversy.

The city treasurer led a somewhat adventurous life at this period. Some hint having been received from London that a portion of the King's debts for wine and provisions might be recovered by due supplication, the chamberlain was despatched to make the needful effort. Two long and weary journeys proved fruitless, but a third had better success. He credits himself as follows in his accounts:—"My charges in my journey to London, being out forty days, and for horse hire, boat hire, diet, and other charges at the Court, £10 2s. 6d." Certainly a moderate sum for so lengthy a

sojourn. The sum of £417 (less than a third of the debt) was, however, recovered, but not without liberal bribing, the King's cofferers receiving £20 and the Queen's secretary £11, while many tips were exacted by subordinates. Encouraged by this result, the treasurer made two more journeys in the same economical manner, and got £400 on one occasion, but only £64 on the other. The latter sum represented part of the money due for the wines sent to Woodstock eleven years before. The "gratuities" wrung from the Chamberlain by Court underlings before the cash could be received amounted to £26 16s. 6*d.*, besides which Sir Robert Fludd, "for his pains," had a present in gold of £55 and a barrel of sack, whilst £10 17s. 6*d.* were extorted by an officer of the Exchequer.

It was stated in a previous page that the Corporation, in 1605, flung the work of cleansing the streets upon the inhabitants. For many subsequent years the authorities washed their hands of the matter, and the state of the city when the Queen was about to visit it has been already shown. The filth at last becoming intolerable, the Council, in April, 1617, adopted "the Raker" as a public servant, and voted him a salary of £30 a year, in return for which he was expected to sweep the thoroughfares, remove the refuse, and keep the entire city in proper order. (See November, 1629).

Having erected a Tolzey for the mercantile classes, the Corporation, in 1617, resolved on the reconstruction of the similar penthouse adjoining the Council House, reserved for transacting civic business. This building was considerably increased in height for the admission of five upper lights, and the outlay amounted to about £150. On the completion of the work an order was given for furnishing the Council Room and Tolzey with green cloth "carpets"—not as coverings for the floor, which were then deemed superfluous, but as drapery for the tables. A few years later two of the brazen pillars now standing before the Exchange were presented to the Corporation by two citizens, Thomas Hobson and George White, and were placed in this Tolzey as companions to the two others of more ancient date.

Great distress prevailed amongst the poor during the closing months of 1617, and continued throughout the following year. The Corporation advanced £200, and opened a house in Temple Street for the employment of children in the manufacture of "kersey," while additional rates were levied for the relief of adults. As was the

invariable fate of corporate industrial enterprises, the kersey works proved a failure, and were soon abandoned. A singular mode of affording help to the poor crops up in this and several following years. The Council took no steps to reduce the high price of bread, but they evinced much anxiety to provide the commons with cheap butter. Large purchases were made every year of this article, which was sold by retail at, and often below, the wholesale price, a little loss being apparently deemed unimportant, provided the community were kept in good humour. An explanation of this policy will be found later on.

One of the many obnoxious monopolies granted by James I. was that excluding merchants generally from trading to Turkey and the Levant, that privilege being conceded only to a body of wealthy Londoners styled the Levant or Turkey Company, who reaped enormous profits from the public by charging excessive prices for dried fruits and other eastern merchandise. It may be assumed, though no positive proof exists of the fact, that the Bristol Society of Merchants, who had vainly claimed the right of free trading conferred on them by their charter, at length set the monopolists at defiance by despatching a ship to the East, and by bringing in a cargo of the prohibited articles. At all events, they were being sued by the Levant Company in the early months of 1618, and Alderman Whitson, with a worthy companion, Mr. John Barker, was sent to London to maintain the justice of their cause before the Privy Council. On investigation, the Government found that the terms of the charter of Edward VI. to Bristol merchants could not be wholly ignored, and the State Papers show that an Order in Council was issued in March, granting the Bristolians permission, "on trial for three years," to import 200 tons of currants yearly from the Venetian (Ionian) islands, notwithstanding the Levant Company's monopoly, they paying the latter body 6s. 8d. per ton on the fruit. The concession had doubtless been obtained by financial expedients, then indispensable at Court, and the expenses of the two deputies were very large. That the Earl of Pembroke, Lord High Steward, had proved a helpful friend is indicated by the present to him of two pipes of Canary by the Corporation and the merchants. No time was lost in fitting out a ship, though but of 160 tons; and the voyage was so successful that two vessels sailed in the following year, carrying out cargoes and money to the then enormous value of £5,400. Nothing

more is heard for nearly half a century about the three years' trial, and little note seems to have been taken of the prescribed maximum of 200 tons. William Colston, the father of Edward, was carrying on an extensive and lucrative traffic with the fruit islands, when the Levant Company made a renewed attempt to exclude Bristolians from the trade. See 1665.

The appetite of the members of the Corporation for religious lectures seems to have been sharpened by what it fed on. The lectureship maintained at St. Nicholas' Church out of funds drawn from the city parishes having become vacant in March, 1618, the Council ordered that a learned man should be procured from Oxford or Cambridge to supply the vacancy and to lecture on two days a week. The stipend was £52 a year. A satisfactory candidate was not found till the autumn of 1619, when Thomas Tucker, B.D. (having a certificate of competency from Dr. Laud), was appointed with the approval of the Bishop. The Council, to provide the new-comer with a house, then increased the salary by £6, abstracting that sum out of the rental of the Bartholomew Lands, held in trust for the Grammar School!

An early mention of the Penn family occurs in a memorial addressed to the Privy Council by the Corporation in June, 1618, on behalf of Giles and William Penn, local merchants. The document prayed protection for five years for the Penns, who had been reduced to ruin through misfortunes, and who proposed to go oversea, with the help of some mercantile friends, to seek the recovery of large debts due to them. This project, it was added, was being thwarted by a few of their creditors, who refused them license to embark. The Privy Council, in a reply addressed to the Mayor, Alderman Doughty, and others, granted the prayer of the petition, and requested them to call the objectors before them and move them to more charitable conduct. If they still were refractory their names were to be sent to the Council, a hint likely to remove all obstacles. Giles Penn, who afterwards became a captain in the Royal Navy, was the father of Admiral Sir William Penn, and the grandfather of the founder of Pennsylvania.

The northern limits of the city still extended no further than St. James's Barton. A deed of 1579, in referring to Stokes Croft, describes it as a field containing one little lodge and a garden; but there was a footpath through the ground, and in 1618 the city pavioir received sixpence

from the Chamberlain "for mending holes at Stokes Croft style."

The legal profession does not appear to have been much esteemed by the Corporation. It was ordered in September that, there being six attorneys practising in the court of the Guildhall, whereas of ancient time there were only four, no new election should take place until after the number had been reduced to the old standard. It may be added that free burgesses were not allowed to raise actions against each other in the courts at Westminster. In 1617 two citizens were fined £10 each for this "offence," which was stated to be in violation of their burgess oath and of the charters.

An extraordinary ordinance respecting the manufacture of soap was made by the Council in November. It was decreed that no soapmaker should thenceforth boil any oil or stuff other than olive oil, under a penalty of £10, and that in default of payment he should be committed to gaol till he paid the money. This outrageous attempt to promote the interests of merchants trading to Southern Europe evidently aroused indignation. A month later the ordinance was repealed, but another was adopted, forbidding makers of black soap to boil train and rape oil and tallow, under pain of a fine of £40 for a first offence and of disfranchisement for a second. After an interval of only five weeks this decree made way for a third, which affirmed, in bold defiance of the truth, that olive oil had always been the only oil used by honest makers in producing black soap, and that the use of rape and train oil and tallow had been devised by evil-disposed and covetous persons to the injury of the commonwealth. A penalty of £40 was imposed on any one using those "noisome and unwholesome" materials, and on any one buying or selling such "base" soap. The searchers of the Soapmakers' Company were to have £4 out of every fine, and the rest was to be divided between the Company and the Corporation. Another ordinance to the same effect, but reducing the penalty by two-thirds, was issued in 1624, indicating that the regulations had been ignored by manufacturers. On this occasion a show of vigour was thought desirable, and Henry Yate, a Common Councillor, was fined £10 for contemptuously making soap of rape oil and other base stuff. The ordinance afterwards became obsolete.

A renewed attempt was made in 1618 to further the colonization of Newfoundland. Some Bristol merchants

obtained a grant of land there from the London and Bristol Chartered Company (see p. 39), and resolved on the establishment of a settlement, to be called "Bristol Hope," apparently not far distant from Guy's little colony at Sea Forest. The project, however, like its forerunner, was abandoned after a few years' trial.

A characteristic defiance of popular feeling on the part of James I. was the issue by his orders, in 1618, of what was styled the Book of Sports, which the incumbent of every church was required to read from the pulpit and to assist in carrying into effect. After requiring Romanists and Puritans to conform to the Church, the royal rescript enjoined that those who attended divine service should not be disturbed on Sunday afternoons in their lawful recreations, such as archery, dancing, football, leap-frog, vaulting, etc; neither were they to be prevented from enjoying May games around the maypole, Whitsun ales, and morrice dancing at Christmas. Sunday bear and bull-baiting, and the playing of interludes, were, however, forbidden, as was bowling "by the meaner sort of people." The mandate was received with speechless horror by the bulk of religious-minded people, and unquestionably promoted the growth of Puritanism in Bristol and other populous centres. Perhaps there is no more striking proof of the wilful blindness of Charles I. in defying the feelings of the nation than his republication of this Book of Sports in October, 1633, with an additional and highly offensive clause, permitting the holding of yearly wakes, or ale drinkings, around parish churches on the feast of the saint to whom the building was dedicated. In May, 1643, the detested book was burned by the common hangman, by order of Parliament.

Another device of the Government for arbitrarily extorting money from the mercantile community aroused much excitement about this time. One of the crying evils of James's reign was the constant seizure of merchant vessels by corsairs sailing out of Algiers, Sallee and Tunis, who not only plundered the ships, but carried off the crews to languish in slavery for life, unless large sums were offered for their ransom, the English Government meanwhile treating these iniquities with perfect unconcern. In 1617 the Privy Council, in a letter to the Mayor of Bristol, after stating that within a few years 300 sail of ships, with many hundreds of English sailors, had been captured by the Turks, and that the merchants of London had offered to raise £40,000 to assist the King in suppressing the evil,

requested that the hearty support of Bristol should be given to the movement. For some unknown reason, this demand was not followed up for nearly two years. But in January, 1619, the Privy Council again addressed the Mayor, requiring that the local merchants should be assembled and asked to subscribe liberally towards an intended expedition, the writers adding that the contribution must not be less than £2,500, and that half the amount must be forthcoming within two months. (Exeter, Plymouth and Dartmouth were assessed at £1,000 each, and Hull at £600.) The mandate excited general dissatisfaction. The ravages of the pirates were, indeed, incontestable; the brigands often swarmed at the mouth of the Bristol Channel, and the city was frequently appealed to for subscriptions to redeem captives. But the task of suppressing the robbers was a national one; and if the Royal Navy was incapable of dealing with it the blame rested with a Government which, with double the income enjoyed by Elizabeth, profligately squandered its resources, and had spurned the advice of Parliament for nearly eight years. Who could feel certain, moreover, that the money thus arbitrarily demanded would not be diverted to some unworthy purpose? These objections, of course, could not be publicly expressed, but when the mandate of the Privy Council was laid before a meeting of the merchants, they declared that the sum required was wholly beyond their capacity; they had sustained great misfortunes by the loss of five valuable ships, and the utmost they could contribute was £600. In replying to the Government, the Mayor, foreseeing the wrath that would be excited by the response, stated that he had addressed earnest persuasions to the leading citizens, and had raised £400 more, which was all that could be obtained. The Privy Council promptly expressed surprise at the backwardness of Bristol when other and inferior towns were, it was alleged, displaying zeal. Their lordships added that no part of the assessment could be remitted, and the Mayor was directed to deal with the merchants "effectually." Another order followed, peremptorily requiring a remittance of half the impost, or the appearance at Court of the Mayor and two aldermen to answer for their negligence. The Mayor, Alderman Whitson and Alderman Barker thereupon departed for London, with £1,000 in hand, while other delegates went up on behalf of the Merchants' Society. The deputations specially prayed that the loans made by the city to the

King, still outstanding, together with the large sums expended in equipping ships to suppress piracy in the Bristol Channel, should be taken into account; and relief was also sought in consideration of the losses borne by the merchants in providing wine for the King at Woodstock and the Queen at Bath. These pleas were scornfully rejected, and, strangely enough, the Privy Council even refused to accept the £1,000 tendered on account, and dismissed the suppliants to their homes with threats as to future proceedings. The intended expedition was afterwards postponed for a year. In February, 1620, the Government renewed its demands, informing the Mayor that no abatement or further delay could be tolerated. The merchants then held another meeting, and repeated their previous allegations of poverty and inability, and the Mayor stamped these statements as truthful, asserting that the citizens had lost £8,000 in a single year by shipwrecks and pirates. But the excuses were of no avail, and the Government eventually extracted the full amount it had imposed. About £1,000 was raised on loans, which were gradually cleared off by levying local dues on shipping and merchandise. The expedition, which did not sail until October, 1620, ended, like most of James's enterprises, in disgraceful failure, through lack of gunpowder and provisions.

The city waits, four in number, have been already mentioned. In January, 1619, the Council thought that the band needed strengthening, and resolved to give 26s. 8d. a year "to a fifth man, to play with the other musitions of the city on the saggebutt, to make up a fifth part."

Early in the year, the Earl of Arundel, the premier peer of the realm and an influential member of the Privy Council, paid a visit to Bristol, and met with what he regarded as a cold reception from the authorities. The latter, getting a hint of his discontent, and knowing his influence at Court, gave orders to a comfit maker for a quantity of sweetmeats; but his lordship, unappeased by the tardy compliment, rejected the present, and departed in dudgeon. Making the best of the rebuff, the Corporation bargained with the confectioner to take his cates back again on payment of 10s. The Earl's displeasure was but temporary, for in 1621 the Council bestowed £11 on his secretary "for painstaking towards the city business."

The Corporation displayed abnormal zeal about this period in providing the trained bands with arms, ammuni-

tion, and armour. The previous provision was for twenty men, but new corslets, head-pieces, muskets, pikes and swords were laid in for thirty additional soldiers. The corslets cost 22s. 6d. each, and the muskets from 12s. to 15s. A new ensign was bought for £8 5s., a drum for £2 12s., and half a ton of gunpowder (stored in the old Council House at the Guildhall!) at 9½d. per pound.

In July, 1619, James I. made a grant under sign manual to the Mayor and Corporation of Bath, permitting them to make the Avon navigable from Bristol to their city for the carriage of merchandise, and to receive the profits therefrom. Though nothing was done, or apparently attempted, to carry out the project, it was long a cherished idea of the Bathonians. (See 1656.)

An odd proposal was made by the Privy Council in December. Writing to the Mayor and Aldermen, their lordships stated that the King, before granting a Corporation to Waterford, was desirous of seeing some additional Englishmen in the place, and directed inquiries to be made as to the willingness of any Bristolians to settle there and form part of the new corporation. Such persons should be worth £1,000 each, or £500 at the least, and should be of good temper, not turbulent or violent, so that they might take their turns in the magistracy. The reply of the justices has not been preserved, and there is no record of any migration.

Alderman Matthew Haviland, one of the wealthiest of local merchants, died in March, 1620. By a remarkable instruction given in his will, he desired that his body, instead of being interred in his parish church, like those of other city magnates, should be buried in St. Werburgh's churchyard, "without a coffin, if I may." Another custom of the time was to give black cloaks to as many poor persons as represented the age of the deceased; but Mr. Haviland ordered that gowns of russet cloth should be bestowed on only twelve "honest men," with 12d. each for their funeral dinners. If, however, the cloth could not be had, thirty such men were to be clothed in frieze gowns. The popular Puritan vicar, Mr. Yeamans, was bequeathed a legacy for preaching a funeral sermon on a text named in the will, and £4 yearly were left for preaching twelve sermons to the prisoners in Newgate.

The creation by the King of new monopolies was of constant occurrence. A monopoly of making tobacco pipes having been sold to a company in London, a royal pro-

clamation was issued in May, 1620, forbidding any one from violating the terms of the patent by manufacturing pipes or buying from unlawful makers, and threatening offenders with fine and imprisonment. A few months later, a similar proclamation was issued in connection with a monopoly just granted to Londoners for the exclusive making of starch. Both these industries were then largely prosecuted in Bristol, and the grievance caused by the royal policy must have been keenly felt. The monopolies continued until they were dealt with by the Long Parliament. By that time smoking had become so prevalent that the House of Commons, in July, 1644, passed an Ordinance, imposing an excise duty on "tobacco pipes of all sorts, to be paid by the first buyer, for every grosse four pence."

The first local bookseller of whom there is authentic record is mentioned in the Council minutes for June, 1620. One Eliazer Edgar petitioned for the freedom, "only for the using of the trade of binding and selling of books," and he was admitted on payment of £4.

With a view to employing the prisoners confined in Bridewell, the Corporation, in September, set up a "Brassil" [logwood?] mill in the building at a cost of about £45. How the machine was put in action does not appear.

In October the Corporation granted a new lease for thirty-one years to the Master and Company of Innholders of a tenement, containing two chambers, called the Innholders' Hall, situate in Broad Street, "near the Tennis Court there"—an interesting reference to a place of amusement at that spot, of which this is the earliest record, though a tennis-court had existed near Bell Lane previous to 1558. In December, 1662, the Corporation, on payment of a fine of £80, granted a new lease of the tennis-court and an adjoining house for a term of forty-one years at a rent of £4 6s. 8d. yearly.

The vegetable market had up to this period been held chiefly in High Street; but a corporate ordinance was issued in October forbidding the sale of carrots, cabbages, and turnips in that thoroughfare, and requiring dealers to resort to Wine Street only. As the pillory in the latter street was frequently in requisition, handy missiles were thus provided for the rabble, which rarely failed to pelt offenders with merciless severity.

The early efforts of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to promote the colonization of America were noticed at page 27. After some years' inaction, Gorges petitioned for and was con-

ceded, in November, 1620, a new royal patent incorporating what was commonly styled "the Council for New England," to which James I. made the extraordinary grant of the whole of North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, lying between the 40th and 48th degrees of latitude. A practically free trade with England was conceded to the colonists, with exclusive rights of fishing on the east coast. The earliest extant document relating to the incorporation is a letter of the Privy Council to the Mayors of Bristol and other Western towns, dated September 18th, 1621, stating that although the Company had offered every facility to merchants to partake in their privileges by becoming members, yet unauthorized persons had intruded in the trade to New England and fished on the coast, and requesting the Mayors to give warning that future offenders would be severely punished. The Mayor of Bristol forwarded the missive to the Merchants' Society, accompanying it with an elaborate document that he had received from Sir F. Gorges (then staying with Sir Hugh Smyth at Long Ashton). From the latter paper it appears that the Company wished to farm out its privileges to a separate joint-stock concern, having subsidiary branches at Bristol, Exeter, etc., the whole to be under the supervision of the New England Council, who demanded a share of the profits. The scheme was regarded by the Bristol merchants, who invariably shunned joint-stock companies, as unpractical and unworkable, and, in spite of an expostulatory letter from Gorges, followed up by a personal conference with him, he was informed through the Mayor on October 13th that the Merchants' Company found the details of his plan so "difficult" that, in the absence from home of several members, they could arrive at no conclusion until they received further explanations; but that they hoped in the meantime they would be permitted to fish, on undertaking to pay a proportion of the profits. About the same date some leading members of the Merchants' Society wrote to the members for the city, then in London, stating that they "in no wise liked" Gorges' propositions, yet, in consequence of the failure of the Newfoundland fishery, some Bristolians were anxious to make a trial of the new grounds, and Gorges had offered to grant a ship the perpetual privilege of fishing for a payment of £10 for each 30 tons burthen, or £50 for a ship of 150 tons. Some being willing to adventure on these terms, the writers desired that the New England charter might be perused to dis-

cover whether the Council had really power to restrain fishing on the coast. The answer to this letter has not been preserved. In December, 1622, Sir. F. Gorges and his colleagues addressed a letter to the Mayor, stating that, although the Privy Council had just rigorously forbidden any invasion of the Company's privileges, they were still willing to grant licenses to trade and to fish on reasonable conditions, and desired the fact might be made known. Another proposition was also forwarded by the Company, by which every person who adventured £12 10s. in their settlement was offered a free gift of 200 acres of land in fee; while, to defray the cost of transporting the adventurer's family, he was promised 100 acres for each soul carried out, at a chief rent of only 5s. To promote the success of the colony, the King, in December, 1623, sent a letter to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of Somerset and Bristol, and the justices and deputy-lieutenants, urging them to move persons of quality and means to advance a plantation so especially advantageous to the trade of the Western counties. A copy of this missive was sent by Lord Pembroke to the Mayor, urging compliance with the royal request; but the mercantile community seem to have made no response. After the death of Sir Hugh Smyth, in 1627, Sir Ferdinando Gorges married his widow, and in right of her jointure became temporary owner of the Great House on St. Augustine's Back. In a letter written in that mansion on April 6th, 1632, the gallant knight refers to a sport that is known to have been popular amongst the gentry of the time, though never mentioned by local annalists. He was prevented, he told a friend in London, from travelling to town, having "taken a fall" from his horse at a race meeting, and was unable to move. Almost the last mention of Gorges in the State Papers occurs in a charter granted to him on March 29th, 1639, when he was upwards of seventy years of age, by which Charles I. conceded to him and his heirs the entire province of Maine, New England, with the islands thereto appertaining, with a reservation to the Crown of a fifth part of the gold and silver-mines and of the pearl fishery, together with a yearly rent of one quarter of wheat.

The "Articles and Decrees" of the Company of St. Stephen's Ringers appear to have been drawn up in the closing months of 1620; but it is clear from the tenor of some of the rules that the Society was even then an ancient institution. Like the Fraternity of St. Mary of the Bell-

house, who had a chapel and chantry priest in St. Peter's Church, the Ringers had been probably a pre-Reformation guild for religious, benevolent, and social purposes. In 1620 the members were still exclusively bell-ringers, and the 22nd article of their "Ordinary" indicates the feeling that survived amongst them. "If any one of the said Company shall be so rude as to run into the belfry before he do kneel down and pray, . . . he shall pay, for the first offence, sixpence, and for the second he shall be cast out of the Company." Each "freeman," or member, on being admitted gave a breakfast to the brethren, or paid down 3s. 4d., and afterwards contributed a penny per quarter to the Society's funds. On Michaelmas Day, between five and eight o'clock in the morning, the Fraternity were required to meet for the election of a master and two wardens for the ensuing year. Three members were to be put in nomination for the former, and four for the latter office, and the man selected as master was to contribute two shillings towards a breakfast for those assembled, whilst the new wardens were to give the master a pint of wine apiece. But the great yearly gathering of the Company was fixed, as it continues to be, for November 17th, the anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, who is traditionally said to have been charmed by the sweet peals of the St. Stephen's Ringers on her visit to the city, and to whom they have always rendered exceptional honour. The early minute-books of the Society have been lost. The earliest known master was Thomas Atkins, elected in 1681.

The Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Searchfield, made an appeal to the citizens in December on behalf of the parochial clergy, pointing to their inadequate stipends, and suggesting that an application should be made to Parliament for an increase in their incomes. His action gave offence to the Common Council, which passed a resolution declaring that similar attempts had been made on sundry previous occasions, and that, as the livings had of late increased in value, there was less cause than ever for the course proposed, which would be vigorously opposed by the Corporation. The incumbents thereupon appealed for relief to the Privy Council, stating that the directions formerly given by their lordships for an increase of their incomes had not been acted upon, and praying that they might be repeated. The petitioners were, they alleged, in great poverty, no single benefice yielding more than £8 or £10 yearly, although all

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in superstitious times gave a sufficient maintenance to a learned man. The Privy Council, in March, 1621, sent this petition to the Bishop and the Mayor, requesting them, until further orders, to persuade the burgesses and men of ability to contribute towards the maintenance of the ministers, "especially of those who are preachers"—a proof that some were still remiss in their duties. The names and abilities of persons refusing to subscribe were to be sent up to the Council. Notwithstanding the implied threat, no evidence is to be found that the order was obeyed.

A general election took place in December, when Alderman Whitson and Alderman John Guy were returned for the city. The Houses met early in 1621, and the Commons lost no time in denouncing the trading monopolies granted by the King, several of the more oppressive monopolists being impeached. Some local bearings of the subject are not without interest.

About three years before this date the King granted a patent to two Welshmen, giving them an exclusive right, for twenty-one years, to export from South Wales 6,000 kilderkins of butter on payment of one shilling per kilderkin to the Crown. The patent was forthwith sold to a London merchant named Henley, who put a stop to the large and profitable business previously carried on in the same district by certain Bristolians. The latter then found it necessary to negotiate with Henley, and, for a ready-money payment of £400, and an undertaking to pay the Crown rent, with 2s. per kilderkin more to the patentee, they obtained a concession of two-thirds of the monopoly. The landed interest in Wales, deprived of an open market for their produce, and seeing great profits made by the engrossers, naturally felt aggrieved, and instructed their representatives to complain to the House of Commons; whilst the Bristol merchants, in great alarm, sent pressing requests to the city members to support their cause. The price of butter, it was alleged, had not been unduly enhanced in England, for through the care taken in supplying the Bristol market—a statement throwing a flood of light on the curious butter transactions of the Corporation (see p. 65)—the price had not exceeded 4*d.* per lb. even in times of scarcity. Fortunately for the monopolists, the House of Commons was not allowed time to remedy the Welsh grievance, and the patent remained in force.

Strangely indifferent to the current of national opinion,

the Merchants' Society thought the moment a favourable one for appealing to Parliament for an extension of their privileges. They had always claimed an exclusive right to trade as merchants in the port of Bristol, but the Act which they obtained in 1566 to enforce that claim was repealed five years later on the petition of the Corporation, and they had been unable to prevent the influx of competitors. A new effort to establish a monopoly being now resolved upon, a Bill was prepared to revive the Act of 1566, and the Common Council, in which the mercantile interest had become predominant, published what was styled a "certificate," for circulation in the House of Commons, alleging the urgency of the measure. Beginning with a flagrantly untruthful assertion that the former Act had been repealed through the manœuvring of petty "shopkeepers," the certificate went on to affirm that the liberty of trading thus secured had tempted inexperienced retailers, and even mean craftsmen, to forsake their callings and traffic as merchants, with the result of impoverishing both themselves and the Society, to the great prejudice of the city, the decay of navigation, and the diminution of the King's Customs. Owing to the pressure of public business, the city members did not introduce the Bill, but it will shortly be heard of again.

The Corporation, in January, 1621, resolved on an ordinance "for the setting of the Common Watch," of which we hear for the first time. By this document, "all the inhabitants," probably meaning all the male householders, were required in turn either to serve as watchmen or to pay a weekly sum for a substitute. The regulation as to numbers is somewhat unintelligible, but seems to show that personal service was not anticipated. The sergeants were to warn "32 persons for the watch every night, 5 for From Gate, 5 for Newgate, 5 for Redcliff Gate, 5 for Temple Gate, and 4 for Pithay Gate,"—a total of only twenty-four,—"and shall retain six of the pays for their pains and candlelight, and two pays for the bellman." The sheriffs were to see the watch sworn in nightly for one month, and then two councillors, "as they are in antiquity," were to perform the same duty for each following month throughout the year. In July, 1628, the Council ordered that the above "Act" should be revived—a plain admission that the new institution had been objected to by the householders, and had been suffered to become extinct. By the revived ordinance burgesses were

required to watch in person, a decree which wealthy men were not likely to obey.

Another ordinance of January, 1621, relates to certain "good gifts heretofore given to the city which cannot now be restored to the uses intended by the donors,"—clearly referring to pre-Reformation bequests left to the Corporation for superstitious services. It was decreed that £60 per annum arising from such gifts should be bestowed on placing (apprenticing) poor burgesses' children, and that £10 more should be spent in the purchase of coals for the poor. Subsequently a third of the former amount was diverted to the maintenance of poor children sent to work in the House of Correction. These payments came to an end during the financial embarrassments caused by the Civil War, when the capital of the above benefactions disappeared.

Early in the year, the Privy Council addressed a letter to the Mayor requesting the contributions of the citizens in the King's name for the recovery of the Palatinate, "his children's patrimony." The Prince Palatine's misfortunes had excited intense sympathy amongst Englishmen, and the citizens appear to have responded liberally. In the Council every member save one (Henry Gibbes) added his name to the subscription list, the donations varying from 20s. to £5. Shortly afterwards, however, the Palatinate was hopelessly lost, mainly through the besotted policy of James I., and the Bristol fund remained in hand. In 1623 the Council ordered that the amount should be paid over to the Chamberlain, and that £150 should be disbursed for ransoming upwards of forty Bristolians held in slavery at Algiers. The Privy Council seems to have forgotten the matter until eight years later, when an informer brought the facts under its notice, and a demand for an explanation was instantly forwarded. Strange to say the subject was again allowed to go to sleep, and nothing more is heard of it until 1637, when the Attorney-General filed an information against the Chamberlain, to which the latter pleaded that all the money, with the approval of the subscribers, had been expended in the ransom of slaves. As the Government had obviously no right to the contributions, the prosecution was quietly dropped.

Another instance of aristocratic interference in civic affairs took place in March, 1621. The aged and much respected town clerk, Hierom Ham, having intimated his intention to resign office, one James Dyer, a young law

student in London, procured a "letter of recommendation" from the Earl of Arundel to the Common Council, and the ancient law requiring the clerk to be a barrister—a very necessary qualification, seeing that the officer presided at quarter sessions, and was legal adviser to the magistrates and Corporation—having been dispensed with "for this time only," the Earl's nominee was at once elected.

Thomas Cecill, one of the sheriffs appointed in 1618, was accused in August, 1621, of a discreditable offence. During his shrievalty he had the nomination of one of the sheriff's sergeants, and appointed a man who had promised him a bribe of £3, secured on a bond for double the amount. By an ancient ordinance the penalty for such a misdemeanour was £200, but on Cecill making an apology, the Council merely ordered him to deliver up the bond and pay a fine of £3.

A curious imbroglio in reference to the Rectory of Portishead occurred at this time. The manor having been purchased by the Corporation, they claimed the patronage of the living, and Mr. Tucker, the lecturer already mentioned, was preferred on the incumbency becoming vacant. The right to do this was, however, disputed, the King nominating one candidate, whilst a Mr. Bond, the heirs of Lord Latimer, and Lord Berkeley severally claimed the right of patronage. Eventually Bond obtained £350 from the Corporation for withdrawing his pretensions, and the other claims having been abandoned, the Council sold the next presentation to Tucker for £160. Upwards of eleven years later Bond raised a fresh claim, alleging that he had paid a large sum to get rid of the King's nominee, and the disgusted Corporation had to give him two hogsheads of claret and a butt of sack to silence his demands.

The ducking of female scolds, an ancient English institution, emerges from obscurity in the summer of 1621, when, by order of the magistrates, a new cucking-stool was erected on the north bank of the From, near the Weir. A trial of the apparatus took place a few weeks later, when a vixenish woman from Redcliff was set in the stool, whirled over the river, and ducked three times by the city beadles, who received two shillings for their "pains." The shrew, nevertheless, offended again, and underwent ducking a second time, but the beadles' fee was reduced to 1s. 6d.; and in 1624 they were allowed only 8d., though they had to deal with two women "washed" together. Another function

of these officers is noted by the Chamberlain about the same time: "Paid the beadles for cutting off pigs' tails that went about the streets, 7*d*." A prodigious number of pigs appears to have been kept in the city throughout the century.

The Mayor, in September, 1621, received a letter from the Privy Council, requesting that an experienced man of business should be sent up to London to offer them suggestions as to the obvious decay of the national trade and the scarcity of coin. Alderman Guy accordingly presented himself at Court, and alleged on behalf of his brother merchants that the decline in trade was owing to the taxes levied on merchandise, the restraints on commerce imposed at the outports, especially on the export of corn, the frauds of cloth manufacturers, the depredations of pirates, the decay of the Newfoundland fishery, foreign wars, etc. With reference to the scarcity of money, Mr. Guy adduced as its primary cause "the extraordinary importation and use of tobacco," a surprising complaint in the mouth of a Bristolian. (Tobacco, however, was still a costly article. Although the Customs duty was insignificant, the Corporation in 1624 paid 3*s*. for a quarter of a pound presented to one Sir Richard Hill.) Contributory causes, added Mr. Guy, were the export of coin to the East Indies, the prohibition of grain exports, and the excessive use of gold, silver, silk and velvet in the dress of the upper classes. Some of the alderman's statements must have been far from palatable to the Government, which was at its wits' end for money, and he was politely dismissed. Every source of revenue that could be "farmed" was disposed of about this time. Even the penalties on profane cursing and swearing were let to a farmer. An attempt made to induce Bristolians to farm the Customs of the port was, however, declined with thanks, the Crown demanding a sum in excess of previous receipts. According to an official return in the Record Office, the average annual amount received at the local Custom House during the seven years ending 1620 was only £3,706.

The head mastership of the Grammar School becoming vacant in 1622 a corporate deputation was dispatched to Oxford in search of a fitting successor. The expenses of two gentlemen and a servant, with three horses, "being out five days," amounted to £4 5*s*. 5*d*. The result was the appointment of Richard Cheynie, at the usual salary of £26 13*s*. 4*d*. As the sons of freemen had a free education,

the scholars were doubtless numerous, and the Council, to augment the stipend, permitted the master to take twenty "foreign" boys, half of whom he was allowed "to table" (as boarders). In 1629 the Council increased the fixed salary to £40, and dismissed the usher, whose negligence or incapacity was said to have caused many lads to be sent to schools outside the city. The man was, however, given £50 owing to his poverty. A new usher was then appointed, and the previous salary of £13 6s. 8d. was increased to £30.

During the year 1622 a curious tract was printed in London by one Nathaniel Butter, bearing the following lengthy title:—"A Relation strange and true of a ship of Bristol named the Jacob, of 120 tons, which was about the end of October last, 1621, taken by the Turkish pirates of Argier, And how within five days after, four English youths did valiantly overcome thirteen of the said Turks, and brought the ship to St. Lucar, in Spain, where they sold nine of the Turks for Galley Slaves." The narrator states that after the capture of the Jacob the four Bristol youths were left on board, together with thirteen Turks charged to carry the vessel to Algiers. During a heavy storm, the Bristolians set upon and killed the captain and three Turks, another leaping overboard to escape them. The rest of the corsairs, many of whom had been wounded in attacking the Jacob, were below deck when the lads revolted, and were kept prisoners there until the ship reached Spain, with the result recorded in the title-page. A copy of this very rare tract is in the collection of Mr. G. E. Weare.

A somewhat curious letter from the Privy Council was received in July by the Mayor and Aldermen. Their lordships stated they had been informed by John Scott, of Bristol, that he had for forty years refined silver out of lead, and made such lead into sheets and pipes, but was now molested and troubled by indictments raised against him for such work. Scott being now in the King's mines royal, the Council thought him more worthy of encouragement than interruption, and requested the justices to protect him for the future.

Amongst the civic officials of the age were two men charged with the duty of "tasting" the ale brewed for public consumption and of informing against knavish brewers. Their united salaries, 53s. 4d., were in September, 1622, reduced to 40s. On the other hand, the two coroners, who had previously received a very meagre stipend, were

gratified with 40s. each yearly, "to encourage them to discharge their office." (See 1651.)

Notwithstanding the settlement of the purveyance dispute by the Lord Chief Baron in 1609 (see p. 36), the Government in November, 1622, revived its former claim, and sent down orders to the Customs officers to levy the same composition for groceries in Bristol as was paid in London. Local merchants, of course, made a strong protest against this arbitrary abrogation of a solemn legal decision, but when Alderman Guy, as their deputy, appealed to the Lord Treasurer, that minister coolly declared that the Chief Baron's judgment was of no effect, as he had been unduly influenced by his Bristolian colleague, Mr. Baron Snigge. Ultimately, however, the Treasurer consented to accept such dues as were paid in 1601. But on examination it was found that no dues for purveyance had been paid until 1603, when the Customs officers levied certain sums, for which illegality they were arraigned and convicted in the Mayor's Court. Mr. Guy was thereupon instructed by the merchants to stand out stoutly, but if he thought the matter could be ended by a "thankful acknowledgement" to the Lord Treasurer and one of his colleagues in the shape of a present not exceeding £100 (in addition to a like sum already given) the money would be forthcoming. The merchants had a just appreciation of the persons they had to deal with. In February, 1623, the Customs staff received orders to forbear levying the dues in ready money, and to accept bonds for the same, payable on demand—an expedient which enabled the Government to withdraw their claims without loss of dignity.

Thomas Cecill, the discredited ex-sheriff already referred to, made another indecorous appearance before the Council in January, 1623. The minute is as follows:—"Ordered that Mr. Thomas Cecill, for his opprobrious and undecent speeches used against Mr. Mayor in saying that he cared not a ——— for him, nor yet for Doughtie, meaning Mr. Alderman Doughtie, as also for his loose carriage and behaviour, having often been seen drunk within this city, shall be expelled and dismissed." The unabashed offender soon after applied to the Court of King's Bench for a *mandamus* requiring his restoration, but before the Council showed cause against the writ, Mr. Alderman Guy, desirous of avoiding litigation, informed his colleagues that Cecill had sought his intercession, and undertaken to submit on such terms as he (the Alderman) could obtain. It was

therefore ordered, with Guy's approval, that the culprit should ask pardon, acknowledge the justice of his sentence, and pay a fine of £100 for re-admission. Cecill was then brought in, but although he confessed his promise to Mr. Guy, he refused to submit to the terms. Nothing is heard of him again until January, 1624, when he attended a meeting of the Council, professing abundant sorrow for his misdeeds, apologising to everybody, and begging for kindly consideration. The fine being thereupon reduced to £50, he "thankfully accepted" the judgment, paid the money, and resumed his seat.

The inexpediency of holding an extensive corn market in the open streets dawned upon the Council in February, 1623, but the adopted remedy substituted a perpetual for an occasional inconvenience. Although Wine Street was then only about half its present width, the Corporation resolved on building a market-house eighty feet in length and twelve in breadth in the centre of the thoroughfare, leaving only a narrow alley on each side. A well was sunk, and the long-celebrated Wine Street Pump erected, at the same time. The ground thus occupied having previously been let for booths during the fairs, the sheriffs were granted a yearly sum of 2s. 6d. for every foot appropriated. The ugly building soon afterwards constructed was a nuisance from the outset, and was demolished in 1727. The tolls during its existence appear to have been collected in kind. The Council, in December, 1628, gave orders that the ancient toll on grain brought to market, "a pint upon every sack," and the toll on meal, taken time out of mind, (quantity not stated), should be collected from all comers, and that those refusing to pay should be distrained or prosecuted. The whole of the corn from the surrounding districts must have been brought in by pack-horses, the entry of carts being forbidden.

The price of beer was long fixed by the magistrates. In 1623 the standard wholesale price was 8s. per barrel, or slightly more than 2½d. per gallon. One Barnes, a brewer, was committed for trial in March, charged on his own confession with having demanded £10 for twenty barrels shipped for Wales. In October the justices fixed the number of "tipplers," licensed to sell victuals also, at 126, St. Stephen's parish being allotted twenty, and the other populous parishes twelve each. "Tipplers," it will be seen, were not drinkers, but publicans; on the other hand, smokers were then styled "tobacconists."

In an age when medical charities were unknown a slight but kindly provision for the sick poor was made by the Council in August. It was resolved that "Mr. Doctor Chappell" should be paid £1 quarterly so long as he should continue to reside in the city and give advice in his profession to such poor people as should repair to him.

In March, 1623, Dr. Robert Wright was consecrated Bishop of Bristol in the place of Dr. Searchfield, deceased, and appears to have at once endeavoured to close the breach between the Corporation and the cathedral authorities, so rudely opened by Bishop Thornborough. In November the Council appointed a committee to confer with him in reference to a proposal he had made to the Mayor for the re-erection of the corporate seats in the cathedral for the hearing of sermons. At the same time, a "good" butt of sack and two hogsheads of claret were ordered to be sent to his lordship "as a token of the city's love," and a few weeks later he was presented with the freedom. The new seats, of which a lease in perpetuity was granted by the Dean and Chapter, were erected in 1624, at a cost of £45, exclusive of 15s. paid for a gilt "branch" for the State sword, which was fated to be the origin of another bitter quarrel. The seats occupied a large space on both sides of the choir, the members of the Council occupying one side and their wives the other. Ten pounds were afterwards presented to "Mr. Doctor Hussie," Chancellor of the diocese, who had probably supervised the work.

Owing to the complaints of the inhabitants as to the increased price of Kingswood coal, the Council, in July, appointed a committee to confer with a Mr. Player, who "farmed" all the collieries in the Chase, with the view of obtaining an abatement. The negotiation appears to have been fruitless, for the Corporation soon afterwards addressed a petition to the Privy Council, setting forth that the poor had been accustomed to buy coal at the rate of 3½d. per bushel, delivered in horse loads, but that Arthur Player, after engrossing all the pits, with greedy designs, had diminished the size of the coal sacks by one half, charging the old price for half the quantity. Relief was prayed for this grievance, but there is no record of the result.

A new plan for providing employment for the poor was started by the Council in November. A purchase was made of a garden adjoining the House of Correction (Bridewell), and that building was enlarged to provide a workhouse for the unemployed. A master was next appointed, and

furnished with £200 to lay in a "stock," apparently of flax and hemp, and such persons were sent in to make nets and pick "occombe" as the magistrates thought fit. Some boys were also employed in making pins, the Corporation advancing £100 to one Tilsley to set up the industry. As usual, the latter experiment failed, and Tilsley became insolvent. The condition of the working classes became much worse in 1624, and an ordinance was passed in September declaring that the great increase of poverty was due to the creeping in of strangers and the growth of mendicancy; though it was in fact mainly attributable to a bad harvest and the general crippling of trade caused by the system of monopolies. Funds were ordered to be raised in each parish for providing work, vagabonds and "inmates" were to be rigorously expelled, begging was nowhere to be suffered, and all offenders were to be incarcerated in the House of Correction. Large quantities of wheat and rye were purchased for relieving the distress, and the Council, as usual, provided a bountiful supply of butter.

At the general election, in January, 1624, the members returned for Bristol were two prominent citizens, Alderman Guy and Mr. John Barker. The latter, educated at Oxford, and an able and energetic politician, laid before the Commons the grievances suffered by his fellow-merchants from the local Customs officials, who had enormously increased the legal scale of fees. He also exposed the arbitrary demands made on the city in reference to the prisage of wines. In both cases the Commons resolved that the grievances had been established, and their action was so menacing that the Customs staff hurried to make an agreement with the Bristol merchants, by which the fees were reduced to the small sums paid forty years previously. (See 1633, when this concession was repudiated.) As the House refused to grant the money demanded by the Government until grievances were redressed, the session came to a premature end. A characteristic display of kingly arrogance followed in October. His Majesty declared in a writ of Privy Seal that he had, in 1621, ordered the wine duties to be doubled, but had soon afterwards withdrawn that mandate, and issued another, requiring that a duty of 20s. a tun in London, and 13s. 4d. at the outports, in excess of the legal Customs, should be levied on wines for the maintenance of his daughter, the Princess Palatine. This tax, he added, had been suspended in April in the expectation that other means would be provided for the same purpose, but as Parliament

had not voted him a convenient supply he ordered the revival of the above duties from Michaelmas Day; any person refusing payment to forfeit his wines, and to undergo such "corporal punishment" as his contempt deserved.

The growing influence of Bishop Laud appears to be indicated by the renewed attempts of the Privy Council to secure a rigorous observance of Lent. The city treasurer, in 1624, paid £5 18s. to the Butchers' Company, "by order of the Mayor and Aldermen, towards the relief of the poor of that Company in time of Lent, to keep them from selling flesh."

Some idea of the character of the country roads around the city may be gained from a resolution of the Court of Aldermen in June. It was ordered that these "causeways" should in future be made six feet in breadth, "and no more"; and Dr. White's gift (see p. 47) was to be devoted to pitching them. Nearly £60 was spent in 1626 in setting up posts along the highway and the causeway at Kingswood, for the guidance of travellers, the tracks being then unenclosed. Some remains of the pack-horse roads are still to be found. The best preserved is the old causeway from Brislington to the city, *via* Knowle. "Hollybush Lane," on the north-western side of Durdham Down, was the only road to Shirehampton until the construction of turnpikes.

The corporate purchases of land at Portishead had by this time become so considerable that it was determined in September to revive the Manor Court there. The function was celebrated with fitting pomp. The Mayor, aldermen, and councillors, with their wives and divers invited persons, were rowed down in boats, and the procession following the disembarkation, headed by the sword-bearer and his mighty weapon, the waits, and the civic officials, must have somewhat astonished the secluded villagers. A feast, of course, wound up the manorial proceedings, and the expenses altogether amounted to £27 8s. 1d.

Another novelty also came into favour—the purchase of the portraits of city benefactors. Pictures of Robert and Nicholas Thorne were borrowed from a family in Wiltshire, and copies were made for the Council House by some artist, who received £2 4s. for his pains. A few weeks later a payment of the same amount was made to "a Dutch painter" for two more copies, which were hung up in the Grammar School. In 1625 "John the painter" received an order to draw Dr. White's portrait, for which he received 30s. A blunder seems to have been made in the

next commission, for the Chamberlain enters in his accounts:—"Paid for Sir Thomas White's picture that was sent from Coventry hither, instead of Mr. Thomas White's picture that I sent for, he being a worthy benefactor to this city, £2 16s." In 1630 the Council gave a large order, which the Chamberlain deals with as follows:—"Paid the painter for making the pictures of benefactors to hang up in the Council House, £15." The accounts of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital for the same year contain the following item:—"Paid for making of Mr. John Carr's picture, at the Gaunts, £2."

Some curious letters concerning John Digby, first Earl of Bristol, are amongst the State Papers of 1624. Digby, one of the King's favourites, was sent to Madrid to further the notorious Spanish marriage project, and was created an earl in 1622, to increase his influence in the negotiations. But he subsequently quarrelled with the Duke of Buckingham, then supreme at Court, and, of course, fell into disgrace. On September 23rd, 1624, he wrote to Secretary Conway, stating that he intended to settle his family at Bristol, and wished to go there to buy a house, but thought it advisable to ask whether the King would be displeased with the journey. In October the Secretary, writing to a friend on various matters, incidentally remarked that the Earl had been refused leave to live in Bristol. Yet a month later Conway informed Bristol himself that His Majesty was well pleased he should settle with his family as he proposed. There is no record that his lordship ever visited the city, or had any family connection with it. Possibly the death of the King caused him to change his purpose.

The heaviness of the burden known as prisage, exclusively borne by wine importers in Bristol—those of other ports being exempt—is exemplified by an agreement made in November by the local merchants with the "prisage masters"—that is, the persons to whom the impost had been sublet by the Waller family, the patentees under the Crown. (The lessees were a few wealthy Bristolians who had combined for self-protection.) It was arranged that, to avoid the privilege of tasting and selecting previously exercised before one-tenth of a cargo was carried off, the merchants should pay £25 for each prisage tun of claret, £14 for each tun of Canary, Madeira, Malaga, or sack, and as much for "Coniack or sherant" as the best brought in the market.

In the minutes of the Privy Council for January 4th,

1625, is a copy of a letter addressed to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, of a somewhat interesting character. Their lordships write:—"Hearing that you propose to make a new dock for the use of ships, of which we much approve, so that it be further extended for his Majesty's service, which will not cause much increased charge, We recommend that it be made 100 feet within the Apron, and 34 feet broad at high water, by which it will serve as well for the King's as for private ships. By which, and building larger ships, you will do yourselves honour." Strangely enough, the corporate records contain no reference of any kind to the alleged undertaking, and it would seem that the letter refers to an enterprise of Alderman Robert Aldworth, who had, in fact, already made in the Marsh what was called a dock—namely, a berth in which a couple of ships could lie at low water without danger of being upset—and was proposing to construct another. A civic minute of July 20th, 1626, reads:—"Whereas Alderman Aldworth hath a grant . . . for a term of four score years . . . of a dwelling house, storehouse, and new dock lately erected by him in the Marsh . . . Agreed that in consideration of his making a sufficient dry dock (albeit it may cost him £500) in the place where the great dock now is, and of his freely giving the same . . . to the Merchants' Company, there shall be a grant in feoffment made to him for ever, of the said dwelling house, storehouse, and small (*sic*) dock already made, at a rent of 12*d*." Mr. Aldworth did not accept this proposal, but carried out his previous intention of excavating another inlet for the berthing of a ship. A local annalist, noting his death in 1634, records that "he made two docks for shipping, which came to nothing." In September, 1637, the Corporation granted his heir, Giles Elbridge, a lease for ninety-nine years of the dwelling, storehouse, new buildings, "and the little new dock lately made by Alderman Aldworth, lying in a corner of the Marsh adjoining the From," at a rent of £3, some arrears being remitted, and "all former agreements touching the premises discharged." The excavations, the site of which is indicated by Alderskey (Aldsworth's Quay) Lane, at the north end of Prince's Street, were filled up about 1687.

Evidence as to the decreasing value of money occurs in January, 1625. In wills made at the beginning of the century it was not unusual for testators to direct their executors to invest money at 10 per cent. interest, and up to the period now arrived at the Corporation had never been able

to raise loans at a lower rate than 6 per cent. The Council now resolved that the maximum interest payable on bonds should not exceed 5 per cent. A revulsion took place during the Civil War, when lenders often demanded 8 per cent.

The accession of Charles I. was proclaimed at the High Cross on April 1st with the accustomed ceremony. The civic expenses on the occasion were notably moderate, 18s. 6d. in all being paid to a trumpeter, a drummer, two "phifers," and the waits. The young King promptly gave the citizens a taste of the polity he had determined to pursue. Before the end of the month he issued a Privy Seal, ordering that all the Customs duties levied in his father's reign, many of which had never been sanctioned by Parliament, whilst others had become invalid by the late King's demise, should continue in force, and that any person refusing to pay them should be committed to prison until he submitted. The arbitrary extra tax on wines, ordained in the previous year, had expired on the death of James, but on May 6th the new monarch, by another warrant, directed the Lord Treasurer to demand the tax on such wines as had since arrived, and to continue its collection for the future, recusants being threatened with corporal punishment and the confiscation of their imports. The claim of immunity for Bristol, doubly taxed by paying prisage, was silently ignored.

At the general election in May Alderman Whitson and Nicholas Hyde, the Recorder, were returned as burgesses. A distrust of the King was soon perceptible in the House of Commons, and, whilst various grievances were being ventilated, the Bristol merchants sent up a petition against the arbitrary impost on wines, from which, they alleged, they had suffered heavy losses, and the continuance of which would force them to withdraw from trade. An address to the King on the subject was adopted, but His Majesty replied that he marvelled the Commons should press such a matter, since the receipts from the impost were applied to the maintenance of his sister. The management of the war against France was also criticised, and Alderman Whitson complained strongly of the neglect of the royal officers. As the House persisted in discussing grievances prior to granting supplies, Parliament was soon afterwards dissolved.

Great alarm was excited during the spring by the outbreak of Plague in London. In June the Corporation,

with the assent of the Privy Council, forbade Londoners from attending the great summer fair, and goods from the capital were required before entering to be "aired" for a month outside Lawford's Gate. Any citizen returning from London had to undergo a similar purification before being re-admitted. Watchmen were on guard day and night at all the city gates to debar the entrance of suspected strangers. The precautions, which entailed an outlay of £250, proved effectual, though a few cases of disease were reported outside Lawford's Gate, amongst the numerous Londoners and others gathered there. The pestilence having raged violently at Bath, Bridgwater, and Exeter, a subscription was raised for the relief of those towns, out of gratitude for the city's escape.

The depraved inhabitants of the Castle Precincts continued to set law and order at defiance. The Corporation in May resolved on a petition to the King, praying him to make the place part and parcel of the city, so that the magistrates might have jurisdiction over it. The Town Clerk was also directed to ascertain on what terms the farm of the Castle might be purchased as well from the King as from the Earl of Arundel, the latter being the holder in reversion of a patent granted to Sir George Chaworth. Ultimately a bargain of some kind was struck, for in September, 1626, Alderman Doughty was repaid £5, a bribe that he had given to the "Master of the Requests, for getting the King's hand to the reversion of the Castle." (The document is now missing from the civic archives.) This, however, was only a prospective advantage, and the Council soon besought the Court afresh. In March, 1629, a petition to the King recounted the old grievances, adding as a seasonable hint that when the Government demanded impressments of men, many able persons fled into the Castle as a safe refuge, and thus escaped the King's service. Instead of forwarding this appeal direct, the Council despatched it to the Queen, reminding her that Bristol was Her Majesty's Chamber, and formed part of her jointure, and praying her favour and recommendation. This adroit manœuvre proved successful. Reference having been made to the Chief Justices, who approved of the city's request, Charles I. granted a charter, dated April 13th, 1629, which, after reciting the county jurisdiction conferred on Bristol by Edward III., the exceptional liberties of the Castle Precincts, and the resort there of thieves and other malefactors, ordained that, for the benefit of faithful subjects

and at the request of the Queen, the Castle and its appurtenances should thenceforth be separated from Gloucestershire, and be made part and parcel of the city, sole jurisdiction being conferred on the local justices and corporate officers. A final clause required that the honest residents in the precincts should be reputed as citizens, and thirty-seven such persons were accordingly admitted as freemen. The charter cost the Corporation £143, exclusive of £6 for a Persian carpet given to the Lord Chief Baron, to whom £20 were ordered to be presented "in wine or anything else." One Sir John Tunstall had been previously promised £100 if he would promote the affair, and though the payment does not appear in the audit book, the pledge was doubtless fulfilled.

The preparations for the Duke of Buckingham's inglorious attack on Cadiz having occasioned a demand for soldiers, the Corporation received an order to impress fifty Bristolians to take part in the expedition. The capture of the men and their despatch to Plymouth cost the city £61. The same number of men were pressed for the still more disastrous attempt on the Isle of Rhé in 1627, at an expense to the Council of £97.

Another item in the Chamberlain's accounts for 1625 shows that the punishment of the ducking-stool had threatened to result in a fatality:—"Paid for cords and aqua vitæ for the women that were cuckte, 7*d*." A more formidable instrument of the law, brought into use after nearly every assizes, needed frequent repairs. A new "double-ladder for the gallows" was bought this year, but the cost is included in other expenses. One side of the ladder was for the criminal and the other for the hangman, rendering a cart unnecessary; and, to save expense, the convict was required to walk to his doom. An annalist records that seven criminals were executed in 1624—two of them for witchcraft.

Turkish corsairs again swarmed on the coast in the autumn of 1625. The Corporation wrote in great alarm to the Government that a pirate had threatened to burn Ilfracombe, and begged that a ship of war should be sent to protect the trade with Ireland and the fleet nearly due from Newfoundland.

Trade monopolies conceded by the Crown increased the peril of the situation. In October the Privy Council received a petition from the merchants and shipowners of Bristol stating that, having sustained great losses at sea by sending out

small barks, they had now built sundry large ships fit to cope with the enemy, but could not obtain either ammunition or guns except at excessive prices. They therefore prayed permission to manufacture about 500 barrels of gunpowder and forty cannon yearly—the latter to be made at Cardiff, where the best iron was available. The first request was granted, but the second was evaded. The gunpowder monopolists, however, raised a protest against the decision, and proved so influential that the Privy Council, in a letter to the Mayor, forbade the use of domestic saltpetre in producing the powder, limiting the makers to the more expensive foreign article. In April, 1626, the Corporation ordered that thirty barrels of gunpowder and half a ton of musket bullets should be provided as a store.

Mr. Evans, in his Chronological History, asserts that the Corporation, in 1625, purchased Brandon Hill, and the statement has been reproduced by several later writers. As a matter of fact, the hill (saving a plot on the summit, once belonging to Tewkesbury Abbey, and sometimes occupied by a hermit) was ancient city property. In or about 1533 the Corporation granted a lease of the hill, for sixty years, to John Northall, afterwards Mayor, who was required to permit the free passage of pedestrians, and to suffer all persons to dry clothes there; which disposes of the legend that the latter right was conferred by Queen Elizabeth. In 1564 another lease in reversion for the same term was granted to William Read, many years Town Clerk, who probably bought up Northall's interest, as he built a windmill on the site of the old hermitage. The fact that four acres of the summit were abbey property was overlooked when Tewkesbury was despoiled, doubtless because the ground produced no rent. But the circumstance came to the ears of two of the informers who earned an execrable living by prowling about in search of "concealed lands," which they obtained on easy terms from the Crown, and then levied blackmail on the existing possessors. In 1581 Queen Elizabeth granted the plot in fee to these men at a rent of 5s., and within a few months the land was sold to the Corporation for £30. This transaction having vitiated Read's title to the site of the windmill, he was granted a new reversionary lease for sixty years in 1584 at the old rent of 26s. 8d., with 5s. additional for the Crown fee-farm. After passing through several hands, the interest in this lease was transferred to Anthony Hodges, of Clifton, in 1611, and what the Corporation purchased in

1625 was simply the unexpired term of about twenty-eight years which the lease had still to run. The windmill seems to have then disappeared. In March, 1626, the Common Council determined that the yearly profits of Brandon Hill should be enjoyed in moieties by the Mayor and the Sheriffs, the grantees paying the old rent of 26s. 8d. and permitting the drying of clothes according to custom. From an item in the civic account-book for 1630 it appears that the royal fee-farm rent of 5s. had been granted by Queen Elizabeth to a private person, who omitted to demand it for twenty-nine years. The Corporation at first refused to pay the arrears, but finding the claim to be incontestable, the debt was discharged, the recipient being further mollified by a gift of a shilling's worth of wine.

The first corps of Bristol Volunteers was established at this time. At a meeting of the Privy Council on October 22nd, a petition was read from the captains, trained men, and other young men of the city, praying for permission to set up an artillery yard, where they might learn the use of arms, offensive and defensive, at their own charge. The application was approved, and permission was given to carry the project into effect. Though it is not so stated in the minutes, their lordships granted the corps the use of part of the Castle yard as an exercise ground, and a house was soon afterwards built there for the accommodation of the men and the storage of their weapons. The force, which appears to have been popular, held an annual festival, attended by the neighbouring county gentry. The dissensions arising out of political troubles probably broke up the association about 1642.

A remarkable resolution of the Council appears in an ordinance dated November 8th, 1625. It was "ordained that, according to ancient and laudable custom, whenever a writ for the election of knights, citizens, or burgesses for the Parliament shall come to the Sheriffs, the election shall be made by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and by the freeholders resident within the city and liberties, and none others." In despite of this recital of "ancient and laudable custom," it may be safely asserted that the Corporation were, in fact, seeking to narrow the electoral body by excluding the free burgesses from a right they had always enjoyed. The usurpation was repeated in 1640.

The Earl of Denbigh, one of the commanders in the futile expedition to Cadiz, arrived with his ship at King-

road about the end of the year, when the Corporation hastened to send him a present of fresh provisions. The prices of the chief articles are of interest. "Two muttons and a half" cost 38s.; three turkeys, 11s.; six capons and hens, 9s.; sixteen gallons of wine, 45s. 9d.; and seventy-two gallons of double beer, 20s.

For some unexplained cause, the Kingswood colliers refused during the winter to supply the city with coal. To relieve the suffering of the poor, a quantity of fuel was obtained from Swansea, and distributed at slightly under cost, the loss being borne by the Corporation. Two cargoes of corn and a goodly supply of butter were disposed of in the same manner.

Another general election took place in January, 1626, when Alderman Whitson and Alderman John Doughty were returned to a short but memorable Parliament. At an early sitting of the Commons, the extra tax of wine imposed by the King, falling with exceptional severity on Bristol, was voted to be a grievance, and supplies were postponed until this and other complaints had been redressed. The King, setting the House at defiance, dissolved Parliament in June. Each of the city members received £6 for travelling expenses, £29 for his "wages" at 4s. a day, and £1 6s. 8d. for the carriage up and down of his trunk.

A naval campaign against Spain was resolved upon by the Government in the spring, and was attended for some time with much success. Having regard to the excitement that must have been created in Bristol by the arrival of many rich prizes, the silence of the annalists on the subject is inexplicable. Much information is to be found in the State Papers. In May, Mr. Willett, the local Collector of Customs, informed Secretary Nicholas that a Brazilian ship had been brought in with 300 chests of sugar; in June the capture was announced of another sugar ship, with a cargo valued at £5,000; in July the ship *Charles*, of 300 tons and 30 guns, launched in Bristol six months earlier, and commanded by Martin Pring, brought in a *Hamburgher*; in September a rich prize laden with oil and sugar was reported, while Pring sent in an English ship captured by the Turks and retaken by himself; and this was followed within ten days by a third prize. "Bristol," wrote the exultant Collector, "will be one of the Duke's best ports for profits" (Buckingham, as Lord Admiral, was entitled to a tenth of each capture); and Willett dares to offer his grace

£1,000, and Nicholas £200, for a tenth of only one of the prizes. In October Nicholas received an account of the cargoes of three more ships brought into Bristol. Pring was stated to have taken a Dunkirker, and two additional prizes were announced a few days later. By this time war had been declared against France. Bristolians soon after equipped seventeen privateers, and it would be tedious to describe the numerous valuable captures that were reported in 1627. The last of that year was announced by Alderman Whitson to a Government agent on December 17th. The Charles, he wrote, had just brought in a Spanish man-of-war of 30 or 40 guns, having on board an English pilot accounted an arch-traitor; and Whitson was persuaded that if the fellow were brought to the torture he would confess many great things. The man was sent up to London, but his fate is unknown.

Returning to the summer of 1626, we find the first local intimation of the Government's demand for ship money. The Parliament, then just dissolved, having refused to vote the King four subsidies, the Privy Council in June addressed letters to the ports and the maritime counties, setting forth the need for ships, and requesting that an amount equivalent to the subsidies should be furnished as a token of sympathy with the Crown. The sum demanded from Bristol was £2,400, for the hire and equipment of three ships of 200 tons and 12 guns each, but the city petitioned so earnestly for relief that the Privy Council, in July, admitting the decay of trade and the recent great losses of the citizens, fixed the contribution at £1,600, or two ships. The two adjoining counties were required to supply the other vessel, or £800, in equal moieties. An impost of this kind was not without precedent in earlier reigns, and those liable to the burden contented themselves with seeking to lighten their own shoulders by shifting the load on others. The citizens represented to the Privy Council that they were unfairly weighted in proportion to their country neighbours, and that the tax was more than they could bear, seeing that they had recently lost fifty ships through captures and wrecks, and were impoverished by the suspension of the Spanish trade. The county justices, on the other hand, protested that the claim made upon them was unreasonably large, and that Bristol, "a rich and wealthy city," might well pay a larger sum. No relief could be obtained, and the sum assessed on the citizens was expended in hiring and equipping the two ships, which

lay idly in the harbour until their three months' stock of provisions was consumed, when the Corporation declined to re-victual them, informing the Duke of Buckingham that the outlay incurred was already equal to four subsidies, and that the county contributions were still withheld. The ships eventually sailed to guard the Irish coast. Rendered the more rapacious by success, the Government in December demanded that the city should hire and equip a third ship, but the Corporation refused to make any further effort, and though the mandate was twice repeated it remained ineffectual.

Following an ancient custom observed at the beginning of every reign, a charter was obtained from Charles I. in August, 1626, confirming the liberties conferred on the city by previous monarchs. The cost of the instrument was £139, chiefly spent in fees to Court officials.

A shocking attempt to murder Alderman Whitson occurred on November 7th. The Alderman, in conjunction with a worthy colleague, Alderman Guy, was holding a court, by order of a decree in Chancery, to arbitrate upon a long-standing dispute between two Bristolians—William Tresham and Christopher Callowhill. After a full hearing, the two justices decided that Callowhill owed his opponent £48, but, owing to the debtor's "weak estate," they adjudged him to pay only £20. On the announcement of this decision, Callowhill pulled out a knife, rushed upon Whitson, and dealt him a violent stab in the face, penetrating through the cheek and nose into the mouth. The wretch was, of course, immediately seized and committed to prison, where he remained, heavily ironed, until his trial; but the annalists strangely omitted to record his punishment. Whitson, who was upwards of seventy years of age, recovered from his wound, and bequeathed a legacy to St. Nicholas's church for an annual sermon to commemorate his escape.

In December the Corporation resolved upon reviving and rendering more effectual the old restraints on the sale of imports belonging to "strangers." An ordinance was accordingly issued, reciting that by local laws passed in the previous century no bargains for the purchase of "foreigners'" merchandise could be made until the goods had been taken to the Back Hall; but that disorderly persons had of late disobeyed this injunction through the smallness of the fine imposed on offenders (20s.). It was therefore decreed that any one infringing the law should in

future pay a penalty equal to one-sixth of the value of the goods. Moreover, any person bargaining for such merchandise to the value of £20, even after it was lodged in the Hall, without first acquainting the Mayor and Aldermen—"who are to dispose of one-half of such goods for the use and benefit of the inhabitants as anciently hath been accustomed"—was made liable to a penalty equal to one-tenth of the value!

During its numerous troubles with the Privy Council, the Corporation found a powerful advocate in the Lord High Steward, the Earl of Pembroke. In return, he was the recipient of large presents of wine, and in the spring his portrait was obtained from a "picture maker" for £3 13s. 4d. Immediately afterwards, on his declining an invitation to visit the city, a present was forwarded to him whilst at Bath. The gift was characteristic of the age. A chest of dry "succades" (comfits) cost £5 10s.; half a hundredweight of loaf sugar at 20d. per lb., £4 13s. 4d.; a hundredweight of oranges and lemons, 16s. 8d.; two boxes of marmalade, two boxes of prunes, a jar of olives, four rundlets of sack, and two barrels of claret, £9 10s. 4d. Minor presents were also made to other useful courtiers. Lord Grandison, Privy Councillor, had a gift of 24 lb. of sugar at 18d. per lb., and 35 gallons of sack at 4s. 6d. A silver basin and ewer, costing £21 10s., were sent to Mr. Clark, groom of the bedchamber. One of the clerks of the Privy Council had £5 5s. in "money and entertainment," and was subsequently voted a pension of £20 yearly for life, having doubtless promised to render permanent services. Finally, Lord Chief Justice Hyde, the Recorder, having brought down his wife at the gaol delivery, the lady had a present of sugar loaves, comfits, and prunes to the value of £3 18s. 10½d.

Sir Charles Gerard, grandson and co-heir of Henry Brayne, to whom the estates of St. James's Priory were granted by Henry VIII., made proposals to the Corporation in 1622 for the alienation of part of the property, but no bargain was effected for some years, owing to the vendor's reluctance to incur the expense of procuring the indispensable license from the Crown, the estate being held *in capite*. In April, 1627, however, the civic body acquired from him the advowsons of St. James, St. Peter, Christ Church, St. Ewen, St. Michael, and St. Philip, the prisage of wine imported during the Whitsun-week of every alternate year, and a number of small chief rents, the purchase money for

the whole being only £450. As a sample of the strange system of book-keeping then in corporate favour—a system which now plunges many matters in hopeless mystery—it may be stated that no payment to Gerard is to be found in the accounts; the only reference to the purchase being a small payment to a lawyer for “levying a fine” to assure the title.

Having vainly endeavoured to raise money by what was speciously called a Benevolence, the King’s advisers, in April, resolved upon levying a forced loan, and orders were forwarded to the Mayor to apply to the citizens, and send up the names of contributors. The demand was openly resisted in many districts, and, so far as local records show, the members of the Council offered no subscriptions. In October, however, Sir John Drake, one of Buckingham’s creatures, wrote to Secretary Nicholas from Bristol, stating that he had remitted £1,650, and would speedily send the remainder. The Dean of Bristol, he added, should have paid £500, “but, like a minister, pays a month after the day.”

Attention has been drawn to the inexplicable silence of contemporary chroniclers in reference to the exciting local events of 1626, arising out of the war with France and Spain. When search is made into the State Papers of the two following years, the dumbness of the annalists becomes simply astounding; for the documents afford indisputable proof that the wealth and enterprise of Bristol at this period advanced by leaps and bounds. When England was threatened with destruction by the Spanish Armada, the city was able to furnish only three small ships and a pinnacle for the national defence. Between 1626 and 1628, when there was practically no danger at all, Bristol merchants obtained permission from the Government to fit out upwards of sixty vessels with letters of marque, to prey upon the enemy’s commerce. The following list, compiled from the Government records, gives the names and tonnage of the ships, and the names of their chief owners. (The owners marked with an * commanded their own vessels.)

Charles, 300 tons, John Barker, etc.
 Mary Rose, 150, Wm. Pitt, etc.
 Porcupigge, 100, Ric. Gough,* etc.
 Content, 120, Wm. Wyatt, etc.
 George, 300, Hum. Browne, etc.
 Abraham, 200, Hum. Hooke.
 Patience, 190, Nic. Gattonby.*
 Angel Gabriel, 300, G. Elbridge.

White Angel, 150, G. Elbridge.
 Fortune, 30, do.
 Mary Fortune, 100, do.
 Deliverance, 70, G. Lyndsay.*
 Hercules, 150, And. Bevan.*
 Joseph, 150, John Barker, etc.
 Bon Esperance, 100, J. Gonning, etc.
 Fortune, 200, T. Cole,* etc.

Comfort, 160, J. Woodson.*	Friendship, 50, T. Wilde.
George, 200, C. Driver.*	Neptune, 120, C. Driver, etc.
Recovery, — do.	(unnamed), 40, do.
Elizabeth, 200, W. Ellis.	(unnamed), 40, do.
Porcupine, 50, T. Wright.	Amity, 100, E. Peters, etc.
Mary, 60, Thos. Colston.	Endeavour, 50, J. Tomlinson, etc.
Falcon, 80, J. Mynnes,* etc.	Rosemary, 100, W. Ellis, etc.
Mary Rose, 200, J. Barker,* etc.	Falcon, 100, T. Wilde, etc.
Thunder, 70, J. Taylor, etc.	Mayflower, 50, T. Wilde, etc.
Gilbert, 140, Wm. Ofield.*	Mary, 80, Peter White,* etc.
Eagle, 140, H. Hooke, etc.	Dolphin, 150, J. Mynnes,* etc.
Falcon, 40, do.	Thomas, 100, B. Elliott,* etc.
Thomas, 60, T. Wright.*	(unnamed), 40, do.
Sarah, 100, Michael Wright.*	Little Charles, 80, H. Hooke, etc.
Swiftsure, 100, do.	Dragon, 200, Thos. James,* etc.
Martha, 100, do.*	Greyhound, 100, J. Reeves,* etc.
Primrose, 40, do.	Hercules, 70, H. Hawley,* etc.
Bristol Merchant, 250, T. Colston, etc.	Marigold, 70, W. Ellis, etc.
Supply, 200, Wm. Pitt, etc.	Lion, 220, J. Gonning, etc.
Renew, 80, T. Barker.	Lion's Whelp, 50, do.
St. George, 80, G. Elbridge, etc.	Flying Hart, 25, Wm. Pitt, etc.
James, 100, Hum. Hooke, etc.	Scout, 15, Hum. Hooke.
Hope, 100, T. Wilde, etc.	Several small pinnaces.

The Collector of Customs continued to send tidings of captures to Secretary Nicholas, but the number of prizes in 1628 did not equal that of the previous year. To take the two principal successes, he reported in April the arrival of a Brazilian, taken by the *Mary*, with a cargo valued at £10,000; and less than a week later he noted the capture by the *Comfort* of another Brazilian, "the best prize come to Bristol since letters of marque were granted." In November a small French war vessel grounded at Penarth, and was taken by Captain Ofield, of the *Gilbert*, who carried her off in spite of the protests of the vicar of Penarth, who claimed her "in right of his church"!

In the above list will be found the name of the *Angel Gabriel*, the valour of whose crew against great odds was long an exultant theme amongst Bristol sailors. In the British Museum is a black-letter broadside printed about this date, entitled:—"The Honour of Bristol. Showing how the *Angel Gabriel*, of Bristol fought with three ships, which boarded us many times, wherein we cleared our decks, and killed five hundred of their men, and wounded many more, and made them fly into Cales [Cadiz], where we lost but three men to the Honour of the *Angel Gabriel* of Bristol." This vigorous ballad—as heart-stirring as the *Battle of Chevy Chase*—is printed in Seyer's "*Memoirs of Bristol*," vol. ii. p. 287. The poet styles the ship's captain Nethewey, and Thomas Nethoway was the commander

certified in the Government letter of marque. That the Spanish admiral's "lustiest" vessel had forty-eight big guns, whilst the Angel Gabriel carried only twenty, and that 500 were killed "outright" on one side and only three on the other during a desperate conflict for seven hours, we know only on the authority of the song-writer. It is satisfactory to read his final statement that the owner of the Gabriel, Giles Elbridge, presented the gallant crew of forty men with "two hundred pounds in gold and plate," as a reward for their achievement.

A number of documents relating to St. Peter's parish, dated in and about 1628, and preserved in the collection of the late Mr. Sholto Hare, throw much light on the system of poor-law administration then everywhere in vogue. Under the old law of settlement the poor were jealously penned into the parish where they were born, and unceasing vigilance was displayed by parochial officers, and indeed by parishioners generally, to debar the intrusion of strangers in search of work, who, by abiding amongst them for a twelvemonth, would thus be enabled to relieve their native parish of the burden of their maintenance when in distress. Thus when a trader in St. Peter's parish took an apprentice or a domestic servant from outside the parochial bounds, a veto was forthwith pronounced by the overseers, and the interloper was required to find substantial sureties that he or she would never claim a settlement by virtue of residence. In the same way a small shopkeeper or mechanic, intending to remove from another part of the city with his family, had in the first place to give similar guarantees, and if he failed to do so was shut out; whilst an incessant search was made for "inmates" (lodgers), seeking to earn an honest livelihood. In spite of these precautions, endless litigation respecting settlements was waged between parishes seeking to repudiate their liabilities, and no small portion of the national poor-rates was squandered amongst lawyers.

Preparations were made early in 1628 for another expedition against France. A naval agent, writing to the Duke of Buckingham from Bristol in February and March, stated that he had fulfilled orders in impressing ten ships, and also ten barks intended for fire-boats, but that some of the owners of privateers, especially three of the wealthiest, John Barker, Giles Elbridge, and Humphrey Hooke, refused his request to fit out their ships, and ought to be compelled to do so. They were in consequence summoned to London.

by the Privy Council, but the result is unrecorded. The above agent incidentally reports that a man-of-war was then lying at Bristol, whose crew had received no wages for sixteen months.

The poverty of the Government compelled the King to summon another Parliament in March, 1628. Alderman Doughty and Mr. John Barker, the members elected for Bristol, carried up with them another petition of the merchants against the illegal wine duties, the complaint being on this occasion the more pressing inasmuch as some of the victims had been arrested by royal messengers, and imprisoned in default of payment. The city members, after the prorogation, laid before the Common Council six books "containing the arguments used in Parliament concerning the liberty of the subject." It will be remembered that the Petition of Right, by which arbitrary taxes and imprisonment were solemnly condemned, was the great work of the session.

The Council, in April, ordered the distribution of £30 amongst poor clothiers, traders and householders "against this good time of Easter." Holiday sports, however, were not held in much favour. The Chamberlain, in the same month, disbursed sixpence "for taking down a Maypole." Archery was one of the King's predilections, and His Majesty appointed a Commission to quicken the execution of an Act of Henry VIII. for the encouragement of that sport; but the proceedings of the commissioners were so unpopular that their powers were rescinded in 1631.

In spite of the increased strength of the royal navy and of the large fleet of local privateers, commerce was frequently jeopardized by the enemy's cruisers. In June, 1628, the Privy Council informed the Duke of Buckingham that in consequence of divers French warships committing daily ravages in the Severn, the city of Bristol was willing to bear the charge of setting out two ships for securing the Channel. He was therefore directed, as Lord Admiral, to treat with the citizens, letting them know that £1,000 of the charge would be repaid out of the subsidies voted by Parliament. The Corporation informed the Duke, a few days later, that the two ships would be ready to sail on the arrival of his commission, but the fifty barrels of gunpowder promised by the Government had not come to hand five weeks later, when Mr. Barker, M.P., informed Secretary Nicholas that French ships were still committing spoil. The equipment of the ships cost the Corporation

£1,357. The Treasury eventually paid £983 of this amount, but not until the Chamberlain had spent nearly six weeks in London over the business, and been well plucked by Court underlings, a present being even found necessary for the wife of Secretary Nicholas.

On August 22nd the Mayor informed the Privy Council by letter that he had provided transport for 700 soldiers sent to Bristol for shipment to Ireland, but who were delayed by adverse winds. Their voyage would cost £175, and his worship had already disbursed £140 out of purse for their victualling. Other documents show that the Government, in sending the troops to the city, made no provision whatever for their maintenance and shipment. On the day the above letter was written, the Council were informed by the regimental officers that the Mayor's advance was exhausted and that the men were without food. As rioting might be immediately expected, the Chamberlain was ordered to disburse sixpence per head daily for food, until a change of wind. The incident was repeated in the following November, when 200 soldiers, without officers, were detained in the city for several weeks through stormy weather, and were very unruly.

A succession of bad harvests began in 1628, and continued for three years. Large quantities of grain and several tons of butter were purchased each winter by the Corporation, and sold at cost price to the poor. The distress was much aggravated, in 1631, by a Government proclamation forbidding the purchase of corn in Devon and other counties, the real object being to extort money for licenses to buy there, the cost of which further enhanced the price of grain.

The distress of the time was widespread. On January 1st, 1629, the Mayor and Aldermen, in petitioning the Privy Council for leave to export grain to Ireland, stated that the dearth there was so extreme that the famishing Irish poor were crowding to this country, and were causing great trouble. The invasion of beggars at length assumed such proportions that the Corporation were compelled to act with vigour. Seven ships were hired to carry back the mendicants, and upwards of 1,200 were shipped off. About two shillings a head was paid as passage money, and upwards of £30 was laid out for their food. Similar, but less numerous, transportations were made in subsequent years.

Alderman John Whitson, one of the wealthiest mer-

chants of the city, died on February 25th, aged seventy-five, in consequence of an accident caused by the stumbling of his horse. His remains were interred in the crypt of St Nicholas's church on March 9th with every mark of public respect, the trained bands, of which he was a captain, rendering him military honours. The details of the funeral expenses, which have been preserved, present a singular collocation of items :—"Epitaph, 10s.; Mustard, 1d.; Making 75 gowns for the poor, 75s.; Wine from the Bull, £5 17s. 6d.; Making a coffin, 14s.; Baking of pies, 7s. 6d.; To Mr. Palmer for making the verses on the monument, 20s." Owing to a vast sum laid out for mourning, the total expenses of the ceremony amounted to £418. As many inaccuracies have been published respecting Whitson's early life in Bristol, it may be well to state that he migrated when young from his birthplace in the Forest of Dean, and after receiving some education in Bristol was apprenticed, in September, 1570, for eight years to Nicholas Cutt, wine merchant, and Bridget his wife, a youthful couple, both of aldermanic parentage, who had been married only a few months. Whether Whitson remained with his master after the end of the apprenticeship in 1578 is uncertain; but soon after Cutt's death, about two years later, he was in the employment of the widow, for whom he managed the profitable business that had been bequeathed to her, together with all his property, by her late husband. About the same time, by the death of her father, Alderman Saxey, Mrs. Cutt, an only child, inherited another considerable estate. What is said to have happened under these circumstances is told by the Wiltshire antiquary, John Aubrey, who was a grandson of Whitson's third wife, and a godson of Whitson himself, but who erroneously styles the lady Vawr instead of Cutt. "He [Whitson] was a handsome young fellow, and his old master being dead, his mistress one day called him into the wine cellar, and bade him broach the best butt in the cellar for her. . . . His mistress afterwards married him. This story will last perhaps as long as Bristol is a city." The wedding took place on April 12th, 1585, when Whitson was over thirty years of age, and the bride thirty-eight. A daughter was born to them in 1586. The union appears to have been approved by the lady's family, for in the latter year her mother transferred to Whitson and his wife several houses in various parts of the city (including property then standing on the site of the curious timber house at the corner

of Wine and High Street) in consideration of a small life annuity; while a few years later John Cutt, a nephew of Nicholas, conveyed the manor of Burnet, Somerset, to trustees, for the benefit of the same parties. Entering upon a mercantile career under these advantages, Whitson soon attained a high position, and eventually became the most prominent and influential citizen of his time. As has been already shown, he was five times elected one of the members of Parliament for Bristol, and seems to have won much repute in the House of Commons for intelligence and ability. "He kept," says Aubrey, "a noble house, and did entertain the peers and great persons that came to the city. He kept his hawks. I remember five [youths] that had been bred up under him, but not one of them came to good; they lived so luxuriously. He was charitable in breeding up of poor scholars. . . . He had a fair house in St. Nicholas Street [on the site of Stuckey's Bank], where is the stateliest dining-room in the city. His only daughter dying, Richard Wheeler, his nephew, who was bred a merchant under him, was his heir, but he proving a sot and a coxcomb, he settled all his estate upon the city for pious uses." Wheeler's unworthiness is attested by one of the codicils to Whitson's will, but it must be admitted that the old alderman, like some other philanthropists, in his desire to win lasting fame for munificent charity, treated his near relatives with slender consideration. Eight years before his death he had enfeoffed nearly the whole of his real estate on trustees, to uses to be defined by his will, and by a testament made in 1627 almost the whole was ordered to be transferred to the Corporation, who were to apply the profits to benevolent purposes, chief of which was the foundation of a hospital for the maintenance and training of forty girls, daughters of freemen, "to go and be apparelled in red cloth." The residue of his personal estate, after the payment of a great number of small legacies, was to devolve, as to two-thirds (about £3,000) on the Corporation for charities, and as to one-third on his two sisters and their children. The latter beneficiaries were to be entirely disinherited if they sought to upset the testator's arrangements. They nevertheless filed a Bill in Chancery, disputing the validity of the will, and a long and costly litigation followed; but though the Court finally decided against them, and upheld Whitson's bequests, their third of the residue was not withheld.

In the State Papers for June, 1629, is a remarkable peti-

tion presented by Captain Charles Driver, of Bristol, to the Lords of the Admiralty. It sets forth that, in conformity with the commission of the late Lord Admiral, two Bristol merchants, Humphrey Hooke and Humphrey Browne, had sent out two ships in command of the petitioner and another man, who had captured a Sallee corsair, brought it into Bristol, and had it condemned as lawful prize. Whereupon, on the complaint of some London merchants, the petitioner had been summoned before the Privy Council for having acted illegally, and now prayed relief. It is shown by another document that, although the people of Sallee practically lived by piracy, and though hosts of Englishmen had languished there in slavery, the Londoners who raised the above complaint had established a trading settlement amongst the bandits, had turned over £50,000 in their traffic there during the previous year, and were anxious that the freebooters should not be interfered with, lest "they should take example by Algiers," where the impudent complainants had a similar settlement, and where they alleged they had lost £8,500, in reprisal for the "wrongs" committed by Captain Driver and others! The issue of this scandalous affair has unfortunately perished.

Much ingenuity was displayed by the King's advisers in inventing new devices for raising money in contravention of the statute law. On June 23rd, doubtless in consideration of a handsome payment, His Majesty granted to Robert Wright, of Bristol, and his sons Erasmus and Thomas, for their lives, license to keep a tavern or wine-cellar in the mansion house in which they dwelt in the city, and therein to sell good wine, notwithstanding the provisions of an Act of James I. for regulating licenses. The grant was to be held to date from June, 1628, and any penalties for acts committed after that time were pardoned. Subsequently the privilege of issuing those illegal licenses was sold to Lord Goring, and amongst an immense number conceded by that nobleman was one dated October 8th, 1633, to Henry and Charles Whitaker, for their lives, permitting them to keep a tavern or wine-cellar in their mansion in the town or village of Clifton, Gloucestershire, paying 20s. yearly. In the following year, in consideration of £10, and yearly payments of the same sum, Goring granted two similar licenses to Walter Steevens and Richard Gardiner, of Bristol.

The earliest mention of the Bristol Hot Well as a resort of aristocratic invalids occurs in a letter dated July 22nd,

preserved in the State Papers. Lord Poulett, writing from his Somerset seat at Hinton to Secretary Lord Dorchester, announces his return home after having left his wife at "the Wells" at Bristol. The well-known Bulstrode Whitelock, afterwards Recorder of the city, had visited the spring in 1628, and noted that it was famous for the cure of leprosy. In the same year Thomas Venner, M.D., published a treatise on "The Baths of Bath," to which he added a "Censure," meaning a criticism, "concerning the water of St. Vincent's Rock, near Bristol (*urbs pulchra et emporium celebre*), which begins to grow in great request and use against the Stone." The learned writer, whose dogmatism is not a little amusing, asserts that the medical efficacy of the water arose from the presence of sulphur and nitre, and possibly of other good minerals. "The water is frequented for no other use but for the drinking of it against the Stone," yet he immediately adds that in consequence of this peculiar virtue people of all sorts repaired to the place, and so abundantly glutted themselves at the spring that but few were benefitted and many hurt, seeing that they weakened the stomach, subverted the liver, annoyed the head, occasioned cramps and pain of the joints, and bred crudities, rhumes, coughs, dropsy, and consumption! After drawing this appalling picture, the doctor lays down ten voluminous rules for the guidance of visitors, who are nevertheless warned to obtain the advice of a local physician. Especial care was to be taken not to give the water to children or to aged persons, as it would "abbreviate their life by extinguishing their innate heat." "Some perilous accidents may happen oftentimes in the use of the water" if it were rashly taken, but its "virtues will be better known if people make a right and good use thereof." About two years after the publication of this pompous drivel, in March, 1630, one John Bruckshaw addressed a petition to the King, in which he had the effrontery to assert that at great labour and expense he had discovered the spring (described 150 years before by William Worcester). It lay, he said, between high-water and low-water mark, and cured many diseases, far beyond any known bath in the kingdom. On June 5th, in the same year, Charles I. granted permission to the impostor to enclose the spring for forty years, with power to take in adjoining ground "from the sea" for making baths and building a house, to which visitors could resort; and with further power to dig in the rocks for gold, silver, and crystal, on paying to the Crown a yearly rent of 20s. The

lords of the manor of Clifton being doubtless on the alert, Mr. Bruckshaw's impudent manœuvres proved abortive. In 1632 another Bath physician, Edward Jordan, in a treatise on mineral waters, speaks of the spring as ranking with the chalybeate waters of Spa and Tunbridge; while Fuller, in his "Book of Worthies" (1662), extols the well as "sovereign for sores and sicknesses," and alleges that beer brewed therewith was "wholesome against the spleen." Further evidence as to the extensive reputation of the Hot Well will be given in 1634. The above facts dispose of a legend, originally printed in 1754 by Dr. Randolph, of Bristol, that the medicinal virtues of the spring were first made known in 1668, by the case of James Gagg, a baker, in Castle Street, whose repeated dreams that he would be cured of a painful disease by drinking the water were fulfilled, to the amazement of the public.

The Corporation resolved in 1629 to bear the yearly expense of entertaining the judges and Recorder during the assizes and gaol delivery. Lord Chief Justice Hyde, who was also Recorder, paid one visit in the spring and another in the autumn, when he was invited to take up his quarters in the houses of Alderman Rogers and Alderman Pitt, the former being afterwards paid £13 10s. and the latter £26 10s. for the outlay they had incurred. His lordship also received £10 as travelling expenses to the assizes, besides his usual fee of £26 13s. 4d. as Recorder. The liberality was probably inspired by the anxiety of the Council to retain the Chief Justice's services in the civic office.

Alderman Robert Rogers, mentioned above, was a member of a family of soapmakers, which acquired great wealth in the later years of Elizabeth, and lived in some magnificence in the mansion known as the Great House on the Bridge, but which really stood at the end of Redcliff Street. After his death, in 1633, the Great House became untenanted, and subsequently was for some time converted into an inn. Towards the end of the century it was purchased by Sir Thomas Day of Sir Edward Fust, and again became a private residence.

Contemptuously trampling upon the decision of the Court of Exchequer twenty years before (see p. 36), the demands of the Board of Green Cloth for a composition in lieu of wine purveyance were revived this year against the Bristol merchants. A corporate deputation was vainly sent up to the Government to protest against the extortion, and an action was raised by the King's patentee in the Court of

Exchequer. At the trial, however, the judgment of 1609 was produced by the defendants, when the patentee was non-suited, and forbidden to further molest them. In the meantime the Board of Green Cloth made a fresh claim for a composition for purveyance of groceries, spices, and oils, against which the merchants made a strong remonstrance to the Privy Council; and the latter body, after much discussion, gave up the claim as regarded groceries, except when the Court was near Bristol, but insisted on an entirely novel imposition on sweet (Levant) oils, and rejected a composition offered by the merchants, about sixty of whom were interested in the trade. A bargain was, however, struck in April, 1630, between the Green Cloth officials and two delegates of the Corporation, Humphrey Hooke and Thomas Colston, it being agreed that the royal claims should be dropped on the merchants paying £100 for "arrerages," and 100 marks yearly for the future. "Foreigners" or non-freemen were excluded from this arrangement, and were victimised at the caprice of the purveyance collectors. Before the negotiation was concluded the Privy Council demanded a loan from the city on behalf of the King; but the Common Council ordered that a "fair letter" should be forwarded to the Lord Treasurer stating inability to comply with the request, and directing attention to the large sums already due to the Corporation from the Exchequer. The Government temporarily withdrew its request, but so far as can be inferred from an extremely obscure civic minute of December, 1630, the loan had been then again demanded, with a promise of early repayment. A subscription was started in the Council Chamber, and produced a total of £680. The subscriptions varied from £50 to £10, but nine members refused to contribute.

The abominable foulness of the streets, caused by the parsimony of the authorities, was the subject of much debate in the Council about this time, a committee being at length appointed to effect a reform. That body reported that the Raker had stated that it was impossible to cleanse all the city thoroughfares for the £30 yearly allowed to him, and prayed to be freed from the employment or better paid. They therefore recommended that, to avoid noisome stench, preserve the public health, and maintain the credit of the city, the allowance should be increased to £70 a year, the additional sum to be assessed upon the inhabitants. The report was confirmed by the Council in December, 1629, it being stipulated that, in addition to the

streets usually cleansed, the scavenger should attend to the Pithay, Broadmead, St. James's Back, Lewin's Mead, and Christmas Street, that had previously been wholly neglected.

Examples have been already given of the singular manner in which corporate ordinances, after having long fallen into disuse, were suddenly revived. The Council, in December, seemingly annoyed by the disregard of pomp that characterized some of its members, disinterred an obsolete ordinance, passed about sixty years before, requiring aldermen and councillors, on certain holidays, to array themselves in scarlet, and ordered this to be thenceforth "continued," a fine of 6s. 8d. being imposed on any one appearing in church on such days without his scarlet, whether attending the Mayor or not. It was further ordained that on ordinary Sundays every member attending church, either for prayer or sermon, should wear a black gown, or pay the same fine. Any past sheriff neglecting to provide himself with a gown lined with fur was to be mulcted 40s. All the corporate officials, great and small, had gowns provided yearly out of the civic purse. In 1634 order was given that any of the sheriffs' yeomen neglecting to wear their coats, basket-hilted swords and daggers, were to be immediately dismissed.

Many of the Bristol privateers mentioned in the previous list obtained renewed letters of marque in 1629, and were reinforced by four others, whose names and owners were as follows:—

Phoenix, 200 tons, R. Hull, etc.

Endeavour, 80, R. Strangway, etc.

Willing Mind, 200, R. Strangway, etc.

Dainty, 80, G. Headland, etc.

The reports of prizes are less numerous than in 1628. The Collector of Customs, writing to Secretary Nicholas in April, 1630, announces the arrival of "a great prize" brought in by the *Eagle*, and also of two others, adding that he had forwarded in a box a mermaid's hand and rib, said to be good to make rings for the cramp, and to stop blood, with other virtues. The same writer, in December, reports the return of the *Eagle* with another rich prize, adding that the chief owner of the privateer, Humphrey Hooke, is regarded as "the only happy man that way," the prizes taken by the *Eagle* being worth not less than £40,000. The owners, he added, were fearful because this last prize was taken so near the conclusion of peace, and would discharge at once without acquainting the Admiralty. "A

letter from the Lords for that presumption would beget two or three chests of sugar"—a hint that was not likely to fall on deaf ears. The accounts of the Auditor of the Exchequer in 1632 state that the net value of the prizes brought into Bristol, Weymouth, Lyme, and Minehead during the war amounted to £134,500, of which one-tenth was received by the Admiralty; but the figures are almost certainly inaccurate. In the State Papers for November, 1635, is a petition to the King from the merchants and shipowners of Bristol, alleging that the Admiralty tenth, paid on prizes entering the port, had amounted to £20,000, and that an equal sum had been paid to the Crown in Customs on the merchandise, in spite of which the local Customer, Dowle, was persecuting the owners of privateers by an Exchequer Commission, and making groundless charges of fraud. The evidence taken in Bristol by this commission, which was directed to the Bishop and others, is also in the Record Office, and attests the malignity of Dowle, who could produce nothing in support of his allegations. The only interesting fact disclosed was a statement of the Vice-Admiral's deputy in Bristol, to the effect that during the three years he was employed there were "three score and odd" prizes brought into the port. Willett, he added, on one occasion accepted a gift of a chest of sugar, to hasten the passing of a prize cargo.

Some light is thrown on the habits of the cathedral dignitaries of the period by a letter which Bishop Wright addressed to Archbishop Abbot and Bishop Laud in February, 1630. His recent ordination, he wrote, had wanted nothing in solemnity save the presence of the Dean or Canons, or some of them, to assist in the imposition of hands. In their absence, he had been fain to use singing men and others, who should not approach so high.

On April 1st the Lords of the Admiralty directed Sir Thomas Button to repair with two ships of war to the coast of Ireland and the Severn for the protection of such merchants as traded to the fairs at Bristol held at St. James's and St. Paul's tide—which indicates the importance of those great marts. H.M.S. *Convertine*, then lying at Hungroad, probably received similar instructions, for the commander, Captain Plumley, writing to the Admiralty on April 22nd, narrates the difficulties he had encountered in leaving the Avon. He set sail, the wind being in the east, with the help of eight great tow-boats and sixty yokes of oxen, but the ship was nevertheless in much hazard of

being lost, and he "never knew what hearty fear meant till then." In July the Bristol Customer informed Secretary Nicholas that the Fifth Whelp warship was at Waterford to waft over vessels to Bristol fair, but that many Irish and English barks had been taken by the "Biscayners," who were a terror to traders. In August, 1633, the commander of a King's ship wrote to Secretary Nicholas that he had convoyed fifty barks in safety from Ireland to Bristol fair, though they sighted "a villain" that lay in wait for them.

Tidings of the birth of the Prince of Wales on May 29th reached Bristol three days later, and were hailed with demonstrations of joy. The Corporation reared a prodigious bonfire in the evening near the High Cross, and similar fires blazed, says a chronicler, in every street, "that the like was never seen."

So early as 1604 the proceedings of one Morgan, a landowner at Pill, in interfering with the navigation of the Avon, had given the Corporation much trouble. He was prosecuted for nuisances, convicted, and imprisoned during the reign of James I., but the punishment seems to have had little effect, for his name repeatedly crops up in the corporate records, though in too vague a manner to be worth reproduction. Before 1630 he had been succeeded by a son, whose conduct was more intolerable than that of his father, and the irritated Corporation resolved on complaining of his malpractices to the Government, and of sparing no expense in putting an end to them. In June, 1630, a petition was laid before the Privy Council, setting forth that Morgan had not only prevented the use of certain posts set up at Pill for the mooring of ships, but had erected a house on the river bank, directly in front of an ancient tree, which for time out of mind had been used for mooring purposes, besides committing other abuses tending to the ruin of the citizens. Evidence having been adduced in support of these charges, the Privy Council expressed itself convinced of the damage caused by Morgan's exorbitant proceedings, ordered him to demolish the house, and to suffer new posts to be erected, the magistrates being empowered, on his refusal, to commit him to prison until he submitted. By some means, however, the culprit obtained a rehearing of the case, and it would appear that the Government determined on sending two influential and impartial personages to visit the place, and report upon the matters in dispute. A few weeks later, the Archbishop of York, and subsequently the Chief Justice of the Common

Pleas, arrived for this purpose in Bristol, and, after being sumptuously entertained by the Corporation, were severally conducted to Pill, in boats stored with roast beef, pies, sweetmeats, cakes, and wine, an enormous quantity of gunpowder being spent in firing salutes. The report of the judge is not to be found; but that of the Archbishop denounces Morgan's conduct in vigorous terms. The tree and posts, wrote his grace, were so indispensable to shipping that no power of man without them could prevent wrecks and loss of life in bad weather; and the port might be utterly overthrown if other riparian landlords followed a similar course. But this was not all. Morgan's perversity had induced him to set up a sconce (fort), which, whilst impeding commerce, was destroying the morals and spirit of seafaring men; for it was a sconce fortified with eleven great ordnance, namely, strong pothouses or tap-houses, discharging, not powder and shot, but [tobacco] smoke and strong beer, defiling the people with drunkenness, filthiness, and robbery of their masters' goods—all which should be totally and finally eradicated. The Archbishop concluded with a glowing eulogium on Bristol, asserting that for orderly government, care of religion and the poor, advancement of the King's customs, and heartiness to do him service, he knew no city worthy to be preferred to it; whilst for good treatment of the clergy it surpassed all. With this report before them, the Privy Council, on October 29th, re-affirmed the previous order, requiring the occupier of the pothouse in front of the old tree to demolish his dwelling forthwith, or to appear before them to answer for his contempt. If he resisted, the Corporation (who had offered him £30 towards building another house) were empowered to remove the nuisance. The Council at the same time directed the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas to give proper instructions to the judges of assize for the holding of an inquiry "into the erecting of a little town, as they call it, consisting all of alehouses at Crockern Pill, and to give orders for remedying the abuse." The civic dignitaries who had been sent up to Court returned home in triumph, but the affair had entailed an infinity of "gratifications." A gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, the clerks of the Privy Council, the clerks' men, the doorkeepers, the doorkeepers' men, the Lord Treasurer's secretary and his doorkeeper, the porters of the Privy Seal, the Archbishop's secretary, and various minor underlings received gratuities. A buck was presented to the Arch-

bishop, and a handsome gift of wine, sugar, etc., costing £20 14s. 8d., was forwarded to him at York. Six sugar loaves, value £4 6s. 6d., and wine to the value of £16 9s. 8d., were sent to the Lord Chief Justice. The £30 promised to the alehouse keeper were paid, and the building was demolished. Morgan, however, was not yet disposed of, and will turn up again.

Concurrently with the above proceedings, the Corporation were carrying on a negotiation with the Government for the purchase of Bristol Castle. On July 1st the Council petitioned the King on the subject, stating that they had expended £759 for billeting soldiers and transporting them to Ireland. His Majesty having lately granted a lease of the Castle to one Brewster, for three lives, at a rent of £100, the petitioners prayed that, in consideration of the above outlay, they might be granted the fortress in fee-farm at a rent of £40. The memorial was referred to Sir Thomas Fanshaw, who reported that on an inspection made in 1625 he found the ruins of the Castle exceeding great, and the precincts covered with little cottages piled on the head of one another, and used as a sanctuary from arrests. As the only profit derived by the Crown was the rent of £100, which was not likely to be maintained, he thought a grant to the Corporation would not be prejudicial. The Lord Treasurer thereupon directed the grant to be prepared, but an additional sum of £200 was first wrung from the Corporation. Numerous as had been the tips required in the Pill case, they were insignificant when compared with those extorted during the Castle business. The Attorney-General and his staff demanded over £27. A secretary, for procuring the King's signature, got nearly £12, and nearly £18 were paid to the Privy Seal officials. The Great Seal cost £17 11s. A Mr. Gibbons received £80; his man, £3; Sir Tobias Matthew, £20; and Sir Thomas Fanshaw, £10, "all gratuities." The Lord Treasurer had a gift of 98 ounces of double gilt silver plate; Mr. Noy (about to become Attorney-General) accepted similar plate weighing 45 ounces; the Lord Privy Seal had a hogshead of wine; and "one of the King's bed-chamber, for his favour," a large consignment of wine, oil, and sugar. Gifts to clerks and underlings were made by the city delegates in London, to which the Chamberlain made three journeys, and where he remained nearly half a year. Brewster's rent of £100 was henceforth received by the Corporation; but he profited largely from the rentals

paid by the occupiers of the precincts, besides enjoying the occupation of the great mansion known as the Military House, with its extensive gardens. As was perhaps natural, the two parties concerned in the property were soon on bad terms. In April, 1632, Brewster, in a petition to the Privy Council, complained that though he had been at great charge in repairing the place—which probably means that he had been striving to increase his tenants and his rentals—he had been much wronged and hindered by the magistrates. Their lordships thereupon instructed the Bishop, the Mayor, the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges to meet and hold an inquiry into the facts, and to report the result. No report is now to be found, but the Corporation doubtless found it desirable to get rid of an inconvenient tenant, and in 1634 Brewster's outstanding interest was acquired for the sum of £520 10s.

Lord Chief Justice Hyde resigned the Recordership in June, 1630, owing to the impossibility of reconciling the duties of his dual offices. It appears that the Attorney-General had applied for a *Quo warranto* against the Corporation (though the civic records afford no information on the matter except that the writ was ultimately stayed on payment of £10), and the judgment of the Chief Justice on the case, whatever it might be, would not have been seemly if it had come from the mouth of the Recorder. He therefore withdrew, and declined to recommend a successor, though, if the Council desired his opinion, he would "name Mr. William Noy, a man of great note, hardly to be matched." Noy was forthwith elected; but on being apprised of his appointment, he at once wrote to the Mayor, desiring to be excused, "for reasons best known to himself." He was, in fact, appointed Attorney-General in the following October. On his refusal, John Glanville, afterwards Serjeant-at-Law and Speaker of the House of Commons, was elected Recorder.

The office of Lord High Steward became vacant in July by the death of the Earl of Pembroke. Faithful to the custom of securing support in high places, the Council, in August, elected to the vacancy the Lord Treasurer, Lord Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, an abject flatterer and pliant tool of the then despotic King, and notorious for his insolence and arrogance towards others.

After the death of James I., the custom amongst the nobility of permitting a company of travelling actors to assume the name of their patron went out of fashion, and

dramatic entertainments in Bristol, except possibly at the great fairs, became very rare. In the summer of 1630 the "King's players" performed before the Corporation for the first time, with one exception, during five years, and received the usual gift of £2. But in September, when another troop made their appearance, they were ordered out of the city with a dole of 20s.; and the King's players were similarly treated in 1631, though the gift was doubled. In 1633 the Mayor gave another company 20s. "to be rid of them," and his successor, in 1634, bestowed 30s. on a party "to rid them out of town." Later in the same year a company received £2, and may, perhaps, have performed; but in 1635 the same sum is stated to have been disbursed to a band "because they should not play," and also to "a player," probably a conjuror, "for that he should not use his skill here." A tumbler, armed with a license from the Master of the Revels, had the munificent gift of half a crown from the Chamberlain. Dramatic and other amusements thenceforth disappear from the city accounts for a quarter of a century.

In anticipation of the usual muster of the trained bands, the Corporation, in September, presented two of the three captains, Richard Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, with new "antients" (colours), which cost nearly £30. The yearly marshalling of the bands was occasionally enlivened by the presence of a nobleman of distinction. The Earl of Arundel came down in 1634, and the Corporation, mindful of a former oversight, not only hastened to present him with wine, sugar, conserves, prunes, and other delicacies, but invited his son, Lord Maltravers, who had inspected the troopers, to a sumptuous dinner in the great mansion of the Creswick family, in Small Street.

In the State Papers for November, 1630, is an account of the troubles of Derrick Popley, one of the Sheriffs of Bristol, then in custody, by order of the Privy Council, charged with engrossing salt. Mr. Popley explained in a petition for relief that he yearly imported 5,000 bushels of foreign salt, but that, having a ship bound on a fishing voyage, he had sent an agent to the Somerset ports, who had bought up 700 tons, for which he and his agent had been arrested and carried to London. One Windham, the informer, alleged before the Privy Council that Popley's purchases at Watchet and other places had raised the local price of salt from 4s. 8d. to 15s. a bushel. The issue is not recorded. In the following year, at the election of Mayor, the ex-

Sheriff was fined £10 for contemptuously neglecting to be present in the Chamber.

In January, 1631, the King issued a proclamation by which Bristol merchants were prohibited from pursuing one of the most important branches of their commerce. The mandate, after asserting that, notwithstanding previous royal decrees, great quantities of tobacco continued to be planted in several parts of England, whilst an incredible quantity was imported secretly, forbade the cultivation of the plant at home, or its importation from the plantations into any port save London. The quantity to be admitted was to be fixed at the King's discretion, His Majesty disapproving of an immeasurable outlay on so vain and needless a commodity. Notwithstanding this emphatic expression of the royal displeasure, the culture of tobacco in Gloucestershire became so prevalent in the following summer that the Privy Council sent down a peremptory order to the Sheriff to cut down the plantations, apparently with little effect. The above proclamation was re-issued in May, 1634, and in January, 1638. It is probable that the restriction of the foreign trade to London was devised to extort money for licenses to import into Bristol, and it will be shown under 1641 that such licenses were occasionally obtained. In the meantime a jealous watch was kept upon local merchants. In April, 1635, when a ship laden with tobacco was driven into this port through stress of weather, a petition was sent to the Government praying that she might be discharged here; but the Lords of the Treasury sneeringly expressed doubts as to the cause of the ship's change of course, and peremptorily ordered her to London.

The year 1631 was locally notable for an attempt made by Bristol enterprise to realize the long-cherished dream of navigators—the discovery of a North-West Passage to India and the far East. The King having taken some interest in the problem, and directed one of his ablest servants, Sir Thomas Roe, to equip a royal ship for an expedition, some leading Bristol merchants applied to Sir Thomas through Captain Thomas James, an experienced Bristol mariner, to be allowed to take part in the adventure, expressing willingness to fit out a ship under James's command. Roe cordially responded to the appeal, informing the Mayor, John Tomlinson, who had married his sister, that the Lord Treasurer, "being beholden to you for your love in choosing him Steward of your city," proposed to give the Bristol undertakers an equal share in all the ad-

vantages expected to be derived from the discovery. The King was accustomed to grant audiences at an early hour on Sunday mornings, and when the Lord Treasurer's promises had been confirmed, Captain James was permitted to pay his respects to His Majesty. The Bristol adventurers, of whom Humphrey Hooke, Andrew Charlton, Miles Jackson, and Thomas Cole were the chiefs, thereupon procured a ship of eighty tons burden, which, in honour of the Queen, whose assistance in the business of the Castle was gratefully remembered, they named the *Henrietta Maria*. The crew was composed of twenty-two able seamen, and a large sum was spent in equipment. The vessel set sail on May 3rd, steered by way of Greenland to Hudson's Strait, the weather throughout being extremely unfavourable; and on September 3rd entered a bay, still named James's Bay in honour of its discoverer. A month later, the explorers reached a place they called Charlton, after the Bristolian mentioned above, and there they were compelled to remain. The ship being unable to approach within three miles of the shore, it was deemed advisable to sink her, to prevent injury from "bumping," the crew seeking such shelter as could be found on land. After experiencing a winter of terrible severity, the crew, in the following May, dug the ice out of the ship, got her afloat again, and soon after sailed for England, arriving at Bristol after a stormy voyage on October 22nd. By that time the vessel was so shattered that the safe return was regarded as miraculous. The London adventure, led by a seaman named Fox, was of an inglorious character, his ship being brought home after a desultory cruise of six months in regions already well known. The intrepidity of James thus became the more conspicuous, and won the admiration of the Court. On his presenting himself at Whitehall with a chart of his voyage, the King welcomed him heartily, held him in conversation for two hours, and requested him to attend again and give further details. The nobility followed the royal example, and James, to use a modern phrase, was the lion of the season. A spirited account of his Arctic adventures was published in 1633, and proves the commander to have been a skilful and scientific navigator. In the same year he was appointed captain of a warship, which cruised in the Bristol Channel for the suppression of piracy. Some remarkable coincidences of thought and expression have been remarked in the narrative of the above voyage and in the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner,"

from which it has been inferred that Coleridge had read and been impressed by James's story.

Another Government shift for wringing money from the public was put in force during the summer, and produced a good harvest. The case of Bristol illustrates what went on in every county and borough throughout the kingdom. On June 29th a royal commission was addressed to the Bishop of Bristol, the Mayor, and others, directing that they should call before them such inhabitants as, by their position in life, could be forced to take up the title of knights, and to fix the composition that should be paid for refusing it. It is clear from a minute of the Council of three weeks earlier date that the intention of the Government was known in the city, and that the Mayor and some of the wealthy aldermen had hastened to make personal compositions privately, for the purpose of getting themselves appointed as commissioners through the favour of the Lord Treasurer. In addition to those voluntary victims there were no less than forty-four persons in the city qualified for knighthood, all of whom shunned the honour of a title, and were accordingly assessed according to their assumed means. The names of those gentlemen have been fortunately preserved amongst the State Papers, and are now published for the first time. They are of great interest, as they doubtless embrace the whole upper-class population of the city, with the exception of the royal commissioners, and indicate the presumed wealth of each individual. Alexander James, a Common Councillor, headed the list, and was required to pay £41 6s. 8d. Then follow Alderman Robert Rogers, the wealthiest of the soapmakers who paid £30; Alderman Christopher Whitson, £25, and Richard Holworthy, C.C., £23 6s. 8d.; Alderman Abel Kitchin, Henry Hobson, innkeeper, C.C., Nicholas Heale, gentleman, Alderman Henry Gibbes, Henry Yate, soapmaker, C.C., and George Gibbes, brewer, paid £8 13s. 4d. each. Alderman William Young, Thomas Lloyd, brewer, William Jones, merchant, C.C., Richard Ballman, brewer, Oliver Smith, mercer, Ezekiel Wallis, mercer, C.C., and George Knight, mercer, C.C., £14 each; Walter Ellis, merchant, C.C., William Sage, tanner, Anthony Prewett, draper, and Francis Creswick, merchant, C.C., £13 6s. 8d. each; Nicholas Meredith, merchant, Matthew Warren, clothier, C.C., Edward Peters, merchant, William Lysett, grocer, C.C., and William Snigg, gentleman, £12 each; Richard Baugh, brewer, £11 13s. 4d.; Richard Johnson

smith, Richard Jackson, clothier, Edward Batten, gentleman, Miles Callowhill, mercer, John Lock, merchant, C.C., William Wyatt, merchant, and Francis Derrick, merchant, £11 each; John Pearce, draper, George Reece, gentleman, Robert Osborne, brewer, Robert Kitchen, merchant, John Baber, tailor, William Hayman, mariner, and Robert Blackborow, brewer, £10. The only person assessed under the last-named sum was William Colston, a young man, just beginning a mercantile career, who was assessed at £6 13s. 4d. The figures appended to the name of Alderman John Harrington, brewer, are illegible. One Thurston Harris, baker, was ordered to pay £12, but the item was afterwards struck out. The total amount netted by the process was £626, and as the compositions recorded above amount to £548, it is clear that the Mayor (John Tomlinson) and the aldermanic commissioners showed conspicuous lenity in assessing themselves. The royal mandate required the whole of the money to be brought in within ten days of the hearing.

Amongst the many monopolies created about this time by Charles I. was one concerning saltpetre. In 1627 a commission was issued to the Duke of Buckingham and another nobleman, empowering them to dig for saltpetre in the houses, etc., of any of the King's subjects, the purchase of this article being forbidden to all save the royal licensees. In September, 1631, on the information of the justices at Chippenham, two Bristol men, named Cossley and Baber, were dragged before the Privy Council charged with fraudulently buying the King's saltpetre and converting it into gunpowder. It is evident that the charge could not be proved against them, for two months later they petitioned for release from prison, having never been called on to answer their prosecutors. They were probably liberated on payment of a fine. In December, 1637, John Dowell, or Dowle, the local Customer, who devoted himself for many years to the persecution of Bristol merchants, sent information to Sir Henry Vane, probably the royal patentee, that large quantities of contraband gunpowder were stored in the city, and that forty-six persons were retailing without a license. The Lords of the Admiralty thereupon wrote to the Mayor, alleging that, in defiance of the King's mandate, gunpowder was still largely made in Bristol, Baber being mentioned as a conspicuous offender, and peremptory orders were given for the suppression of all the mills. The Mayor replied soon afterwards, asserting that

two mills had been discovered and the implements confiscated. In November, 1638, however, Dowell reported that Baber had a mill in the suburbs, and was making two cwt. a week, whilst much was covertly smuggled into the city, and a few weeks later the "commissioners for gunpowder" sent down orders to the Mayor to seize Baber's mills, break his utensils, and commit him and every other local maker to prison if they presumed to continue the trade. It is somewhat amusing to find that, after all this rough treatment, Baber became, during the Civil War, the chief local gunpowder-maker for the King, and not only sent £800 worth to Oxford, but supplied Prince Rupert when in Bristol with ammunition to the value of £1,500, for which he was never repaid.

An affair which caused much excitement in the city occurred during the autumn of 1631. The King had some time before granted powers to a neighbouring landowner to enclose large portions of the common land in the Forest of Dean, and to cut down the woods, contrary, as the inhabitants alleged, to their ancient rights. The destruction committed by the grantee having eventually led to tumultuary gatherings and acts of violence, steps were taken by the Government to punish the rioters, in the course of which John Wragg, one of the myrmidons of the Privy Council, arrested in Bristol a forester named Virtue, alleged to be one of the ringleaders, temporarily lodged him in Newgate, and reported the facts to his employers. Being sent back by them with orders to remove the prisoner to Gloucester for trial at the assizes, Wragg was himself arrested on a writ of the Piepowder Court, at the suit of Virtue, who claimed £500 damages for illegal imprisonment. According to Wragg's petition thereon to the Privy Council, the Steward (judge) of the Court, the keeper of Newgate, and various civic officials were abettors of Virtue's prosecution, and he especially complained of the conduct of the under-gaoler in refusing him fire, victuals, and bedding during his detention. The Privy Council promptly resented the treatment of their agent, and Miles Jackson, one of the city Sheriffs, who was held answerable for the keeper of Newgate, together with the under-gaoler and others, were prosecuted in the Star Chamber, and were apparently kept in custody for several weeks. The Sheriff vainly protested that Wragg's arrest took place without his knowledge, and that the messenger was liberated within twenty-four hours on his official position being ascertained; whilst the gaoler's

plea that he had simply conformed to a legal mandate was equally unavailing. A local annalist says :—"It cost them dear before they were all discharged." It is not surprising that in the struggle then drawing near Miles Jackson was a zealous Parliamentarian.

A new restriction upon local commerce was proclaimed at the High Cross in November. The King having just granted to six London merchants the sole right of trading with Guinea, Bonny, and Angola, local merchants were prohibited from competing with the monopolists. In 1633 a similar interdiction was published in reference to trade with "the gulf and river of Canada," a monopoly having been conferred on another London confederacy.

Manufacturers suffered from royal restrictions as severely as did merchants. In December, 1631, a patent was granted to seventeen persons, courtiers and Londoners, conferring on them the sole right to make hard and soft soap out of home materials; and in the following month these monopolists, styled the Society of Soapmakers of Westminster, received a charter of incorporation empowering them to destroy the vats and demolish the buildings of persons invading their privilege. In July, 1634, proclamation was made in Bristol that the King forbade the making of soap for private domestic use, and prohibited the importation of foreign, Irish, or Scotch soap. Bristol had then enjoyed a great repute for its soap for four hundred years, and the soapmakers were numerous and their business extensive when this monopoly was created. Seeing the prospect of ruin before them, the manufacturers naturally made terms with the Westminster Society, and in consideration of a large payment permission was obtained to make and dispose of the insignificant quantity of 600 tons yearly. But the Government, conceiving that more could be extorted from the Bristolians, then took action on its own account. In a petition dated May, 1635, the local manufacturers made an earnest appeal against a new order issued by the Privy Council forbidding them to vend soap outside Bristol save to Wales and the Western ports, and requiring them to pay an additional tax to the King of £4 per ton, a burden which they declared would simply be ruinous. No relief, however, was accorded beyond permission to sell in Wilts and Gloucestershire. About the same time the local Soapmakers' Company laid another grief before the Government, complaining that although they had conformed to the terms imposed by the King and the London monopolists, their

soap had been seized by orders of the latter, and they had, in spite of their poverty, been compelled to travel five times to London, and to make long sojourns there without obtaining any redress. Other documents show that the Londoners maintained spies in the city who constantly harassed the industry. In May, 1637, twelve Bristol soapmakers were lying in the Fleet prison for non-payment of the extra tax levied by the Crown, and were forced to redeem themselves on the terms imposed by the Lord Treasurer. (Some of these victims were afterwards conspicuous Parliamentarians.) Finally, in 1638, the King's Gentlemen Pensioners, whose salaries were two years in arrear, begged His Majesty to grant them the profits of "his soap in Bristol," and this appears to have been conceded. By the King's order in Council, the number of soap-houses in the city was about the same time reduced to four. These brief citations from the State Papers afford but an inadequate conception of the suffering endured for several years by an inoffensive and useful body of manufacturers. Adams, the ablest of the contemporary chroniclers, who was a witness of the persecution, and whose zealous loyalty renders his statements on the subject unimpeachable, records that about thirty Bristol soapmakers "were served up to London, where against their wills they were retained long with great expenses, imprisoned, and fined in above £20,000, and were bound to more inconveniences before they could be discharged."

Neither the State records nor those of the Corporation contain any reference to the tribulations of the Bristol brewers. But Adams notes:—"Another sort of [royal] commissioners were for brewers, on whose behalf some of the chiefest of that Company rode for London, where they had no remedy granted, but every brewer was enjoined to pay 40 marks a year, of all which the poor commons do feel the smart." In January, 1633, a royal proclamation paralysed another branch of trade, the making of girdles, belts, and other articles of apparel being prohibited because, as the mandate asserted, competition impoverished the Girdlers' Company of London.

The relation of despotic restraints and exactions tends to become somewhat monotonous, but the grievances pressed so heavily on all classes, and had so marked an effect on public opinion in the final conflict between King and Parliament, that it would be misleading to suppress the facts. It was shown at page 85 that the enormity of the fees demanded at the Bristol Custom House was condemned in

the House of Commons, and that the officials submitted to extensive reductions. Parliaments being now dispensed with, and their revival being improbable, Messrs. Dowell and Willett, the Customer and Collector, in June, 1633, impudently repudiated the compact made with the merchants, set forth a new and greatly enhanced scale of fees, and threatened to stop the landing and shipment of goods unless their demands were complied with. The mercantile body appealed to the Government, but it was speedily discovered that the Lord Treasurer had sanctioned, by warrant, the proceedings of Dowell and his colleagues, and that Attorney-General Noy, on the pretext that one of the subordinate officers had not signed the agreement of 1624, had given his opinion that the arrangement was invalid. The merchants continued their protests until April, 1634, when the Treasurer sent down a testy letter, requesting them to end the dispute by immediate submission, and to give him no further trouble. Two months later, however, for some mysterious reason, he thought proper to change his mind, revoked his warrant to the officers, and ordered them to repay the money they had extorted in excess of their just fees. Whilst this dispute was pending, the Corporation gave an order for the Lord Treasurer's portrait, which cost £2 15s. The picture, on arrival, did not give satisfaction, and a second commission was despatched, the artist being further directed to paint pictures of the King and of "Lord Cecil." Only £6 10s. was paid for the three portraits to "Flechier the Dutchman," and the fee included some "trimming" of other pictures in the Council House. The Chamberlain, a week or two later, disbursed £4 1s. 7d. "for a pie with two salmons baked in it, and for four lamprey pies, presented and sent to London to a friend, and for gilding them."

A royal proclamation received in the city in February, 1633, fixed the prices at which wines were to be sold by retail for the ensuing year. The cost of Canary and Muscadel was not to exceed 12d. per quart, of sack and Malaga, 9d., of best French, 6d., and of Rochelle and inferior sorts, 3d. A Privy Council order on the same subject, dated December, 1638, shows that prices had risen 2d. per quart.

The demolition of Morgan's pothouse at Pill (see p. 113) did not reduce that worthy to submission. He proved, in fact, as refractory as before, and the Somerset justices were called upon in 1631 to suppress his "sconce" of alehouses. In 1633 a "writ of rebellion" was issued against some of

his tenants, who were as intractable as their landlord, and they were arrested and imprisoned without any apparent result. In 1634 Morgan was prosecuted in the Court of Exchequer for exacting "duties," resisting the erection of mooring posts, and encouraging unlicensed alehouses, whereby the King's Customs were evaded and the goods of merchants embezzled. It was proved by witnesses that he had built another house so close to the river that the men engaged in towing ships had to struggle through the deep mud along the shore. After a litigation extending over two years, the Court gave judgment against him, pronouncing his conduct insufferable, fining him a considerable sum, and ordering that one house only, for the use of the ferry, should be allowed to stand, and that all the rest should be demolished at his expense; the Corporation being further empowered to erect such mooring posts as they thought fit. The Common Council went to great expense in prosecuting the suit, and retained four leading barristers at the final hearing. The fees appear small to modern eyes. The Attorney and Solicitor-General received £5 each, the Recorder of London, £4, and Mr. Lenthall (afterwards so famous), £3. The Solicitor-General and the Recorder had, however, a present of £20 worth of wine and sugar. Fifty pounds were paid for the decree "and for a present to the Lords," and a hogshead of wine with sugar loaves went to Sir Robert Eaton. Whether the two hogsheads of wine presented about the same time to the Lord Chief Baron had any connection with the affair is a matter of conjecture. Morgan having characteristically refused to obey the decree, more money was spent in obtaining a warrant for his arrest. It will be seen under 1637 that even imprisonment failed to reduce him to obedience.

Bishop Wright, with whom the Common Council had always maintained cordial relations, was translated to Lichfield in 1633. The Corporation soon afterwards sent him a handsome piece of plate "as a testimony of love and affection." His successor in Bristol was Dr. George Coke, who owed his preferment to his brother, Sir John Coke, Secretary of State. The new prelate's letter to his relative, giving an account of his arrival and "good welcome" in the city, is interesting for the proof it affords of the attachment to the Church that then prevailed. His first sermon, he wrote, was preached to the greatest concourse he ever saw. The Mayor, aldermen and sheriffs were present,

together with all the city clergy, so that not one sermon was preached in any of the other churches. The citizens, he added, were loving and friendly, the Mayor had invited himself and family to a royal feast; another was to be given by Sheriff Fitzherbert; and Alderman Barker, a wise and able man, had sent him a present, as had some others. Invitations were not expected from himself, "all they require is loving acquaintance." The Bishop's account of his reception is confirmed by the civic accounts, which record the presentation to him, in the following December, of "three silver bowls and a salt." His lordship's weak constitution obliged him to have recourse to the local medical practitioners, of whom he wrote with some bitterness in 1635:—"Such leeches are the physicians here that they will not leave hold as long as any blood remains."

At a meeting on April 9th, the Council appointed a committee to superintend the repairing and beautifying of the High Cross, but directed that the outlay should not exceed £100, and that no alteration should be made in the form of the structure. The committee, however, thought proper to ignore those restrictions. Considering the graceful production of the fourteenth century not sufficiently pretentious, they gave orders that it should be considerably increased in height, in order to afford space for the insertion of statues of four additional monarchs—the reigning sovereign, James I., Elizabeth, and Henry VI. The debased Gothic work was executed by men engaged by the committee, the master mason being paid 2s. and each of his five or six subordinates 1s. per day. The stone was brought from Haselbury, and one great block for the summit cost 7s. 9d., besides 30s. for carriage. The total expenditure almost exactly doubled the amount prescribed by the Council, no less than £42 being expended in London in the purchase of the gold leaf and colours used in "decorating" the masonry.

In accordance with a commission under the Great Seal, a subscription was made in the Council Chamber in June, to promote the reparation of "the Church Paules," otherwise St. Paul's Cathedral, then in a ruinous condition. The Mayor and aldermen contributed 20s. each; the councillors, on an average, 10s.

An old and inefficient crane on the Back, the only one existing in the city, was removed this year, and replaced by a more powerful one, at a cost of about £100. The instru-

ment was let on lease, in August, to a man named Partridge, at a rental of £8, which indicates the slender requirements of the commerce of the period. In the five years ending 1647 the Crane Master was unable to pay any rent at all. Business afterwards revived, and a fresh lease was granted to him at the same rental, on his undertaking to pay up the arrears, and £10 additional.

An order was given by the Council in September that two stately robes of scarlet and fur should be provided for the Mayor and the Mayor-elect, to be worn yearly at the great corporate ceremony on Michaelmas Day. The sum of £25 14s. was paid for one robe, and £14 for the other. The incident possibly inspired a wealthy citizen, George White, brother of the benevolent Dr. White, with a desire to confer a further decoration on the chief magistrate, for by his will, dated in 1634, he directed his executors to lay out £150 in the purchase of "one cheyne of gold," to be worn by the Mayor on "scarlet days." Somewhat strangely, the Council looked on the bequest with disfavour, for, though it was at first accepted by a narrow majority, the motion was shortly afterwards rescinded, and it was resolved that "in lieu thereof £100 for the poor was more requisite." The implied rebuke was the more ungracious inasmuch as the testator had bequeathed £400 to the Corporation for charitable purposes. Several audit books of this period having been lost, it is uncertain whether the executors did or did not adopt the Council's suggestion, but from the directions of the will they probably complied. (Another of this gentleman's gifts was the brazen pillar bearing his name, now standing before the Exchange.) White's testament gives evidence as to the ostentation that commonly marked the interment of wealthy Bristolians. A sum of £150—equivalent to £600 in our day—was left for funeral expenses, and £6 more were bequeathed to "the Society of Military Men" of the city for a funeral dinner, a custom not uncommon amongst the members. Few men attempted to withstand the custom of the age. Robert Redwood, the founder of the City Library, who died in 1630, ordered that not more than £10 should be expended in funeral expenses and proving his will, but he directed that forty poor men, for their attendance, should have gowns, hats and shoes at a cost not exceeding £39; and by a codicil made a week later, finding his wealth greater than he had imagined, he allotted £100 more for the outlay on his burial.

On May 31st, 1634, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury—Carlyle's "lean little Tadpole of a man, with a face betokening hot blood"—held a visitation of the diocese of Bristol in the cathedral. His presence in the city is unmentioned in the civic records; the chroniclers are equally silent on the subject, and the account of the local churches that would, of course, be presented to him seems to have perished. The State Papers of the year, however, include two voluminous documents in reference to the cathedral and to the conduct of the capitular body. The replies which the Chapter made in writing to twenty interrogations submitted to them were characterized, not unjustly, as "dark answers," and on more explicit statements being demanded many discreditable truths came to light. As the Dean and prebendaries all held other benefices—one prebendary had three parochial livings, and three of his colleagues two each—the permanent residence at the cathedral stipulated by the statutes was not observed, four weeks in the year being deemed sufficient. To increase the income divisible amongst the Chapter, miserable stipends were allotted to the other members of the staff, and several offices were suppressed. The minor canons were allowed to take other cures, and were therefore generally absentees. The salary of the gospeller was given to the organist and singing men to improve their paltry pay. A chorister also acted as epistoler, and most of his brethren were organists or parish clerks of churches in the city; so that the Litany was scarcely ever sung at Sunday morning services. The almsmen were non-resident, but allowed the sexton something for performing their duty (sweeping the church, bell-ringing, etc.) For the sake of the patronage, the offices of caterer, cook, and butler were maintained, though the common table had been long abolished. The schoolmaster, besides being needed elsewhere as Bishop's chaplain, was so aged that the singing boys were neither instructed nor governed. The office of usher had been suppressed. The dwellings provided for the prebendaries were mostly let to laymen. The library was converted into a private house. The common hall for the quire was leased to a stranger, as were several others in the precincts. The school-house in the Green was fitted up and used as a tennis-court. The cathedral was used as a common passage to the Bishop's palace and the houses in the cloisters. College Green was in a scandalous condition, being ploughed up by the sledges carrying clothes to dry on Brandon Hill, whilst the Corporation had erected a whipping-post in the centre for castigating

offenders, and a rout of disorderly people played stop-ball and other games from morning to night, on Sundays as well as on week-days. The Chapter's confessions incidentally refer to the visits of the Corporation to the cathedral. It had long been the practice, they said, if the Mayor arrived before the end of morning prayer, to abruptly close the service, and proceed with the sermon. If, on the other hand, prayers had concluded before his worship made his appearance, the custom was to wait in silence until the advent of the civic party gave the signal for the preacher to mount the pulpit. In February, 1638, the Archbishop sent down peremptory orders for the reform of some of the capitular abuses, and the Chapter, after a pertinacious resistance for nearly two years, consented that £20 should be set apart yearly for repairing the cathedral, that £20 should be devoted to increase the stipends of the choristers, and that the sinecure offices of caterer, etc., should be abolished.

The Court of Star Chamber published a decree in June, 1634, concerning "the abuse of farthings," as well by persons counterfeiting the coin as by others who bought large quantities at cheap rates, and made profit by forcing labourers to accept them as wages. The latter practice was sternly forbidden, and it was ordered that no person should pay above two pence in farthings in any one payment. There is some reason to suspect that the Corporation had been profiting by the artifice thus prohibited. In April, 1636, the Chamberlain was ordered to deliver £10 in silver to Thomas Griffith, goldsmith, "which he is desired to exchange with poor people for farthings, not exceeding four pence to any, and to do it as of himself, in so discreet a way as he can, for pacifying the clamour of the poor."

Allusion was made in page 120 to the destruction wrought in the Forest of Dean by the rapacious patentee to whom the King had granted the woods. The havoc at length became of grave concern to local merchants and shipowners, who, in July, 1634, made a vigorous remonstrance to Lord Holland, Chief Justice in Eyre. Documents of this kind generally presented facts in highly exaggerated colours; but there must have been a solid substratum of truth underlying the complaint, which was drawn up by the Attorney-General. It was asserted that one-half of the goodly forest had been destroyed within about twenty years, which had caused the price of timber to advance from 16s. to 25s. per ton, and rendered shipbuilding impracticable. Before wood

became scarce, ships of from 100 to 200 tons were yearly launched at Bristol, whereas during the previous nine years only one ship of 100 tons had been built, and shipwrights were unemployed. Merchants were thus constrained to buy Dutch-built ships; but such vessels were liable to confiscation if they entered Spanish ports, and as the commerce of Bristol was chiefly with Spain, the merchants were unable to trade, and the King's Customs had diminished. If the iron furnaces in the Forest continued to work, all the remaining timber there would be consumed in fifteen years. Consequently iron, which had risen to £17 per ton during the late conflict with Spain, would be unprocurable for money in the event of a future war. The remedies proposed by the petitioners—the re-planting of the woods and the preservation of what remained—were urged by Alderman Barker and others at a “great seat of justice” held by Lord Holland at Gloucester, but there is no record of the result.

In the British Museum is a lengthy manuscript entitled, “A Relation of a late Survey into twenty-six counties . . . in nine weeks . . . August, 1634. By a captain, a lieutenant, and an ancient [ensign] of the Military Company in Norwich.” These worthy gentlemen, whose taste for travel was as remarkable in their time as their antiquarian proclivities, arrived at the “Gillards” inn, High Street, Bristol, at the end of the fifth week of their tour, and record that they were received by the landlord, “Mr. Hobson, a grave, proper, honest, and discreet host, lately a bounteous, gentle, free, and liberal Mayor of that sweet and rich city.” The visitors were pleased with the central streets, and much admired the Marsh, “a very pleasant and delightful place,” with its tree-sheltered walks and bowling green for wealthy and gentle citizens. Besides the cathedral, which is oddly described as “newly finished,” the visitors found eighteen churches, fairly beautified, and “in the major part of them neat, rich, and melodious organs. Their pulpits are most curious, all which the citizens have spared no cost to beautify . . . for they daily strive in every parish who shall exceed other in their generous and religious bounty most to deck and enrich.” Some remarks follow on the general pleasantness of the city, the riches and numbers of her merchants and the excellent government of her Corporation. “To grace and add to her beauty, she maintains three foot companies, besides a voluntary company of gentle, proper, martial, disciplined men, who have their arms lodged in a handsome Artillery House, newly built up in the

Castle yard, where once a year they unite and entertain both Earls and Lords, and a great many knights and gentry of rank and quality at their military feast." The Castle is incidentally mentioned as "almost quite demolished." The visitors finally proceeded to inspect "a strange hot well, which comes gushing out of a mighty stony Rock. . . . To it we descended by . . . near 200 slippery steps; which place, when the tide is gone, never wants good store of company to wash in this well, and to drink of that warm and medicinable water." Having marvelled at the copious cold spring that fell from the rocks opposite to the hot well, they reclinced the steps to betake themselves to delving for the "glittering bastard diamond stones" which the hill plentifully afforded. They then returned to their inn, tasting on their way "a clear spring kept to refresh travellers" (at Jacob's Wells). "And so, with a cup of Bristow milk, we parted with our honest and grave host, and bade this sweet city adieu." In their journey to Wells they were convoyed for some miles "over huge stones and dangerous lead-mines" by a troop of the "gentle artillery citizens" with whom they had fraternized during their visit.

During the summer of this year the merchants of the city experienced almost incessant persecution from royal mercenaries of various kinds. The chroniclers maintain their usual silence on events of this character, but the State Papers give a trustworthy, though imperfect, picture of the situation. On August 1st Alderman Barker, who had become acquainted whilst in the House of Commons with Secretary Nicholas, addressed an emphatic remonstrance to that minister on the sufferings of his fellow-merchants. During the previous five years, he asserted, repeated and wholly unfounded informations had been laid against them in the Star Chamber; unwonted and vexatious commissions had been issued to pry into their affairs; Customs officials had harassed them with false charges, and they had been forced to endure the insolence of royal messengers and common informers, acting as was pretended in the King's service, though the consequences had been altogether contrary. Going into details, Mr. Barker especially complained of the manner in which, after merchants had paid for royal licenses overriding the statute law, and discharged the duties fixed by those instruments, the Customs officers had conspired with informers to bring false charges of fraud, and instigated the Attorney-General to prosecute upon them, in which suits, though nothing had been proved,

heavy fees had been extorted from innocent persons. Twenty merchants had in this way been dragged into the Star Chamber, and though in some cases no definite charge had ever been made against them, none could obtain their discharge without paying largely. Commissions, again, had been sent down to examine sailors, clerks, and others, and attempts had been made to suborn and intimidate those men to bring false accusations against their employers. A commission of this kind was then sitting, and efforts were being made to convict the merchants of having fraudulently made short entries at the Custom House, though all duties had been honestly paid. In fine, more than £1,000 had been wrung out of innocent men within five years, to say nothing of the slur cast upon their reputations. As the writer had been informed that the Secretary disapproved of these proceedings, his advice was prayed for in the matter, and offers were made of further information. Nicholas replied a few days later, expressing regret, and asserting that the Lord Treasurer would redress the grievances if they were properly represented by so good a man as Barker. Portland, however, was too subservient a tool to do anything of the kind, and the oppression continued unabated.

On September 16th, the Court of Aldermen appointed a committee to take the first step for opening the Red Maids Hospital founded by John Whitson, by selecting a meet woman to take the charge of twelve young girls. The Chamberlain's first disbursement for the institution denotes his appreciation of feminine proclivities—he paid one shilling “for a looking-glass for the children.” By the end of the year he had given Goodwife Green, the matron, £4 4s. for the diet of the maids until Christmas, and expended various sums for clothing, furniture, and utensils, including six beds, a frying-pan, and wooden platters, the establishment being completely equipped for the modest sum of £33 13s. 8d. The litigation in Chancery over Whitson's will had just terminated, and the Corporation, at the suggestion of the Lord Keeper, bestowed £66 13s. 4d. on William Willett, one of the testator's disinherited nephews, “for his preferment.” The yearly sum allotted to the schoolmistress for boarding and teaching the girls was originally fixed at 50s. a head, a fraction less than one shilling per week; but in 1636 the stipend was raised to 60s. The children were indentured to the mistress for seven years, and the latter made such profit as she could out of the labours of her pupils, whose education was confined to

reading, and who were almost constantly employed on needlework.

Reference must now be made to a Government requisition that aroused great excitement at the time, and is still historically famous. A writ demanding ship money was issued on October 20th, and commanded the levying of £104,252 on the seaports and maritime counties. On November 6th the King addressed a special mandate to the Corporations of Bristol, Gloucester, Bridgwater, and Minehead, and to the Sheriffs of Gloucestershire and Somerset, requiring them to set forth a ship of 800 tons, with 260 men, fully equipped for half a year's service. The demand was afterwards commuted into a money payment of £6,500. The pretext put forward for the impost was the need of a fleet in view of the hostile attitude of France and Holland; but this statement was received with incredulity, and strong suspicions arose that the King was simply taking measures to render himself permanently independent of Parliamentary control. After many vain supplications made to the Court by the Corporation, in the course of which bribes were profusely distributed amongst officials, and an enormous quantity of wine was "bestowed on noble personages" without securing alleviation, the Privy Council, on December 3rd, forwarded a wrathful letter to the Mayor, stating that, as the local authorities had failed in their duty, the assessment of the city had been confided to the county sheriffs, and demanding immediate submission to their proceedings. The sheriffs, who had similar instructions as to Bridgwater and Gloucester, then took action, and, as was not unnatural in county gentlemen, they threw nearly the whole charge on the wealthy Bristolians to alleviate their own friends. The Corporation at once made a piteous protest to the Government, and the Privy Council, admitting the justice of the complaint, turned in a rage upon the sheriffs, accusing them of partiality, annulled their assessment, and ordered that Bristol should not pay more than one-third of the sum imposed—namely, £2,166 13s. 4d. That amount was then contributed, the sum assessed on the city being paid in full before March 14th, 1635. (The impost levied on Liverpool was £15.) Elated with the success of its manœuvre, the Government then, without any definite foreign policy, issued a second writ in the following August, by which ship-money was converted into a general tax imposed upon the entire kingdom. The amount demanded from Bristol was £2,000, but after many prayers

for relief, accompanied by gratuities and tips as before, the burden was reduced to £1,200. This sum, added to the previous year's exaction, was represented by the Corporation as equal to the levy of eighteen subsidies—a wholly unprecedented charge, and far exceeding the burden laid on other counties and boroughs. The money having been, by some means, wrung from the inhabitants, the Privy Council sent down a third warrant in October, 1636, requiring the city to furnish a ship of 100 tons. This demand was converted into a money payment of £1,000,—commuted to £800,—most of which was collected within a twelvemonth. A fourth writ, demanding a ship of 80 tons, or £800, was received in 1637; but the taxpayers, who, as will be shown, were groaning under other oppressions, were well-nigh exhausted. The collection being delayed, the King's ministers, in May, 1638, sent an angry letter to the Mayor, complaining of his negligence, charging him with disaffection, and summoning him before the Privy Council to answer for his contempt of the King's will. In great alarm, the Corporation deputed the Town Clerk and others to appease their lordships, and as £400 were at once paid in and the remainder was being collected, the Mayor was discharged. The Government, however, found it prudent to mitigate its next demand, the fifth writ, of November, 1638, requiring the immediate levy of only £250, of which four-fifths had been paid in June, 1639. The sixth and last of these arbitrary exactions was called for in November, 1639, when £800 were required; but this sum was subsequently abated to £640, provided prompt payment were made, the full charge being insisted on in the event of delay. In July, 1640, shortly before the elections for the Long Parliament, the Corporation informed the Government that they had remitted all they could collect (amount not stated), and that more could be extracted only by distrains; they had already levied some distresses, but no one would buy the goods; and £700 had just been levied on the citizens for the maintenance and clothing of soldiers. One of the most remarkable facts in connection with the subject is the absence of local information as to the feeling of the inhabitants during these arbitrary proceedings. With the exception of a laconic reference to the first writ in two or three of the chronicles, the whole story of the impost is ignored by local historians; the civic audit books for the three years ending Michaelmas, 1639, have mysteriously vanished; and though the mercantile body must have been amongst the chief victims, the

records of the Merchants' Society are stated to be destitute of the faintest allusion to the matter. Nearly all the above information has been extracted from the State Papers. So far as can be made out, the Corporation contributed about one-sixth of each imposition, and the rest was levied by assessment on the householders.

It might be supposed that whilst the Government was enforcing the above system of extortion it would have forborne from illegally pillaging local merchants in other ways. Nevertheless, in December, 1634, only a month after the issue of the ship-money warrant, a writ was addressed by the King under the Privy Seal to the officers of his household, setting forth his "ancient right of purveyance," and commanding them to levy an extra duty upon wines landed at Bristol in lieu of that privilege, the proceeds being needed, it was alleged, because the royal expenditure was likely "to increase by God's grace by reason of our children," then infants. The composition was fixed at ten shillings per tun; and if any one refused to pay, 16 per cent. of his wines were to be seized, for which he was to receive a small proportion of the value. It will be observed that this edict was a flagrant violation of the solemn judgment of the Court of Exchequer in 1609 (see p. 36). The Corporation urgently pleaded the facts bearing on the case, affirming that the burden would raise the net price of Bristol wines 30s. per tun in excess of those of London, to the obvious ruin of local trade. All remonstrances were ineffectual, and the impost was collected for some years.

The Privy Council at this period were seized with a desire to usurp the functions of the ordinary courts of justice. In November, 1634, Matthew Warren, who had just served the office of Mayor of Bristol, was arrested on a warrant and haled up to Court, to answer the mere assertion of a man named Helly, who alleged that the Mayor had caused him to be imprisoned on an unfounded charge of selling tobacco at the fair. Their lordships then found that Helly's story could not be substantiated, and Mr. Warren was "respited from attendance till the case be further considered," which, of course, was never done. A week later, Robert Sheward, vintner, was dragged up in the same manner, on the information of the Innholders' Company of Bristol, who alleged that Sheward had dressed and sold victuals in his tavern to several persons "contrary to the decree of the Star Chamber." The culprit's defence having been heard, their lordships ordered that his prosecu-

tion should be stopped on his promising not to offend again.

Extreme distress amongst the poor having become again prevalent in the early months of 1635, the Council took unusually extensive measures for its relief. A large warehouse was engaged for storing bread, butter, cheese, oatmeal, and roots, which were purchased wholesale to the value of £800, and resold at prices barely sufficient to recoup the outlay. It was anticipated that the stock would be "returned" (turned over) three or four times during the year, but the accounts do not enter into details. One of the main objects of the scheme was to prevent the alleged exactions of the local hucksters, who were stigmatised in the Council as "the vermin of the commonwealth." Still larger purchases of grain, etc., were made in 1637 and 1638, when, owing to bad harvests, the distress was greater than ever.

The Council, in April, 1635, elected the Earl of Pembroke to the post of Lord High Steward, in the room of the Earl of Portland, who died in the previous month. The new official was Lord Chamberlain, and much was doubtless hoped from his influence at Court in reference to the demand for ship-money. That nothing might be wanting to secure his favour, a handsome silver basin and ewer were presented to him soon afterwards, and a "reward" (lumped up with a number of gratuities) was bestowed on his secretary. His lordship exercised his influence in 1636 by recommending a Mr. Mann to the vacant post of Master of the Grammar School, and his nominee was at once elected.

In consequence of the purchase from Sir Charles Gerard of part of the estate of the former Priory of St. James, the Corporation, in 1635, for the first time enjoyed the prisage of wine entering the port during the Whitsun week. Two barks having arrived, the Chamberlain sold the wine so obtained for £39 12s.

The establishment of a Government "running post" from London to Bristol, and other towns was ordered on July 31st. No messengers were thenceforth to run to and from Bristol except those appointed by Thomas Withering, but letters were allowed to be sent by common carriers, or by private messengers passing between friends. The postage was fixed at two pence for under 80 miles, and at four pence for under 140 miles. In October, 1637, John Freeman was appointed "thorough post" at Bristol, and ordered to provide horses for all men riding post on the King's affairs. Letters were not to be detained more than half a quarter

of an hour, and the carriers were to run seven miles an hour in summer, and five in winter—ideal rates of speed, that were rarely attained even a hundred years later.

Difficulties were encountered at this time in inducing citizens to accept vacant seats in the Common Council. An ordinance was passed in August, 1635, by which it was decreed that any burgess elected into the Corporation, and refusing to serve, should, unless he could swear that he was not worth £1,500, pay such fine as the Chamber thought fit to impose. The order was first put in operation in 1641, when Michael Meredith, one of the Customers of the port, was elected a Councillor. Mr. Meredith at first "utterly refused" to accept the office, insisting that Customs officers were exempted from such service by statute; but eventually he pleaded infirmity, and asked to be released on payment of a fine. He was thereupon mulcted in £50, and dismissed.

The transactions of certain Bristol merchants in the purchase and export of Welsh butter were mentioned under 1620 (see p. 76). There is some evidence that the monopolists had not been content to limit their dealings to the large quantity specified in the royal patent; for in February, 1636, the King granted a commission to Dowell, the notorious Bristol Customer, and others, empowering them to compound with those who had been prosecuted in the Star Chamber for transgressing the terms of the license; and a fine of £300 was subsequently levied before they were discharged from prison. By this time the Welsh butter patent had come into the hands of Lord Goring and Sir Henry Hungate, the latter of whom had transferred his share of the monopoly to several Bristol merchants in consideration of a rent of £700 a year. Other Bristolians, however, ventured into the trade, exporting English butter, and the patentees alleged that some officers of the Customs had connived with the interlopers, whose offences had been "smothered." In the spring of 1639, during a season of great dearth, the King prohibited the exportation of Welsh butter, on which a warm dispute arose between Hungate and his licensees, the former demanding payment of his rent in full, whilst the merchants protested against his claim, alleging that only a thirtieth part of the fixed quantity had been shipped before the King's interference, and that a vast stock was lying on hand "ready to perish." The result does not appear.

During the spring of 1636, four sail of Turkish corsairs

boldly entered into the Bristol Channel, causing great consternation in the city. A letter amongst the State Papers alleges that twenty barks speedily fell victims to them, whilst Giles Penn, the Bristol mariner already referred to, addressing Secretary Nicholas in August, asserted that a thousand persons had fallen into the hands of the bandits within the previous six months. If there had been any truth in the Government's allegation that ship-money was imposed to defend the coast from outrage, the royal navy should have been capable of punishing the pirates; but the efforts made by the Corporation to stir the Government into action were wholly ineffectual. The local merchants at length asked permission to fit out three ships as privateers to deal with the malefactors, and on their request being granted Penn appears to have been engaged to command the vessels. He afterwards zealously urged that a Government expedition should be sent against Sallee under his directions, and in hopes of his appointment the Corporation ordered that £10 be given to him, to free English captives at Sallee and Algiers, Bristolians, if any there, to be preferred. He was set aside, however, in favour of Captain Rainsborough (who became a soldier during the Civil War, and distinguished himself at the siege of Bristol in 1645), and that officer, in 1637, not only delivered about 300 English captives from slavery, but relieved the Western coast for some time from piratical incursions. Owing to Penn's knowledge of the Moorish tongue, he was strongly recommended by English merchants to the attention of the Crown, and was subsequently appointed the King's Consul at Sallee. His name does not occur again in local records.

An outbreak of Plague occurred in London during the summer, and caused great alarm throughout the country. The matter is worth mentioning only on account of the incidental information which crops up as to the great importance of the Bristol fairs. The Corporation having given notice that Londoners and their goods would not be admitted into the city whilst the pestilence continued, the excluded traders applied for relief to the Privy Council, which had fled to Oatlands. Persons resorted to St. James's fair, they alleged, from most of the counties in England, Ireland, and Wales; many drapers, skinners, leather sellers, and "upholdsters" rode to the city to bestow many thousand pounds; and divers chapmen and debtors met there and nowhere else; so that the petitioners would be grievous losers if they were shut out. The disease having partially

abated in London, the Government ordered that traders from thence who could produce certificates of health from the Lord Mayor should be permitted to traffic at the fair. Similar orders were issued in January and July, 1637, for both fairs, the Lord Mayor being requested to be very careful in granting certificates. The anxiety in Bristol during the summer of the latter year was so extreme that the Corporation commanded every able-bodied citizen to take his turn in watching the Gates, to prevent the entrance of suspected strangers. Nineteen burgesses, assisted by four watchmen receiving 4*d.* a day, were to be on duty in the daytime, and twenty-one at night, who were to rigorously guard the entrances to the city and the quays at every flood tide. By this arrangement each burgess's turn was estimated "to come about every five weeks"; so that the able-bodied citizens were supposed to number about 1,400.

An order was issued by the Common Council in August respecting the tolling of church bells for the dead. It was decreed that a passing knell should not exceed two hours in length, and that for a funeral more than four hours, and the tolling was to be at one church only. The Corporation had really no power to make such an enactment, and it was probably never obeyed. It is recorded at a much later date that at the death of one wealthy inhabitant the bells of every church in the city were tolled from morning till night.

The Corporation purchased during the autumn, from William Winter, Esq., of Clapton, the manor of North Weston, near Portishead, for the sum of £1,409. The North Weston estate was sold in 1836 for upwards of £16,400.

A new method of harassing the Corporation was invented by some member of the Government in 1637. By a charter granted by Henry IV., subsequently confirmed by Edward IV., the Mayor and Commonalty, who had been grievously annoyed by officers of the Admiralty, were exempted from their interference, and empowered to establish a local Admiralty Court for determining disputes arising in the port. These royal grants were highly prized, inasmuch as many Lord Admirals and their subordinates had sought to encroach on the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and had succeeded in claiming cognisance not only of matters done on the high seas, but also of foreign contracts and debts, of causes between merchants and mariners, and even of some disputes between residents of inland towns. On repeated

occasions the great Admiralty officials had endeavoured to repudiate the special privilege of Bristolians, but after the usual blackmailing had been borne by the victims, the rights conceded by the above charters had been sullenly admitted. On this occasion the Government itself sought to abrogate the ancient privilege, and, besides applying for a writ of *Quo warranto*, it sent down commissioners charged to inquire into the local system of procedure, and if possible to detect abuses that would throw a colour of justice over its policy. In the end the inquisition resulted in failure, but the Government, nevertheless, insisted on subverting the city's rights. For though permission was granted to hold a court in Bristol, the Judge of the Admiralty was empowered to take a seat in it whenever he chose, and all judgments were subject to appeal to his own Court, sitting in London. The affair was a costly one to the Corporation, involving lengthy visits of deputies to Whitehall, entertainments to the commissioners, and presents to the Lord High Steward and other courtiers. Amongst the last named was a well-known personage, Endymion Porter, Gentleman of the Bedchamber and a favourite of the King, who was admitted to the freedom of the city, and voted a gratuity for his "services," now invisible.

The Admiralty case was still pending when the Government brought another and still more formidable engine to bear upon the citizens. In January, 1637, Hugh Lewis, Customs Searcher, who has a suspicious appearance of being a tool of Dowell, the Customer, complained to the Privy Council of the alleged malpractices of the Mayor (Richard Long) and other leading merchants. They had, he asserted, unlawfully shipped a quantity of tanned hides and candles, intending to export them, but he, refusing to be bribed by them to allow the goods to pass, had seized the cargo, and was proceeding by law for its confiscation when the owners appealed to the Privy Council, "whereby he was greatly discouraged in his service." Their lordships gave directions that a commission of inquiry should be applied for to clear up the facts. Nothing more respecting the case appears in the Council's minutes for a twelvemonth, but it is clear that the local Customs authorities sent up further and graver charges against the Corporation, and that the Government changed the nature of the inquiry. For in November, 1637, the King issued a special commission, of which Lord Mohun and "two men of mean quality" (as the Town Clerk described them) named Foxe and Powlett proved to be the

acting members. The document recited that His Majesty had been credibly informed that the magistrates of the city, and others, had unlawfully levied very great sums of money upon imports and exports of merchandise, and ordered the commissioners to discover the offenders, and to ascertain what sums so obtained were due to the King, in order that they might be recovered. On what grounds any part of unlawfully levied money could be claimed by the Crown the commission omitted to explain. The case indeed was so bad that the commissioners carefully concealed the real object of the inquiry. When the royal deputies arrived, accompanied by a crowd of minor mercenaries, the Town Clerk requested that the terms of the commission should be made known, but the application was insolently rejected. The city swarmed with pursuivants and other officials, who browbeat tradesmen, merchants' clerks, shopmen, porters, etc., and dragged them before the inquisitors, who threatened them with imprisonment if they did not give satisfactory evidence, and actually sent some to gaol for disobedience to their behests. Mr. Long, the ex-Mayor, and Master of the Merchants' Society, was roundly abused as an abettor of frauds, whilst Mr. Arundel, another eminent merchant, and the Town Clerk were committed for alleged contempt. In spite of these unscrupulous tactics, the charge of levying illegal duties completely broke down. The truth was that the Corporation and their lessees, the Merchants' Company, had increased the wharfage, and possibly other local dues, to assist in discharging the demands for ship-money; but in this they had merely followed an ancient custom in emergencies. The commissioners next betook themselves to the charges originally raised by the Searcher, Lewis. As has been already shown, some merchants and manufacturers had been granted royal licenses to export butter and leather, to import currants, and to manufacture soap, starch, beer, etc., the quantities in each case being limited by the terms of the patents. The Crown officials, alleging that great frauds had been committed by the licensees exceeding their privileges, had caused writs to be issued out of the Star Chamber, and the inquisitors sought to further these proceedings by ordering the defendants to produce their books and give evidence against their partners, friends and neighbours, whilst the odious system of tempting or intimidating clerks and other servants to make accusations against their employers was resorted to unscrupulously. The proceedings in the Star Chamber were equally discreditable. Many

respectable citizens, against whom nothing could be proved, were summoned to the Court, which threw some of them into prison, and after allowing others to return home demanded their presence in London afresh; whilst in all cases the men so treated were forced to pay enormous exactions in the shape of fees. After submitting to this tyranny for some months, a deputation of four aldermen and other merchants besought an audience of the King, and prayed him on their knees to take their distress into consideration. But Charles, who it is painful to say had taken much interest in the persecution from the outset, and had personally given orders in the Privy Council for the suits in the Star Chamber, coldly replied that the commission could not be withdrawn or the inquiry suspended; but that the petitioners might, if they thought fit, prefer a Bill in the Star Chamber against those they complained of. The ultimate judgment of that iniquitous tribunal cannot be found in the records. Possibly the fruitlessness of the commission of inquiry became so evident that the Government ordered its instruments to relinquish their work.

As was foreshadowed in a previous page, the case of Morgan, the irrepressible squire of Pill, turned up again in May, 1637, when the Corporation, in a petition to the Privy Council, represented that, in despite of the judgment of the Court of Exchequer, which had been followed by an order for Morgan's imprisonment for contempt, he and his tenants were still perversely disobedient, and nothing had been done. The magistrates had lately held a conference with some of the justices of Somerset with a view to taking action, but this had been ineffectual, and the obnoxious ale-houses were still unremoved. It appears that the Privy Council had forbidden the demolition of the hovels during the previous winter out of charity for the poor families. Their lordships now conceived that the tenants had received abundant notice, and empowered the Corporation to proceed forthwith in carrying out the decree of the Court of Exchequer. Owing to the disappearance of the corporate account-books, evidence is wanting as to the steps actually taken, but there can be little doubt that they were vigorous, and, for a time, effectual.

In spite of numerous royal proclamations, the tobacco plant was very extensively cultivated at this period in Gloucestershire. The Privy Council, in June, forwarded a letter to the county justices strongly censuring them for remissness in supporting the officers sent down to root out

the plantations, who had been riotously resisted in various districts. Similar missives were frequently dispatched, clearly without effect, and it is probable that the landed gentry winked at an industry that tended to enhance their rentals. A document in the Historical Manuscript reports (vol. x. part 2) states that the price of the best tobacco in 1638 was one shilling per ounce.

A minute in the Corporation Bargain Book, dated September 9th, shows that the medieval system of constructing town dwellings was still in favour. The surveyors certify that they had viewed the two tenements then being built by Francis Creswick in Corn Street, adjoining St. Werburgh's church, in which the upper story projected four feet beyond the lower story, and was supported by posts on the "city waste"—that is, the public street. It was determined that Creswick should pay, for liberty so to do, 6s. 8d. per annum. The houses in question were removed early in the nineteenth century, for the erection of the Commercial Rooms.

In the summer of 1638 the King issued a proclamation imposing an additional duty of 40s. per tun on all wines imported, and immediately afterwards farmed out the new tax to the Vintners' Company of London, who, little foreseeing the Parliamentary troubles in store for them, lost no time in putting their powers in operation. One morning in September, a deputation of the Company presented themselves in Bristol, accompanied by one of the detested royal pursuivants, and after presenting a mandate from the Privy Council commanding submission to their behests, they demanded a sight of all the wine stored in the city. The inspection having been made, they next requested the payment of the extra duty, not merely on the stock in hand, but on what had been sold during the previous three months. Urgent appeals for relief having been vainly addressed to the Privy Council, the merchants were driven to offer a composition, and the Londoners consented to accept a fixed sum of £3,500 per annum, providing that ten wealthy citizens would become security for its payment. The collection of the impost was soon found to be impracticable. Half the local vintners became insolvent, others refused to pay the tax, and the total amount received during two years was only £800, although 4,250 tuns of wine had been brought into port. In 1640 the Vintners' Company commenced an action against the guarantors for £4,450, being eighteen months' composition, less the above instalment.

The suit was still proceeding in February, 1642, when only about £200 more had been wrung from the citizens. By that time, however, Parliament had dealt trenchantly with many of the King's arbitrary imposts, including those on wine. A report of a House of Commons' committee in May, 1641, charged the London vintners with having been projectors of the last tax, and asserted that the Company, whilst paying only £19,000 yearly to the Crown, had sought to exact £170,000 from the subject. The Bristol merchants were thus encouraged to urge their grievances on Parliament, and a deputation was sent up to Westminster, the leader of which was Mr. George Bowcher, whose tragic fate at no distant day was then unforeseen. The London vintners, whose chief, Alderman Abel, with some of his confederates, was already in prison, became panic-stricken at the prospect, submitted humbly to the Commons, offering fines for pardon, and doubtless dropped their suit, of which there is no further mention.

Monopolies being in high favour at Court in 1638, the Bristol Merchant Venturers were induced to hope that, by royal favour, they might realize their long-cherished desire to crush the competition of interlopers. On November 28th they presented a petition to the King, setting forth their incorporation by Edward VI., and their subsequent good works in supporting an almshouse, in providing pensions for decayed merchants and seamen's widows, and in maintaining a schoolmaster and curate; and urging that further privileges should be conceded to them as an encouragement to continue on the same path. The King referred the petition to the Attorney-General, who soon afterwards reported in its favour in general terms, but added that certain qualifications must be introduced into the additional privileges solicited. His report was approved by His Majesty, and a new charter was thereupon granted on January 7th, 1639. (All the above documents are preserved at the Record Office.) Unfortunately for the merchants, the Attorney-General's "qualifications" were destructive of the object the Society had at heart, no powers being conceded to suppress the rivalry of non-members. Improvements were made in the constitution of the Company. A body of ten "Assistants" was created, who with the Master and Wardens were to make ordinances and enforce penalties: but such ordinances were not to be prejudicial to the royal prerogative or to the Corporation of the city. The annual elections were thenceforth to take place on November 10th,

and new Masters and Wardens were to be sworn before the outgoing officials, and not, as previously, before the Mayor and Aldermen.

The Government, in February, 1639, was compelled to withdraw the arbitrary orders by which the foreign tobacco trade was made a monopoly for the benefit of London merchants. At a sitting of the Privy Council on the 17th a petition was considered of the farmers of the Customs for an abrogation of the system, owing to the great injury they sustained from it, many ships laden with tobacco being, they alleged, carried into Western outports under pretence of damage, when the cargoes were smuggled ashore, and the duties lost. Their lordships determined to reverse their policy, and it was ordered that tobacco might be thereafter landed at Bristol, Plymouth, Dartmouth and Southampton. A great stimulus was thus imparted to local commerce, and the trade rapidly developed.

The country was now hastening to a crisis that was fated to shatter the financial fabric which the King had so laboriously built up during his ten years' despotism. The revolt of the Scotch nation against Laud's ecclesiastical policy could not be suppressed except by force of arms, and in February, 1639, the King issued a mandate for troops to the Lords-Lieutenant of counties. Being resolved, he said, to repair in person to the North with his army, to maintain the safety of the kingdom, he required a certain number of infantry to be drawn out of the trained bands, and sent to attend him at York. The contingent demanded from Bristol was 50, whilst 1,000 were summoned from Gloucestershire. From an imperfect minute in the Common Council books it appears that the request was immediately complied with, and that the cost of equipping and sending forward the men was borne by the Corporation, who paid £15 for the carriage to York of fifty stand of arms. How little ardour the new levies displayed in fighting the "Bishops' War" is a matter of history.

The starchmakers of Bristol being few in number, and apparently unrepresented in the Common Council, the story of their sufferings at the hands of London monopolists has been lost to posterity. They are supposed to have made terms with the King's patentees for the manufacture of a limited quantity of starch, and, like the soapmakers, they were harassed with charges of exceeding the allotted output. In August the Privy Council forwarded to the Mayor the complaints of the Corporation of Starchmakers, alleging

illegalities; and their lordships ordered that the offenders should be brought before the justices and sharply examined, especially Thomas and John Collyer, who were charged with having resisted the starch-searchers (that is, the patentees' spies) with swords whilst attempting to seize contraband starch. All others engaged in the same illegal trade were also to be arrested, and to be compelled to give bonds to forbear the manufacture. The State Papers of this year are largely composed of documents of a similar character, arising out of the tyrannical proceedings of the Crown in reference to monopolies, illegal patents, imposts on wine, soap and other articles, forced loans, resumption of forest rights, invasions of private property by saltpetre men, commissions for compounding for penal offences, and especially to the decisions of the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission in defiance of the common law.

A letter from Bishop Skinner, of Bristol, to Archbishop Laud, dated August 26th, shows the manner in which the royal minions attempted to intimidate judges in the administration of justice. A man named Davis having been arraigned at the local gaol delivery—it is not said for what offence, though it seems probable the prisoner was a Puritan preacher—the Bishop, one of Laud's most zealous instruments, states that he waited on the Recorder on the evening before the trial, and expressed his desire "that a matter of this high nature should not be slubbered over, but carried with severity." Serjeant Glanville replied that he had advised upon the case with the Lord Keeper, and the Attorney-General, and also with the Primate himself, and the Bishop departed. But when the trial came on, though the Recorder showed a "semblance of severity," the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, to the great joy of the prisoner, who knelt down in the dock and prayed for the King, the archbishop, and the bishops. The irritated meddler concludes:—"My conceit is that the whole business was a mere scene, wherein the judge acted his part cunningly, the jury plausibly, and the prisoner craftily."

An illustration of the manner in which Charles I. habitually intermeddled with public bodies appears in the civic minute-books for October. The office of Chamberlain having become vacant, eight candidates petitioned for the place, and the choice of the Council fell upon William Chetwyn, a merchant of good repute and of twenty years' experience. At the next meeting, early in November, a

letter from the King was produced, alleging that certain members of the Council, for their private ends, and in disregard of the city's liberties, had chosen a man then absent from the realm and unfit to hold such an office. "Our will and pleasure is that, notwithstanding your former election, you forbear to ratify the same, and forthwith proceed to a new election, recommending to your choice our well-beloved subject Ralph Farmer . . . of whose abilities we have received ample testimony." The King's will being law, the Council at once obeyed orders. But, in the belief that His Majesty had been secretly prejudiced, it was resolved to send a deputation to Court to plead the privileges of the city, with a further intimation that Farmer was not qualified to hold the office when he applied for it, being a non-burgess, and that Chetwyn was the worthiest of the candidates. The necessity of convoking a Parliament was already pressing upon the King, and he probably saw the imprudence of offending a great Corporation. At all events, His Majesty received the deputation graciously, and informed them that he left the Council free to act at their discretion. Whereupon, without loss of time, Farmer's election was "frustrated and made void," and Chetwyn was reappointed. There is reason to believe that the new Chamberlain introduced a remarkable innovation in the corporate system of book-keeping. All the audit books that have come down to us preceding his election display the receipts and payments in ancient Roman numerals. The accounts for the year ending Michaelmas, 1640, on the contrary, are made up in the Arabic figures now universally adopted in civilized countries. Having regard to the portentous difficulty of casting up the Roman formula, when, for example, xl£, xls. and xld. might follow each other in successive entries, the task of auditing must have been excessively arduous and protracted, even with the "counters" and other apparatus that the Corporation employed for facilitating the work.

It is well known that the King's system of civil Government and Laud's intolerant rule in ecclesiastical affairs caused many Puritans, despairing of relief, to seek homes and liberty in the infant settlements of New England; but local annalists afford no information as to the part taken by Bristolians in furthering this migration. Some interesting facts have been discovered in the minutes of the Privy Council. On November 22nd, 1639, their lordships considered a petition of Richard Long, John Taylor, and John Gonning, three eminent Bristol merchants, and

owners of a ship of 180 tons, named the *Mary Rose*. The vessel had previously traded to Newfoundland, whence she carried cargoes of fish to Spain, and returned home laden with wine. She was now destined, however, if the Government would permit it, to carry over to New England a party of 120 emigrants—children of a grand destiny—and a miscellaneous cargo of meal, shoes, cheese, powder, shot, candles, pewter, soap, nails, wine, vinegar, and 250 gallons of “hot water” (spirits). The Privy Council directed that the Customs officers of the port should allow the vessel to proceed, provided the passengers first took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, the latter being well known to be galling to Puritans. Similar licenses were granted on the same condition to the ship *Neptune*, with 125 passengers, and to the ship *Fellowship*, with 250 passengers, in January, 1640; and three months later to the ship *Charles*, with 250 passengers, and the ship *William and John*, with 60 passengers. All these vessels belonged to Bristol and carried general cargoes, the last-named taking out a consignment of 20 dozen of Monmouth caps, whilst the *Charles* had 750 gallons of “strong waters.” It is probable that the above emigrants settled in that region of New England now known as Massachusetts and Rhode Island, both of which States have a county called Bristol, and the latter has also a town of that name. In 1632 Robert Aldworth and his relative Giles Elbridge, two leading local merchants, obtained a grant from the Council of New England of a considerable tract of land, and were promised 100 additional acres for every person they brought over, on condition that they founded and maintained a colony.

The expense of the Bishops’ War in Scotland had plunged the King in financial embarrassment, and an appeal to Parliament for assistance was unwillingly resolved upon. The election for Bristol took place in March, 1640, when the Corporation, in conjunction with the freeholders, but excluding the free burgesses, returned the Recorder, Serjeant Glanville, and Alderman Humphrey Hooke. The former was elected Speaker by the House of Commons, to which a deputation was sent by the Common Council, at the suggestion of Alderman Hooke, to represent the many grievances under which the citizens were suffering. On the refusal of the House to grant supplies before discussing grievances, the King wrathfully dissolved Parliament after a session of only three weeks, producing bitter disappointment and irritation throughout the country.

The freemen of Bristol did not submit to their disfranchisement without a protest. At a meeting of the Common Council in October, a petition was presented on behalf of "a great number of free burgesses," requesting that their body might be permitted to vote for representatives "in conformity with statutes." The Council, however, fell back upon the ordinance of 1625 (see p. 93), which they alleged was founded on usage, and it was ordered that all future elections should be conducted on the same narrow basis. Though nothing is to be found in the Journals of the Long Parliament, which are notoriously very imperfect, it may be inferred that the freemen represented their grievances and obtained redress, for their right to the franchise was never again disputed after 1640.

Even whilst the Short Parliament was sitting, the Government pursued its unconstitutional policy. On the dismissal of the Houses the patentees of monopolies exercised great oppression, and many people were prosecuted and ruined for alleged evasions. Ship-money was also rigorously exacted, seizures of goods and imprisonments for default being of constant occurrence. Towards the end of April, the King addressed a letter to the civic authorities, requiring 200 men to be raised and equipped at the city's expense for service in the army. The troopers were to be paid eightpence per head daily from the time of their embodiment. The Council assented to the royal mandate, but the Town Clerk was despatched to London to seek relief from the burden, on the ground that a demand for land forces from a maritime port then being taxed to find money and men for the Navy was an unusual stretch of the royal prerogative. But no relief was obtainable, and the Corporation disbursed £674 on the troopers, and £308 for ammunition.

Ordinances for the Tailors' Company were drawn up by the Common Council in May. An idea of their general character may be derived from two brief extracts. A citizen, not a member of the Company, presuming to make any manner of garment except for himself and family, was to be fined 20s., or imprisoned in default of payment. Any tradesman, not being a tailor, making or selling linen or woollen stockings was made liable to a penalty of 3s. 4d.

The first recorded enunciation from a Bristol pulpit of advanced Puritanical opinions was made in September by the Rev. Matthew Hazard, who had been appointed incumbent of St. Mary Redcliff and vicar of St. Ewen's a.

few months previously. In consequence of the Scotch war, a form of prayer for the success of the King's arms had been drawn up by order of the Government, and was required to be read in every parish church. One clause of this formula denounced the traitorous subjects who had cast off obedience to their anointed sovereign, and were rebelliously seeking to invade the realm. Mr. Hazard thought proper to omit this condemnation, and substituted for it a prayer that God would reveal to the King those traitorous enemies that disturbed the public peace and molested the hearts of the Church and of faithful people. His expressions were forthwith reported to the Corporation, but they declined to express any opinion on the matter. The loyalty of the Council at this period is sufficiently proved by the fact that a carving of the royal arms was purchased about the same date, and ordered to be set up in the Guildhall.

The autumn assizes of the year were of unusual length. In September, Mr. Robert Yeamans, so soon to become tragically memorable, was paid £40 for entertaining Chief Justice Brampton at his house for four nights, the Chamberlain adding "which was extraordinary." An outlay of £9 more was incurred for rowing his lordship down to Hungroad and entertaining him on board "the Globe"—probably to enable him to inspect the site of Morgan's demolished alehouses at Pill.

The local election of members for what was destined to be the Long Parliament took place on October 12th. For some unknown reason, the Corporation, who, as has been just stated, excluded the freemen from the franchise, did not re-elect the Recorder, but returned Alderman Richard Long as colleague of the former member, Alderman Hooke. In one of the most untrustworthy of local works, Tovey's "Life of Colston," Alderman Long is stigmatised as "a gloomy fanatic, prepared to go to any extreme." As a matter of fact, the Alderman, who was expelled from the House of Commons in 1642 for being concerned in monopolies, was a devoted Royalist, and had subsequently to compound for his "delinquency" by payment of £800—one-tenth of his estate.

A sudden and unexpected change of the corporate policy in reference to the Welsh butter monopoly took place during the autumn. It has been already shown that the Council were accustomed to make large purchases of butter, and of vending it by retail at or even below cost-price,

with the undoubted object of facilitating the export transactions of the merchants interested in the royal patent. Even the audit book for the year under review notes the receipt of £170 for butter sold to the labouring classes. But at a meeting of the Privy Council on November 1st a petition from the Corporation was presented, setting forth that butter, "the principal food for the poorer sort of people," was selling at the enormous price of 5*d.* per pound, causing the poor to complain of the exports still being made by the patentees in contravention of the terms of their license. Their lordships appointed a committee to inquire into the abuse, with directions, which were also sent to the Mayor, to prevent further exportations at Bristol until prices had fallen to normal rates. The ill-humour of the Corporation came to an end soon afterwards, and large purchases of butter were made in subsequent years.

The Privy Council dealt on the following day with another monopoly in which Bristol merchants were largely interested. Complaints had been previously made to the Government that sole leather had greatly advanced in price, owing to the practices of the patentees for exporting calf skins, by whom, under colour of their license, many hides of the best sort were illegally shipped to foreign ports; and the Government had consequently ordered that calf-skin exports should be stopped until the King's pleasure was made known. The interdict had dismayed the patentees of calf skins, one of whom, James Maxwell, had prayed the King to remove it, asserting that there had been no frauds, and that the export of the flimsy skins (only fit, as another interested party averred, to make shoes for foreigners) could not affect the price of good leather. At the above meeting the King's assent was announced to Maxwell's petition, and he and his lessees were allowed to continue the trade. No relaxation was made in favour of the Bristol patentee, but he certainly obtained one, for exports on an extensive scale continued as usual. The absence of direct evidence is due to the complete disorganization of the Privy Council, caused by the vigorous measures of the House of Commons. Laud, who had been practically Prime Minister, was consigned to the Tower, the Lord Chancellor and Secretary Windebank fled the country to avoid a similar fate, and the Council's minute-books for twenty years are an absolute blank after this date.

The year 1640 is locally notable for its record of the first

open secession from the Church of England, a movement necessarily followed by the opening of the first "dissenting" place of worship. One day, says the quaint and curious book known as the "Broadmead Records," a farmer of Stapleton, a butcher of Lawford's Gate, a farrier of Wine Street, and a young minister, named Bacon, living in Lewin's Mead, met together in Broad Street, at the house of Mr. Hazard, the incumbent of St. Ewen's and St. Mary Redcliff already referred to. Mrs. Hazard having joined the party, it was agreed after grave deliberation to separate from the worship of the world, and to go no more to the services set down in the Book of Common Prayer. In the morning they proposed to attend church to hear Mr. Hazard preach, but in the afternoon they determined to meet in private to engage in such exercises as they approved. Subsequent notes will show that Mrs. Hazard, who probably instigated this meeting, was one of the phenomena of the period—a strong-minded female Puritan; and she saw no impropriety in offering her husband's vicarage as a place for the first separatist gatherings. In a short time the little band of "non-conformists" obtained as a regular minister one Mr. Pennell, who, having resigned the incumbency of St. Leonard's church, Corn Street, "closed in" with them, and "the Church" soon increased to about 160 persons, including many residents in the suburbs who came in to attend the services. Where the meetings took place is not stated, but it seems unlikely that so numerous a congregation could have assembled in an ordinary dwelling. By this time the separatist movement had made considerable progress, and other meetings were being held. In August, 1641, Dennis Hollister, afterwards M.P., and William Cooke, grocer, High Street, were brought before the magistrates and committed for trial, charged with keeping a conventicle and occasioning a riot for several hours before Cooke's door. One Mrs. Clements was also "presented" for openly asserting that the parson of Temple "could preach no more than a black dog." The gatherings were broken up in 1643, owing to the brutality of the Royalist soldiers then in possession of the city, and most of the ministers took refuge in London until the tyranny was overpassed—many being plundered and maltreated during their migration.

In January, 1641, the Common Council resolved that a letter should be forwarded to the members for Bristol, representing the wrong done to the city—a Staple Town—by

the landing, with the assent of the officers of Customs, of wools at Minehead, "which ought to be landed here." The grievance alleged by a body that was frequently clamorous against the favours bestowed on London was one unlikely to meet with much sympathy in the House of Commons, then busily engaged in abolishing obnoxious privileges, and there is no evidence that the subject was ever introduced. The members were further instructed to seek redress against the persons who, during the late despotism, "by unjust informations to his Majesty, and by unwarrantable proceedings in the city," had injured and abused local merchants "by entering into the Merchants' Hall, taking away their books of account and other writings, and by procuring many of the inhabitants to be pursuivanted up and unjustly dealt with." It seems pretty certain that some of the persons thus denounced were the London vintners, who had farmed the illegal wine duty, and whose imperious conduct in the city has been already described.

Amongst the numberless petitioners who were then besieging the House of Commons was the indomitable Pill landowner, Mr. Morgan, who raised a grievous moan over his demolished pothouses and his punishment for having done what he liked with his own. The Corporation appointed a committee to draw up a statement of his malpractices, and the Town Clerk was sent up to Westminster to offer detailed explanations. The subject is not mentioned in the Journals of the House of Commons.

A commission was issued by the Court of Exchequer in July, addressed to Thomas Colston, Nathaniel Cale, and other local merchants, ordering them to hold an inquiry in reference to a suit raised by a Customs Waiter against William Penneye, Bryan Rogers, and other Bristolians. The commissioners accordingly held a court in September at the Rose tavern, then a noted hostelry, and many witnesses were examined. The case arose out of the King's edict prohibiting the importation of tobacco into Bristol (see p. 116), and the evidence shows how local merchants were driven to seek relief from the edict. It was deposed that in November, 1637, the Lord Treasurer, on the earnest petition (and doubtless at the heavy charge) of Richard Lock, merchant, and with the approval of Lord Goring and others, farmers of the tobacco duty, ordered the Customs officers at Bristol to permit Lock to land a cargo of tobacco from St. Kitts. Also that the same Minister, in January, 1638, on the prayer of Penneye, gave similar license for the

landing at this port of ninety cwt. of tobacco from Barbadoes, and in the following month granted permission to a ship to take in as much St. Kitts tobacco as would "victual" her for a voyage to France. The prosecutor further deposed that during the last-mentioned year certain ships brought large quantities of tobacco into the Avon, and landed some without warrant, and that when he attempted to seize part of this prohibited merchandise he was thwarted by the defendants. The evidence on the other side disclosed the real cause of the prosecution. The defendant Rogers was the local agent of the tobacco farmers, and had been accustomed, with their approval, to grant licenses to merchants to land tobacco, on their paying handsomely for the privilege in addition to the regular duty. Cale, one of the commissioners, deposed that he had himself bought 40,000 weight by an arrangement with one of Lord Goring's officers. Other witnesses asserted that much of the tobacco alleged to have been smuggled out of Hungroad was in fact delivered to the agents of the farmers, and sent to London in accordance with the King's mandate, whilst the full duty was paid on what remained in Bristol. The whole testimony raises a suspicion that the prosecuting Landing Waiter was irritated by seeing that the bribes he coveted for himself went into the pockets of other people. He doubtless dropped his suit, of which there is no further mention.

The growing wealth of the Corporation is indicated by a resolution adopted in August, whereby the annual allowance of £52 previously made to the Mayor was increased to £104, and for serving a second time the sum was raised to £208. The Chamberlain's salary was increased about the same time from £20 to £50, exclusive of his numerous fees.

A great panic arose during the summer in consequence of an outbreak of Plague at Taunton and other towns. The Corporation adopted the customary measures to prevent infection, watchmen being posted at the Gates to keep out suspicious visitors, whilst inhabitants showing symptoms of infection were closely shut up in their houses, and supplied with food until their convalescence was no longer doubtful. A physician and a barber received £2 from the Chamberlain for looking after suspected invalids, but the leeches themselves fell into a sickly condition, and were rigorously confined to their homes, the doctor afterwards receiving £4 and the barber £10 in compensation for the

suspension of their businesses. Towards the close of the year the chronic distress of the working classes was aggravated by the excessive dearness of Kingswood coal, the cause of which is not explained. Several shiploads of fuel were consequently brought from Swansea and sold to the poor at cost-price. Perhaps to cheer the spirits of the citizens, the Corporation perambulated the boundaries of the borough with unusual ceremony, a banquet being held in the open air, followed by a great duck hunt at Treen Mills (the site of Bathurst Basin). One of the last disbursements of the year was for raising bonfires before the Mayor's house and the High Cross on the King's safe return out of Scotland—a further proof of the loyalty of the Corporation.

The uninterrupted sittings of Parliament would in any case have greatly increased the "wages" due to the city representatives. The charge was still further augmented by the liberality of the Common Council, who raised the honorarium to each member from 4s. to 6s. 8d. per day. For the year ending October those gentlemen received £206 for 309 days' services. Upwards of £100 was subsequently paid to them for the further period they were at Westminster previous to their expulsion from the House.

Modern historians concur in fixing on the opening weeks of 1642 as the turning-point in the great struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament. The latter, whose policy was originally supported by an overwhelming majority of the nation, had been sitting for fifteen months, during which it had swept away innumerable abuses and re-established the constitutional rights so long trampled upon. Great popular movements are generally followed by a reaction, and the very achievements of the Parliament tended to cool the zeal of many moderate and cautious observers. Symptoms, moreover, were not wanting of the rise of a school of politicians which, not content with reinstating the nation in its rights and liberties, aimed at fundamental changes in the system of government, as well political as ecclesiastical. As a natural consequence, conservative instincts became alarmed at the prospect, and an ever-increasing party in the House of Commons rallied to the support of the Crown. Had the King displayed prudence and foresight in circumstances so favourable to him, it seems unquestionable that his triumph over the revolutionary theorists would have been speedy and complete. But in his impatience to trample on his enemies he brought ruin on himself. On January 4th, accompanied

by a band of armed and insolent troopers, who blocked the approaches to the House of Commons, he entered the Chamber itself, and demanded the surrender of Mr. Pym, the ablest of the Puritan leaders (a native of Somerset), and four others, whose treason, he said, was entitled to no privilege. The outrage, committed in the teeth of his promise a few days before, "on the honour of a King," to defend the privileges of the House, destroyed the belief of thousands in his good faith, banished their hope of reconciliation and peace, and kindled a widespread feeling that His Majesty, even whilst making many concessions, was still looking forward to the re-establishment of absolutism and a bloody revenge.

These facts must be borne in mind in reviewing the local incidents of the crisis. It has been shown in the foregoing pages that the Corporation, though complaining of many grievances, had remained loyal to the Crown. But there are many indications, after the attempt on the five members, that the local supporters of Parliament increased in influence and numbers. The arrival in the port of about 400 famishing Irish Protestants, who had escaped from the savages then massacring thousands of English blood in the King's name, added fuel to the growing disaffection. Already, one of the captaincies in the trained bands having become vacant, the Council had appointed William Cann, a prominent partisan of the Parliament, to the post. Early in February the members for the city, by direction of the House of Commons, made an agreement with Miles Jackson and William Merrick, two local merchants of "Roundhead" principles, to man, equip, and victual three ships, with guns and ammunition equal to men-of-war, for a cruise of eight months, the outlay for which Parliament undertook to repay. About the same time the King, in a letter to the Mayor, after complaining of "upstart sects in religion" and of the rebellious conduct of some malevolent citizens, ordered his worship to receive no troops either on his own side or that of the Parliament, but to defend the city for His Majesty's use. But the sympathy of the Corporation was so far from being evoked that (if we may trust Mr. Seyer, probably quoting some chronicle) before the King's messenger had left the city the Mayor dispatched four cannon to Marlborough to assist in fortifying that place against His Majesty. On March 15th the Common Council appointed a numerous committee to draw up "a fit petition to Parliament, to be subscribed by the burgesses and

inhabitants, as well for thanks to be given them as touching other things." A copy of this petition has not been preserved, but it is obvious that its promoters were not friendly to the King. Threatened violence, however, was firmly provided against. In April, when it was reported that preparations were being made for a rising in the Redcliff district, the sheriffs were directed to proceed there with a sufficient force, and to seize the clubs and other weapons of those engaged in the confederacy. On May 21st the Common Council, after a full debate, resolved that petitions in favour of reconciliation should be addressed both to the King and the Parliament, and a committee of ten members, selected equally from the two parties, was appointed to draw them up with all expedition. The task, as might have been foreseen, proved insuperable, and the subsequent selection of two ardent Royalist clergymen, Messrs. Towgood and Standfast, directed to revise the draft memorials, was little calculated to restore harmony. After nearly two months' contention, the Council resolved to shelve both petitions "in regard they have been so long retarded." Before that time, in fact, the civic body had definitely abandoned the Royalist cause. On June 7th the Speaker of the House of Commons sent a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen requesting contributions from the city, by way of loan, for the defence of the kingdom and the support of the army in Ireland; whereupon the Common Council resolved that £1,000 should be lent to Parliament for those purposes, and that loans should also be invited from the members individually and from the inhabitants. Altogether, the subscription in the Council Chamber, apart from the corporate vote, amounted to £2,625. The Mayor (John Locke) offered £50. Eight of the aldermen gave £300 amongst them. One councillor (Richard Aldworth) put down his name for £150. Two others subscribed £100 each, and most of the others either £50 or £25. It is a surprising fact that Robert Yeamans and Thomas Colston, afterwards famous as Royalists, contributed £50 each. The only non-subscribers were Aldermen Jones and Taylor, and Francis Creswick, Gabriel Sherman, John Gonning, Miles Jackson, John Langton, Edward Pitt, and John Bush.

Contemporaneously with the important incident just recorded, an event occurred in the city which is now not a little bewildering. On May 12th the House of Commons, after many previous discussions on monopolies, during which the licenses held by Bristol merchants were doubt-

less sharply criticised, resolved that Humphrey Hooke and Richard Long, the two members for the city, were "beneficiaries in the project of wines," contrary to the order of the House, and thereby disqualified to sit in Parliament. A new writ was ordered to issue, and an election took place early in June, when the Recorder, Sir John Glanville, was reinstated in his former position, and Alderman John Taylor was returned as his colleague. As the new members have always been described as ardent Royalists, their selection seems to be in astounding contradiction to the action of the Common Council. The only feasible explanation appears to be that the opinions of the new representatives, like those of many worthy men at that period, were perplexed and uncertain, and that in a personal light they were generally respected for moderation and ability. Moreover, whilst the ex-Speaker's position in the Short Parliament had cast a reflected credit on his constituents, Mr. Taylor was, for some time longer, so much in harmony with the policy of the House of Commons that, after the outbreak of the Civil War, he subscribed £50 towards the needs of Parliament, "and promised more, if needful." The annalists of the time are absolutely silent in reference to this remarkable election, which was also unknown to both Mr. Barrett and Mr. Seyer.

The King having resolved on war, the Marquis of Hertford, Lord-Lieutenant of Somerset and Bristol, received a commission to proceed to the West to secure the county for the royal cause, and to seek for the sympathy and support of Bristol, the importance of which, in every point of view, was regarded as vital both by His Majesty and his opponents. At a meeting of the Council on July 11th, it was intimated that his lordship was drawing near, whereupon "it was thought fitting" that he should be suitably entertained, so that he might not "be driven to take up his lodgings at an inn." The Great House on St. Augustine's Back having been offered for this purpose by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Mr. Smyth, of Long Ashton, they were thanked "for their love," and suitable provision was made for the expected guest. The Marquis, however, took up his quarters at Wells, contenting himself with applying to the Mayor, through Sir F. Gorges and Mr. Smyth, for permission to send some troops of cavalry into Bristol; but this the Mayor promptly refused, pleading the King's orders against the admittance of soldiers on either side. Lord Hertford, a few days later, whilst moving on Bristol

with no friendly intent, was defeated at Chewton Mendip, and his forces were scattered by the troops collected by Alexander Popham and other Puritan gentry. The House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to the gentlemen of Somerset for their gallantry, and Mr. Taylor, M.P., was directed to thank the Bristolians who had "showed forward" in the affair. Mr. Smyth, who had been in the Royalist camp, for which he was expelled from Parliament, fled to Minehead, and thence to Cardiff, where he soon after died.

The combat at Chewton Mendip stirred the Council to take vigorous action for improving the defences of the city, and for providing for the wants of the inhabitants in the event of a siege. On August 14th it was ordered that the city Gates should be repaired and made strong with chains and other necessities, that all defects in the walls should be made good, and that suitable ordnance and ammunition, with five skilled gunners, should be provided. The aldermen were directed to visit their wards and to report as to what arms were in the hands of the inhabitants, what persons were able to bear them but were unprovided, and what number of unarmed men were in a position to equip themselves. And the Chamberlain received orders to borrow £1,000 forthwith, and £1,000 as occasion required, for the purchase of corn, butter, cheese, and other provisions for the relief of the poor and other inhabitants. A few days later, it was resolved that 300 muskets and 150 corslets should be added to the city's store of arms. The erection of an extensive line of outworks was not then contemplated. One of the committees appointed to carry out the above resolutions reported that a piece of void ground between Bridewell and the Pithay Gate, with a tower there, was "a very fit and considerable place for planting one piece of ordnance for the safety of the city," and the Council approved of the proposal and ordered it to be carried out. A very great quantity of gunpowder, bullets, etc., was purchased, much of the powder being stored in the Guildhall! The Mayor was directed to buy a cargo of 100 tons of wheat, offered at the then enormous price of 32s. per quarter. Of butter about 3,500 lb. was obtained from Wales and Newport at a cost of £413. Altogether £1,900 were expended for provisions, the money being borrowed from divers persons. Lady Mansell, of Margam Abbey, generously lent £500 free of interest, Alderman Holworthy advanced £500 at 6 per cent., but Alderman

Gonning, whom some annalists style a Royalist, demanded 7 per cent. interest for a loan of the same sum.

The minute-books bearing on these transactions are uniformly reticent as to the political opinions of the predominant party. But the members of the committee chosen to strengthen the defences are known to have been zealous Parliamentarians, and one of them, Joseph Jackson, was appointed trained-band captain of an additional company of 100 men raised during the summer. The Corporation, moreover, obeyed the order of Parliament that Denzil Holles, one of the Puritan leaders, should be admitted to review the trained bands—a fact which excludes all doubt as to the principles animating the majority both of the Council and the civic militia. But, as if to soothe the feelings of the minority, the hospitality hitherto always accorded to the reviewing officer was conspicuous from its absence, the Chamberlain's only disbursement on the occasion being 33s., the pay of six drummers, six "phifers," and the usual sergeants. It is somewhat amazing, moreover, to find that at a time when the King had taken the field, and blood had already been spilt, the members of the Corporation gave themselves up to two days of jollification, and spent more than was usual on their duck-hunting and Froom fishing sports. The Council were still apathetic in October, when about 2,000 soldiers, under orders for Ireland, arrived in the city, accompanied by two members of Parliament, who had instructions to apply to the Corporation for an additional loan. The deputies, writing to the Speaker on the 17th, stated that they had seen the Mayor and many other well-affected persons, judging by their words, but nothing had been subscribed. They had also seen the aldermanic body, and put them in mind of their duties, but their only answer was a request for time to consider. There was also nothing being collected for Customs, which was an evil example to other towns. Two days later, at a meeting of the Council, it was resolved that, in view of the recent heavy disbursements and decay of trade, no money could be lent, and Mr. Hooke, Mr. Colston, and others were directed to draw up a "meet answer" to the House of Commons. On the other hand, it was agreed that a large outlay for victualling and shipping the troops should be advanced by the Corporation, on the faith of the Speaker's promise of repayment (which was redeemed in the following year); that the work of fortifying the Castle should be taken in hand forthwith, and that the

owners of hovels standing against or about the Tower (the Norman Keep) should be compounded with, and the dwellings demolished.

The assumed attitude of neutrality became practically untenable in the following week. On October 24th the House of Commons, losing patience, addressed a communication to the Mayor, the Sheriffs, Aldermen Tomlinson, Charlton, Holworthy, and Vickris, and Luke Hodges, councillor, requiring them to go from house to house, throughout the city, asking for all men's subscriptions to the Parliament, and to receive money, plate, and horses on behalf of the cause. Under the influence of this spur, and of the more exciting incidents about to be recorded, the Council on November 1st raised a subscription amongst themselves with practical unanimity. Six aldermen contributed £20 each, and their four colleagues from £5 to £10. The only other, Mr. Taylor, was in the House of Commons. The councillors gave from £10 to £4, the only non-subscribers being F. Creswick, T. Colston, and Thomas Hooke. Directions were then given to each alderman to visit his ward, accompanied by the clergy, churchwardens, and chief constables, and to collect from those of ability to contribute. The result was recorded by the Chamberlain in the following January:—"Received of several persons, which was lent to furnish the present occasions of King and Kingdom, £2,397 13s. 7½d. (besides 1,591 ounces of plate afterwards delivered back to the owners, only some four parcels are sold)." An additional item follows of £182 9s. 4d. received for 827 ounces of plate, contributed by Messrs. Tomlinson, Sherman, Wyatt, Miles Jackson, and Young, and sold to a goldsmith, raising the total subscription to nearly £2,600.

The Common Council's change of front at this juncture, however, was mainly caused, not by the letter of the House of Commons, but by the action of the Puritan gentry in the neighbouring counties. On October 24th the Chamber had to deliberate upon a letter forwarded by the Association of Somerset, Gloucestershire, and Wilts, "desiring a mutual association with the city for the defence of the King and Kingdom against all forces sent into the district without consent of Parliament." It was resolved to assent to such an association, and a committee of four members was appointed to confer with the promoters of the design. A letter to the gentry approving of the scheme was also unanimously adopted. In the following week it was determined that, in addition to the military preparations for the defence of the

city, an armed ship should be fitted out, to be followed by another, if found necessary. A hundred musketeers were to be in arms every night, under the supervision of five of the Council, who were to undertake this duty by turns. "And 'tis thought fit that a drum or two be at each Gate as occasion shall require in those times of distraction."

The fight at Edgehill, on October 23rd, ought to have convinced all parties that a peaceful compromise had become hopeless. Yet the minutes of a pathetic meeting of the Council on November 8th cannot be read without a feeling of pity and respect for men overridden by events beyond their control. "This day, the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Common Council have declared themselves to be in love and amity one with another, and do desire a friendly association together in all mutual accommodation." The former idea of appealing to both King and Parliament was revived, and a committee of seventeen members was appointed to frame a petition to each, praying for reconciliation, and also to draw up an "association" for the signature of all the inhabitants. Mr. Towgood and Mr. Standish were further desired, as representative of all the city clergy, to meet the committee "for an amiable accommodation one with another throughout the whole city." At another meeting, two days later, the committee produced the two petitions, which were approved, and delegates were selected to present them, but there is indirect evidence that the matter went no further.

Amicable resolutions could not stay the inevitable course of events. On November 24th the Council, after giving directions for "new planking" of the great Keep, to enable cannon to be mounted there, ordered that "earthworks be made in all needful places round about the city for the necessary defence thereof . . . with all expedition." This is the only definite information contained in the minute-books respecting the extensive line of fortifications that speedily grew up. And there is a remarkable lack of information as to the manner in which the execution was effected of works which even in the present day would be considered formidable, and which then must have involved an enormous strain on the resources of the citizens. The only part of the ancient walls which could be made serviceable was the comparatively short line of ramparts extending from Redcliff Hill to a place on the Avon known as Tower Harritz, now covered by the Railway Station. From the bank of the Avon fronting Tower Harritz to Lawford's Gate, and

thence by way of Stokes Croft, Kingsdown, St. Michael's Hill, and Brandon Hill to "Water Fort" on the Avon, near the site of what was later Limekiln Dock—a total distance of nearly three miles—a "graff," or rough wall, had to be built, defended on the outer side by a trench, which for a great distance had to be excavated out of a tenacious rock; and three bastioned forts had to be erected on the dominant positions of Prior's Hill, Windmill Hill (now Tyndall House), and Brandon Hill. Water Fort, a few redoubts to strengthen the graff, a "sconce" at Totterdown to command the southern road, and some batteries in the Marsh to guard against an attack by water, were subsidiary labours. Seeing what progress had been made in this vast undertaking early in the following summer, when Prince Rupert's army appeared, it is certain that a host of labourers must have been employed throughout the winter. The outlay on the works cannot be ascertained, but on one occasion the city treasurer recorded a payment, on account, of £1,260, of which £527 had been received from parochial collectors. This seems to prove that assessments were made upon the householders, and doubtless much of the expenditure was defrayed by means of rates. Although the account-books contain little information as to the facts, a minute oddly inserted in the Bargain Book shows that £2,000 were borrowed from William Yeamans and other trustees of Michael Meredith, half of which was lent "gratis for a time," and the other moiety at 5 per cent.; £500 more, "orphanage money," was taken at the same rate; while Alderman Charlton, for a loan of £500, and Alderman Gonning, for £300, demanded 8 per cent. interest. It will be seen later on that considerable grants in aid were made by the House of Commons.

It will be remembered that in October the Corporation had agreed to enter into the Association of the neighbouring counties for the support of the Parliament. Nothing, however, had been done to carry out this arrangement when, at the Council meeting on November 24th, information came to hand that the county gentry, angry at the delay, intended to bring matters to a crisis. A letter, it was alleged, had been sent by Alexander Popham to Captain Harrington of the city trained bands, announcing his purpose to bring forces to Bristol, and desiring Harrington to be ready with the trained bands and volunteers to join him at an hour's notice, but in the meantime to keep the design secret. The Council, in much perturbation, requested the Mayor and

Aldermen to write to Popham, "our loving friend," dissuading him from taking such a step without their privity. "We shall be glad," said the missive, "when occasion shall require, to receive all friendly assistance from you, but as we now stand we conceive there is none." The Corporation, in fact, had gone back to armed neutrality. Popham, who had advanced to Pensford, replied on the following day, denying the alleged intention, but pointing out that the Council's lack of zeal was perilous to the city and surrounding districts, and might well cause him "to think of a remedy." The remedy was indeed already determined upon. In the House of Commons, on November 26th, a letter was read from Sir Edward Hungerford and other allies of Popham, stating that the Cavaliers were reported to be preparing an attack on Bristol, and that the well-affected citizens had besought the help of the writers, which was willingly offered, but that the magistrates scrupled to admit them without an order of Parliament. The majority of the aldermen, it was added, were suspected of being malignants, but of the commonalty there were three good to one ill-affected member. Authority to lead 1,000 of the county troops into the city was therefore requested, and an order to that effect was approved by both Houses. Before this mandate was issued, however, the Common Council, at Popham's invitation, appointed a committee to meet the associated gentry at Bath, on the 28th. At the same time an effort was made to suppress the wearing of colours and badges on the hats of the inhabitants, who were forming into antagonistic factions. The result of the conference at Bath gave great dissatisfaction to the county gentry. The Bristol delegates declined to co-operate in any decisive step, and asked for further time to consider the Association's proposals. The delay was regarded as a mere evasion, and the gentry, who must soon after have received the Parliamentary warrant, resolved to take action. On December 2nd the Mayor and ten aldermen wrote to Popham and Sir John Seymour, alleging that no time was being lost in considering the proposals of the Association. "But on learning that a company of volunteers rode into Bedminster yesterday, where they yet remain in increasing numbers, and the report of some others to be billeted at Westbury and adjoining places to encompass the city, and then (as some give out) to enter the same, hath so distracted us that until we receive some overtures from you as to what is intended, we shall not be able to satisfy your expecta-

tions." This assumed firmness was followed up, it would appear, by the mounting of a few cannon and the mustering of the trained bands, but soon ended in submission. The order of Parliament to admit the county troops was received on December 3rd. On the 7th letters were forwarded to Popham, Seymour, and Edward Stephens, an energetic Gloucestershire leader, stating that the Corporation had already sent off messengers to inform them of the number of troopers the city would entertain, "with all cheerfulness," but that these envoys had been detained as prisoners by Colonel Essex, who, with his forces and the trained bands of Gloucestershire, "are this night to be at or about Thornbury, with intent to be here to-morrow." The letters ended with a request that the county gentlemen would come into the city next morning before Essex's arrival, "whereby we may accommodate the premises to avoid effusion of blood, which otherwise will undoubtedly happen"; which proves that the Royalists were preparing for resistance.

There is no trustworthy account of the entry of the Parliamentary forces. The most graphic narrative was first produced by Barrett, and was probably founded on oral tradition, as there is no reference to any written document. The fact that it misdates the event, and describes the conduct of the city authorities in a manner utterly irreconcilable with the letters quoted above, casts much suspicion on its authenticity. The story in brief is, that when Essex's forces appeared on "December 5th," the citizens flew to arms, and the Council assembled at the Tolzey to devise measures for preserving the city for the King, when a number of women, with the Mayor's wife at their head, burst into the Chamber clamouring for the admittance of the soldiers, and so completely upset the resolution of the civic dignitaries that the Gates were forthwith opened, to the great grief of the commons. Other accounts, more inaccurate as to date, and still less credible as to details, are given in the calendars and summarized in Mr. Seyer's history. They allege that Essex was before the town as early as December 2nd, but was kept out for two days by the loyal citizens, who planted two guns at the High Cross (!) and two on From Gate; and that when Essex attempted to enter at the latter place he was bravely beaten off. During the fray there, however, Newgate was opened by the contrivance of a woman, and then the tale is repeated of the humiliating surrender of the city fathers to

their tumultuous mates and miscellaneous viragoes—"to the number of 100," says the indignant historian; whose belief that the Council's reluctance (if it really showed reluctance) was a preconcerted farce seems reasonable enough. Against these Royalist accounts may be set a Puritan version printed immediately afterwards in London, entitled:—"A Declaration from the City of Bristol by the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and others of the city, declaring their resolution and fidelity to the Parliament. . . . Sent from Mr. John Ball, in Bristol, to Mr. James Nicolls, merchant in London." This writer alleges that though "many of the great ones amongst us, Colston, Yeomans and their brethren," were malignants, yet the bulk of the city "stood firm for the Parliament." The Corporation, indeed, had sent Sheriff Jackson, Alderman Locke, and Mr. James to Gloucester, to give warning that no troops would be allowed to enter, "but the Gloucester men were so incensed that they clapt them up, and would not liberate them until they had engaged their lives for the admission of a garrison." The petition of the ladies, whose number is here magnified to 200, is next referred to, and is made to enlarge on the danger of the city being deprived of provisions by the irritated country people. But the capitulation of the Council, instead of being immediate, is postponed by the writer until the following day. The "malignants," in the meanwhile, hired a number of seamen, armed with muskets and swords, and planted two cannon on From Gate. These mercenaries raised a tumult and refused to disperse when commanded by the Mayor; but the troops nevertheless entered without resistance at Pithay Gate and Newgate.

Coming to trustworthy documents, a despatch from Bristol, dated December 10th, informed Parliament that Colonel Essex with 2,000 men was then in the city; whereupon a letter was ordered to be sent to the citizens "to encourage them to go on in its defence." On the 19th, the Earl of Stamford, Essex's superior officer, who had followed the troops, informed the House of Lords by letter that he had heard, whilst on his way here, that "some commotion" had occurred after the entry of the forces, but such had been the vigilance of his subordinate that all was in order on his arrival. "I find this city infinitely well affected towards the good cause." As to this assertion there has been much difference of opinion. John Corbet, a Puritan minister, who in 1645 published an account of the famous siege of Gloucester,

confessed that the King's cause was favoured by two extremes in Bristol, "the wealthy and powerful men, and the basest and lowest sort." Fiennes, in defence of his surrender, wrote "the great men of this town have been well acquainted with monopolies and engrossments of trade," referring to the profitable butter and calf-skins patents, "and are therefore Malignants." Mr. Seyer, again, argues, though far from convincingly, that the trained bands, drawn from the lower classes, were undoubtedly Royalists. But it seems admitted on all hands that the feeling of the majority of the Common Council, and of the great body of citizens standing between the rich and the poor, was decidedly in favour of the Parliament.

On January 4th, 1643, the House of Commons issued an order for the repayment of £2,000 that had been borrowed from Bristol, doubtless referring to the money contributed in the preceding June. On January 10th, a lengthy minute was inserted in the House of Lords' Journals, to the effect that the city had also lent £3,000 to the counties of Somerset, Gloucester and Wilts, to enable them to raise an army to co-operate with that of the Earl of Essex, which sum was promised on the public faith to be repaid if the counties made default. (From an incidental note in the city audit books it would appear that £1,000 of this loan was sent to Bridgwater, where the defences were being strengthened.) A further sum of £3,400 was advanced to Colonel Essex for the maintenance of the garrison; and the outlay on the new line of fortifications was constantly increasing. To meet this prodigious expenditure, the Corporation had practically no resource save the taxation or voluntary help of the inhabitants. The subscription of nearly £2,600 by the citizens, already referred to, happily came in largely during the early weeks of the year, and much alleviated the financial embarrassment. There is no indication in the accounts of any special demand imposed by the Corporation upon those suspected of "malignity."

Reference has been made in previous pages to the repeated but abortive attempts of the Common Council to agree upon the terms of a petition to the King praying for reconciliation. The subject does not reappear in the minute-books, but on January 7th, 1643, a petition, drawn in the name of the city instead of the Corporation, was presented to His Majesty at Oxford by four unnamed aldermen. The document, which was couched in absurdly bombastic language, described the state of the kingdom as one of horror

and wrath. Trade had ceased, ships were rotting in harbour, credit was lost, the lives of men once happy were unsafe and miserable, fathers were fighting against sons, and sons against fathers, and all were overwhelmed with ever-growing troubles. The petitioners went on to declare their opinion as to the causes of these calamities. The King had divorced himself from Parliament, "the husbands of the commonwealth," who had faithfully and zealously served him, and who prayed him simply to abandon the counsels of notorious malignants striving to destroy the liberty and rights of Englishmen. A strong denunciation followed of the new doctrines which Prelacy had sought to force upon the people, corroding the hearts of the religious and well-affected; and the King was finally implored to devise some speedy way to lasting peace by rectifying church abuses and finishing bleeding dissensions. In consequence, doubtless, of the negotiations for peace between the King and the Parliament then about to be opened, His Majesty made a lengthy and gracious reply, expressing compassion for the afflictions of the nation, assurances of his anxiety for reconciliation, and thanks to the petitioners for their advice.

After a brief sojourn in Bristol, the Earl of Stamford, commanding officer in the district, departed for Exeter with one of the regiments stationed here, leaving the other with Colonel Essex, who informally became Governor of the city. The conduct of the new official soon aroused Puritan suspicion. He showed no energy in pushing forward the fortifications, but spent much of his time in feasting, drinking and gambling; he accepted hospitality from, and had many conferences with, persons notoriously sympathising with the King, held aloof from leading Parliamentarians, and was suspected, Mr. Seyer thinks justly, of corresponding with Prince Rupert. An act of great brutality filled up the measure of his offences. The Parliament had forbidden the troops from extorting money from the citizens on whom they were billeted, the wages of the men being fixed sufficiently high to enable them to pay for all they required. From some inadvertence—probably through the carelessness of Essex—the soldiers were not paid for several weeks, and were forced to buy on credit, at enhanced prices. On the morning of January 24th, about twenty of the troopers laid their grievances before their captain, who, disclaiming responsibility, accompanied them to the lodgings of Essex, then sleeping off a night's carouse. Irritated at being

disturbed, the Governor shortly afterwards appeared, armed with a horse pistol, ordered some of the men out of the room, refusing to listen to their complaint, and on one of them asking permission to speak before departing, he shot the unfortunate man dead on the spot. The atrocity, which caused a great sensation, proved the unfitness of its author for a responsible position. The Earl of Essex, on being acquainted with the facts, accordingly ordered Colonel the Hon. Nathaniel Fiennes, then commanding a detachment in Wiltshire, to proceed to Bristol, with power to act as circumstances might require, and, if needful, to arrest Colonel Essex and send him to headquarters. Fiennes arrived in the city with additional troops about the middle of February, when further grave information respecting Essex's dissolute habits and suspicious connections was laid before him, and orders were given for the Governor's dismissal and removal from the city. His arrest took place on the 27th, whilst he was revelling at the house of one Captain Hill, at Redland, an alleged agent of Prince Rupert.

Apparently at the request of the Earl of Essex, Fiennes assumed the office of Governor, though, as he afterwards asserted, much against his inclination. The appointment was similar to many made in the early period of the war. The new officer was selected, not because of his military experience, of which he was entirely destitute, nor because of his undoubted ability as a politician, but because he belonged to an aristocratic family, being a son of Lord Saye and Sele, one of the most active and influential peers on the Parliamentary side. He was not, however, like his predecessor, a mere roystering bravo. Delegating the military duties of his position to his brother, Colonel John Fiennes, he took up his residence in Broad Street, to superintend administrative work, and his unwearied pains and watchfulness are acknowledged in a letter signed by the Mayor and several influential citizens. He immediately ordered the reorganization of the local armed forces, and the active prosecution of the outer line of fortifications; and according to a pamphlet written by Major Langrish, published in the same year, he armed 500 well-affected citizens, whilst "the works had more done unto them in five days than they had done unto them in six weeks before." The House of Commons being unable to meet the numberless demands upon it, and Fiennes' first request for a loan of £1,000 having drained the corporate treasury, a local committee was appointed, comprising the Mayor, the

two Sheriffs, Alderman Holworthy, Luke Hodges, and other zealous "Roundheads"; and this body assessed and levied a weekly sum of £55 15s., payable on all real and personal property within the city. The tax, which came into operation on March 1st, and was to continue for three months, was confirmed by Parliament. It was soon found, however, that the rate was inadequate to provide pay for the garrison and keep in employment the numerous labourers needed to complete the defences; and throughout his governorship Fiennes made constant and piteous appeals to Parliament for relief. In May he complained that he had laid out £9,000, whilst the Commons had remitted him only £4,000, and the citizens were refusing to contribute any longer. In the following month he mournfully prayed to be delivered from the charge of a town which he had not half enough men to defend, whilst destitute of the means of supporting those he had. In another letter he asserted that the demands upon him were seldom under £1,000 a week, and sometimes reached £1,300. The Commons' Journals contain no information as to the sums actually transmitted to him. Prynne, a somewhat untrustworthy authority, says that he received "near £9,000." Even with this assistance, it is difficult to imagine how he met his liabilities. About the same time, £2,000 were demanded from the city, on loan, by Sir William Waller, but only part of this amount was received by Fiennes, who got £1,000 more from the Corporation on his own account. Possibly contributions were levied upon the neighbouring counties, as became a regular practice later in the war, and large sums were certainly extorted from so-called Malignants. One mandate of the Governor has been preserved, desiring John Gonning, jun., son of the Alderman, to forthwith pay in £200, "which sum, in respect of your estate, is below the proportion required of other persons of your quality," and threatening the victim, on refusal, with whatsoever course the desperation of necessitous soldiers might induce them to pursue.

Local historians of strong Royalist proclivities have asserted that the ascendancy of the Parliamentary party in the city was immediately signalled by the ejection, plunder, and imprisonment of the beneficed clergy. One of their charges against Fiennes is that he ejected Mr. Williamson, the vicar of All Saints, and replaced him by a Mr. Tombes. The truth respecting the matter may be found in the Commons' Journal for January 4th, 1643,

about six weeks before Fiennes' arrival:—"On the petition of the major part of the parish of All Saints, Bristol, Ordered, that Mr. Tombes [who was a B.D.] be recommended to the parish as a lecturer, and that George Williamson, the vicar, be required to permit him the use of the pulpit." The Rev. Richard Towgood, vicar of St. Nicholas, for his unfaltering support of the royal cause, was appointed, after the Restoration, Dean of Bristol. Yet he was held in such respect whilst Fiennes was Governor that—so far from being ejected, as Mr. Seyer asserts—the Corporation, in May, 1643, selected him as one of the lecturers whose stipends continued to be paid out of the civic purse. One of "the frantic preachers brought into the city," writes Mr. Seyer, was "Matthew Hassard, whom they put into St. Ewen's, a principal incendiary of the rebellion." The fact is that Mr. Hazard was appointed to the living by the Corporation in 1639, before civil dissensions were foreseen.

Early in 1643, the army under Prince Rupert advanced into the West of England with the object of recovering Gloucestershire for the King. The capture of Cirencester—its first success—must have caused a profound sensation in Bristol. On February 6th Lord Chandos and the chief Cavalier gentry of the county, jubilant at the prospect, issued a mandate to the high constables of the hundreds, announcing that the Prince demanded £3,000 from the inhabitants to raise forces to put into garrisons, and £4,000 per month for the maintenance of the soldiers, requests of which they approved, and which they ordered the constables to obey. Though events elsewhere subsequently induced Rupert to return for a time to Oxford, his forward movement stimulated, if it did not originate, a design in Bristol that was destined to end in a deplorable tragedy.

Several wealthy and influential citizens, as has been already stated, were supporters of the royal cause, and were naturally discontented at the ascendancy gained by the opposite party, and at the heavy burdens which that party imposed upon them. Perhaps the most resolute and active member of this minority was Robert Yeamans, a merchant who had held the office of sheriff in 1641–2, and who, whilst holding that office, had applied for and received a commission from Charles I. to raise a regiment for his service in the city. The existing evidence as to his character tends to show that Yeamans was one of those zealots whose rash enthusiasm is less dangerous to enemies than to friends. By displaying his commission, which he contended would,

if granted earlier, have enabled him to trample down rebellion, he was allowed to assume the leadership of the local loyalists, and he soon set about the formation of a widespread conspiracy, destined, as he persuaded himself, to overthrow both the garrison and the authorities. Fortune at first favoured his efforts in an unexpected quarter. The dismissal of Colonel Essex from the governorship had given offence to some of the officers of his regiment; a captain and three lieutenants are alleged to have been seduced by Yeamans, partly by his arguments, and partly by a bribe of £40, to promise their assistance in his design; and many of the political friends of the plotter, deluded by his assurances that the greater part of Essex's troopers were animated by the same resentment as their officers and were ready to rise for the King, consented to join in the confederacy. The next step of the movement was one common to most projects of the same character. A form of oath was drawn up binding the swearers to fidelity and secrecy, and this, it is said, was administered to a number of adherents by Yeamans' henchman, Mr. George Butcher, or Bowcher, a respected merchant, whose business abilities had been aforetime appreciated by both the Corporation and the Merchants' Society. The scheme being thus far advanced, a full disclosure of it was made to the Court at Oxford, with which a regular correspondence was maintained; and the King, after having twice sent down one Dr. Marks to ascertain the progress effected, expressed his cordial approval, promised to make Bristol "a famous place" when he got possession of it, and gave orders to Prince Rupert to approach the city and lend the assistance that would be required on the explosion of the plot, which was fixed to take place on the night of Tuesday, March 7th. Yeamans' dwelling was on the north side of Wine Street, nearly opposite to a building known as the Guard House, where troops were stationed, and the choice of such a spot for the mustering of a number of men, many of whom were probably suspected of "malignacy," marks the heedlessness of the ringleader. There, however, upwards of thirty assembled in arms, whilst more than double that number gathered at Mr. Bowcher's house in the more secluded quarter of Christmas Street, where a large store of arms and ammunition had been collected. Two subsidiary bands met in St. Michael's parish, and much help was expected from a gang of slaughtermen, who undertook to muster near the Shambles (now Bridge Street), and also from a party of sailors.

The final outbreak had been arranged, it is said, with two of the officers whom Yeamans had suborned, who were that night in command at the Guard House, one of whom undertook to patrol the round at midnight with men he had gained over, and to seize From Gate, close to Bowcher's house, which would enable the party there and their confederates in St. Michael's to render assistance, and take possession of that important outlet. Bowcher had prepared the crypt of St. John's church as a temporary prison for the captured Roundheads. The other traitor was to remain at the Guard House, having undertaken to surrender it without bloodshed as soon as Yeamans' party came forward; and this body of expected victors was directed to seize the cannon there, scour the streets with them, and secure possession of Newgate. Prince Rupert, who was to advance stealthily in the darkness as far as the gallows at Cotham, was to be made acquainted with the capture of From Gate by the ringing of the bells of St. Michael's and St. John's churches, when his troops would be able to enter the city without striking a blow, and thus complete a practically certain triumph. As soon as all this was accomplished, a proclamation, drawn up by Yeamans, was to be issued, ordering all inhabitants of the Bridge, High Street and Corn Street—that is, the leading tradesmen of the city—to keep within doors on pain of their lives, whilst men prepared to stand for the King were summoned to appear in arms at the High Cross.

There are various stories as to the manner in which the enterprise became known to the Parliamentarians, and it is not unlikely that all are founded on pure conjecture. If faith can be put in the pamphlets recounting the affair, about two thousand persons in the city and surrounding districts were engaged in the conspiracy, and there have been few plots of a fiftieth part of that number of men which have not produced at least one traitor. It is confessed that Yeamans had been recklessly indiscreet in divulging his project to all whom he thought likely to join with him. His favourite resort had been the popular Rose tavern, where he entertained many open or pretended sympathisers, regardless of what might be heard by tapsters and unknown listeners. It is also significant that there is no record of any punishment inflicted on Essex's officers, who, if the foregoing allegations were true, deserved to be shot off-hand. Duly weighing these circumstances, it seems reasonable to assume that Governor Fiennes was well-

informed of the machination on foot, allowed it to proceed until explosion was imminent, and at last threw his net over the unsuspecting but self-convicted schemers. This assumption is greatly strengthened by the fact that about ten o'clock of the fateful night the Governor had assembled a Council of War, which forthwith gave orders to two detachments of troops to march respectively to the houses of Yeamans and Bowcher and arrest all whom they found assembled there. Yeamans, who is said to have learnt that the plot was betrayed, at first refused to open his door, protesting "with deep execrations" that he had no guests. An entrance, however, was forced, and the soldiers succeeded in capturing twenty-three men, though many of the party, chiefly ship captains and sailors, made a desperate resistance, and additional troops were needed to convey them to prison. Several others escaped by the roof of the house. In the meantime, Bowcher's dwelling had been invested; but the crowd of conspirators within, instead of attempting defence, were struck with panic. Keeping the door fast for a time, a great number jumped out of a back window overlooking the From, and dropped into the bed of the river, the tide being fortunately at low water. The number of prisoners caught in the house is variously stated, the discrepancies being doubtless due to the fact that several were seized outside whilst floundering out of the deep mud of the stream. "A great store of arms" was certainly secured. Prince Rupert, after vainly waiting for the promised signal, found it prudent to retreat about daybreak.

The intelligence of this inglorious miscarriage was rapidly spread by pamphlets and broadsides over the kingdom, exciting transports of joy in one camp and corresponding depression in the other. As is generally the case when political passions become superheated, the pamphlet-writers of the victorious party outrageously exaggerated the intentions of the conspirators, alleging that they had contemplated the murder of the Puritan Mayor, the wholesale plunder and massacre of all the reputable citizens save their slender band of sympathisers, and even the burning of the city. In the Houses of Parliament on March 14th, letters from the Mayor and others were read, narrating in more reasonable language the circumstances under which the betrayal of the town had been prevented, and ordinances were passed for confiscating the estates of the plotters, for the trial of the ringleaders, and for a national Thanksgiving for the wonderful deliverance. (Two sermons were preached on

that occasion in Bristol by the Rev. John Tombes, B.D., and were so much appreciated that they were ordered to be printed by the House of Commons. A copy of this rare pamphlet, entitled "Jehovah Jirah, or God's Providence in delivering the Godly . . . with a brief narrative of the bloody and abominable Plot," is in the collection of Mr. G. E. Weare.) In the meantime Fiennes and the civil authorities were busily engaged in apprehending men whose complicity was known or suspected. In a letter of March 11th the Governor stated that the prisoners in the Castle numbered "well near sixty," and others were doubtless arrested subsequently. A Royalist pamphleteer asserts that the captives were treated barbarously, but his statements, if not pure inventions, could have little basis but the rumours and gossip of his party. The bulk of the prisoners were poor men, and they cannot have been kept long in custody, for the Castle dungeons were empty when the Royalists entered four months later. The better-class men engaged in the design, according to the list drawn up by Mr. Seyer, included John Bowcher and William Yeamans, brothers of the prime movers, four other merchants named Edmund Arundel, Thomas Heyman, Rowland Searchfield, and John Taylor; the steward of the Sheriff's Court (William Greene, who was a barrister); a soapboiler, a brewer, a hatter, a goldsmith, and two Oxford scholars. There is also one "William Coleston or Coulson," who cannot be certainly identified. None of these persons except William Yeamans were brought to trial, but had to ransom themselves by the sacrifice of their estates, which the Governor took rigorous measures to secure. In a letter to his father, Fiennes stated that he did not expect to make £3,000 out of all of them, "there being never a rich man amongst them," whilst creditors were claiming and carrying away most of their property.

The originators of the plot could not be let off so easily. On the receipt of a commission from the Earl of Essex, issued by order of Parliament, the Governor called a Council of war, presided over by himself, before which Yeamans, Bowcher, William Yeamans, and Edward Dacres, a plumber, underwent several examinations. The trial of Robert Yeamans took place on May 8th, on an indictment drawn up by Clement Walker, ex-Usher of the Exchequer, the proceedings taking place in Lady Rogers's great house at the Bridge. The Court consisted of the Governor and fifteen citizens, and the difficulty of the Royalist writers in finding

material to revile the jury is shown by their complaint that an attorney and a schoolmaster were members of the tribunal. No defence seems to have been made by the prisoner, except that he acted on the King's commission, and he bore the sentence of death with firmness. The trial of Bowcher and the two others followed on May 22nd, and had a similar result. Bowcher had admitted the charge against him, adding that he had provided chains and locks to bar the passage at St. John's Gate, so as to prevent the Parliament forces from rushing in whilst "the work was doing." The sentence on William Yeamans and Dacres was remitted. The two ringleaders were executed in Wine Street on May 30th (the entry of Yeamans' interment in the Christ Church register, dated May 29th, is almost certainly inaccurate.) The scaffold was raised in front of Yeamans' house, but he, like his companion, displayed great resolution, and avowed his principles to the last. They were not allowed to have the ministrations of the vicars of Christ Church and St. Nicholas, and two Puritan preachers were suffered to disturb their last moments. The King, anxious to save them, had caused Lord Forth to warn Fiennes that if the sentences were carried out, certain Roundheads taken at Cirencester would also be put to death; but the Governor retorted that the law of nature, as of arms, drew a distinction between enemies taken in open warfare and secret conspirators, adding that if Lord Forth should execute his threat, an equal number of knights or squires, taken in rebellion against "the King and Kingdom," would receive no mercy. Charles next forwarded a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, commanding them to raise the inhabitants, and to slay those who attempted to take the lives of the prisoners; but the mandate did not arrive until the tragedy was over. The unfortunate men left no less than sixteen children to mourn their memories. Mrs. Bowcher appears to have been promised a pension of £100 by the King. Yeamans' widow found a second husband in Mr. Thomas Speed, a Puritan merchant, who generously undertook to bring up her numerous offspring, some of whom, like their step-father, became prominent Quakers. The proceedings of Fiennes were approved by the House of Commons. A virulently written Royalist pamphlet was published soon after the executions, entitled "The two State Martyrs," which is reproduced in Mr. Seyer's history. It excited only the derision of the Puritans, who contended that the two plotters were no more martyrs than Guy Fawkes.

After the discovery of the plot, some of those implicated in the affair who had escaped immediate arrest thought it prudent to take to flight. From two petitions presented to the House of Commons on April 12th and 14th, on behalf of the Mayor, the Sheriffs, "and others well affected," it appears that two ships in which the petitioners were interested had been seized and carried off "by malignant fugitives," who had departed leaving heavy debts due to the complainants. The House ordered Governor Fiennes to give the petitioners fitting relief out of the estates of local delinquents.

A broadside in the British Museum, dated April 14th, and printed by order of the Lords and Commons, affords some interesting information as to the "weekly assessments imposed on various counties and towns" for the maintenance of the Parliamentary army. As compared with subsequent levies, the charges in this district were light. The weekly sum demanded from Bristol was £55 15s.; from the city of Gloucester, £62 10s.; from Gloucestershire, £750; and from Somerset, £1,050. The city of London paid £10,000, and York £62 10s. The local committee for assessing the amount on the householders were Richard Aldworth, Mayor, John Jackson and Hugh Browne, Sheriffs, Alderman Holworthy, Luke Hodges, and Henry Gibbes.

Notwithstanding the heavy burdens imposed on the inhabitants for the defence of the city, generous help was extended to those unhappy Irish Protestants who had escaped butchery only to be menaced with starvation. On May 4th, in the House of Commons, a letter was read from the Mayor and Aldermen, stating that provisions contributed by the "free benevolence" of the citizens, together with those brought in from the two neighbouring counties, had been embarked in two ships, which would convoy a similarly laden bark from Minehead. The cargo consisted of 3,880 cheese, great quantities of bread, corn, meat and beer, and £30 in money. The writers took the opportunity to thank the House for its care for the city in the appointment of Fiennes, who, they said, omitted "nothing conducive to our safety," and was the sole director and daily superintendent of the fortifications, which had "cost us very much money," but were "in great forwardness."

Their worships' complacent reference to the defences was not justified by events which, though imminent, were not foreseen. The great forts, indeed, seem to have been completed as originally planned. Water Fort had been armed with seven guns; Brandon Hill Fort with six guns: Wind-

mill (afterwards Royal) Fort with about the same armament, and Prior's Hill Fort with thirteen guns; whilst Lawford's Gate had been strengthened, and furnished with seven cannon. Temple Gate and Tower Harritz appear to have had fourteen guns, and fifteen pieces were placed at and near Redcliff Gate. In the low-lying alluvial ground between Lawford's Gate and Stokes Croft, the earthen rampart, designed to be about six feet high, with an outer trench intended to be some five feet in depth, may have been "in great forwardness." But in the long line of defences from Stokes Croft to Water Fort, the ditch out of which the "graff" was to be formed had to be mostly excavated in the hard rock, and when, as will be shown, Prince Rupert declared more than two years later that the wall and trench were still incomplete, in spite of the constant efforts of troops of labourers, the imperfections in 1643 may well have inspired Fiennes with anxiety. So little, indeed, had been done near St. Michael's Hill that the royal troops brought up to aid in Yeamans' plot knew they would have no obstruction to encounter in pushing towards the city. In the same way, the rampart and ditch in the valley between Windmill Fort and Brandon Hill had been little more than sketched out, even in July, when a few men furnished with shovels quickly levelled the ground, and enabled the Cavaliers to enter.

The defeat and rout of Sir William Waller at Roundway Down on July 13th gave a fatal blow to the Parliamentary cause in Bristol. Before the battle, Waller's imperious demands for reinforcements from the city had seriously reduced the garrison, and even after being strengthened with troops drawn from Bath, Fiennes had only about 2,000 foot men and 300 cavalry to defend several miles of fortifications against his advancing foes. The Governor, however, proclaimed his determination to hold out to the last extremity, and ordered the inhabitants to furnish themselves with three months' provisions, whilst many of the rural Puritans, hopeful of protection, flocked into the city with their portable property. Barrett, relying on oral tradition, asserts that Fiennes, to prevent a lodgment of the enemy near the Castle, commanded the demolition of the churches of St. Peter and St. Philip, but no evidence can be found in support of the story, which may be classed amongst the numberless calumnies of local gossip-mongers. Prince Rupert's forces, numbering about 20,000, had practically invested the town on Sunday, July 23rd, the Marquis

of Hertford and Prince Maurice being in command on the Somerset side, whilst Rupert established himself at Westbury, and attended service at Clifton church in the afternoon. On Monday the beleaguering forces made a display of their strength to discourage the besieged, and a summons to surrender followed, which Fiennes promptly rejected. The formation of batteries intended to play on the various forts was then begun, but Rupert was ill-provided with cannon until, by a stroke of good fortune, eight ships were captured (or voluntarily surrendered) in Kingroad, the guns from which were quickly made serviceable. In the evening some trivial attacks were made on the ramparts, but were easily repulsed. On Tuesday these assaults were repeated by greater numbers, and with more perseverance, but with no better success. The royal batteries on Clifton Hill, directed against Water Fort and Brandon Hill, proved also ineffectual, and the guns were removed to assail Prior's Hill Fort, on the eastern brow of Kingsdown. In the afternoon, Prince Rupert held a council of war with the officers on the southern side of the Avon, and it was resolved that a concerted storm of the defences at six different points should take place on the following morning. At dawn on Wednesday, the 26th, the enthusiastic Cornish regiments, under Lord Hertford, accordingly attempted to seize both Redcliff and Temple Gates, but were repulsed at each place with heavy loss. Lord Grandison led the attack against Prior's Hill Fort, defended by Blake, the afterwards renowned admiral and one of the noblest worthies of Somerset, who proved himself as skilful and resolute on land as he was subsequently on the ocean. The rampart near the fort was unfinished, and Grandison, who displayed great valour, took advantage of the defect; but after three fierce assaults he fell mortally wounded, and his men were beaten off. The attempt to carry the works at Stokes Croft was repulsed after a conflict of an hour and a half. A redoubt on Kingsdown, on the site of a later and enlarged fort called Colston's Mount, also encountered a vigorous but fruitless attack. The whole enterprise seemed fated to end in a disastrous failure, when tidings spread of an unlooked-for success.

Reference has been made to the rudimentary state of the rampart and trench between Brandon Hill and Windmill Forts. Fiennes and his engineering advisers had probably imagined that the approach to the city from Clifton would be sufficiently protected by the cannon on the heights, aided by a redoubt, styled Essex's Fort, on a site a little to

the east of the present Blind Asylum. This post, however, was also unfinished; the thick furze and underwood on the slopes of the two hills—so useful to an assailant—had not been cleared away; and, as the event proved, the mouths of the cannon in the forts could not be lowered to aim into the hollow. Captain Washington, a collateral ancestor of the American hero, had been directed with 200 or 300 dragoons to threaten the works at this spot, chiefly in order to distract the attention of the besieged; but the weakness of the defences being speedily detected, Washington, after arming his men with “fire pikes,” commanded an assault, dashed at the rampart, to the consternation of the few cavalry guarding the line, who would not face the blazing pikes and forthwith decamped. A handful of men then quickly levelled the ditch by throwing down the earthwork, making an open roadway for the reinforcements that their commander had at once demanded. The cowardice of a fresh body of the Roundhead cavalry, who made a faint-hearted attempt to beat off Washington’s slender force, together with the panic-stricken flight of a small party stationed in Essex’s Fort, completely turned the fortune of the day. By about nine o’clock in the morning the Royalists were in possession of the cathedral and the two neighbouring churches, and some of them occupied St. Augustine’s Back, commanding the ships moored in the Froom. Another party, forcing their way through narrow thoroughfares, some of which have been since swept away, bore down upon Froom Gate, where they encountered greater difficulties. When the news of Washington’s entrance reached the city, Mrs. Dorothy Hazard, a Puritan lady whose ardour has been already noticed, rushed with about two hundred women and girls to this Gate, the importance of which was obvious, and with the help of some men the portal was solidly blocked up with woolsacks and earth. Mrs. Hazard then repaired to the Governor, and adjured him to remain firm, assuring him that her Amazons would face the besiegers with their children in their arms “to keep off the shot from the soldiers if they were afraid.” Her entreaties were of no avail, but some of the women stood firmly with the gunners in the Gate, and it was not until after repeated assaults that the Royalists were able to enter. About this time Fiennes ordered a sally against the Cavaliers in College Green, but, according to his subsequent statement, only two hundred men could be collected, and these were so tired out through having been on constant duty for four days that

they were easily repulsed by greatly superior numbers. It may be mentioned here that the Cornishmen who had been defeated on the Somerset side of the city were so thoroughly disheartened as to have made preparations for a general retreat, and one party fled as far as Whitchurch before tidings were received of the actual victory of their cause.

Within a few hours, Fiennes' precipitate submission sealed the fate of the city. Before the siege he had vowed that, if the outer fortifications were lost, he would retire behind the ancient walls, fight every inch of the streets, and make a last stand in the Castle. The Royalists had lost nearly 1,000 men, while less than a score of the garrison were said to have fallen. (A pamphlet published by the King's printer at Oxford, doubtless by order of the Court, stated that "near 500 common men" lost their lives on His Majesty's side, and that the total loss in the service—"the hottest that ever was since the war began"—was "at least 1,400.") But though the principal forts were intact and commanded the city, the Governor ordered the soldiers still holding the ramparts to retire into the town on pain of death; and to the "exceeding comfort" of the besiegers, as they confessed, Fiennes sought for a parley with a view to a capitulation. (It must in fairness be added that, as he afterwards alleged, he took this step at the urgent entreaty of the Mayor and other influential citizens, and that Fairfax and Cromwell, as well as the Royalist engineer De Gomme, held that further resistance would have been useless.) Rupert gladly assented, and the preliminaries to a surrender were agreed upon in a garden house near Park Row. The final treaty, the original manuscript of which is preserved in the Council House, was executed in the evening. It was provided that the Parliamentary officers and cavalry, with their arms and horses, the foot soldiers, with arms, and the sick and wounded, should be convoyed to Warminster; that all gentlemen should be free to retire unmolested with their portable property, and that the liberties of the city should be maintained. The arms, ammunition, and stores found in the place were, of course, to be surrendered. The terms were shamefully broken by the Royalists. About 800 of the vanquished, from Fiennes himself down to the grooms of the gentry, were pitilessly plundered and outraged on taking their departure, some being stripped almost naked and robbed of all they possessed. And although, as a Royalist writer admits, £1,400 were offered and paid by the Corpora-

tion to save the inhabitants from pillage, the houses of those charged with disaffection by a few renegade Roundhead soldiers were broken into and ruthlessly sacked. A Puritan pamphlet published soon afterwards affirmed that one citizen, who had been already plundered of £500 worth of goods, was deprived of 2,300 ounces of plate by the direct orders of Prince Rupert, who refused him redress, reviled him as a rebel, and directed one of his houses to be demolished. Some tradesmen ransomed their goods by offering fines, but after payment was made, the soldiery burst into their houses and seized all they could find, selling the plunder openly in the streets. A great store of property had been placed in the Castle—several Royalist writers estimated its value at £100,000—but in spite of the treaty the troops broke into the place, and the owners got nothing but what they redeemed by fines. Meanwhile the army was billeted on the inhabitants, some of whom had between twenty and thirty men thrust into their houses, and the families were turned out of their beds and deprived of their food.

Alarmed by the rapacity of the soldiery, and possibly in dread of a universal spoliation, the Council assembled on July 28th, and resolved to offer a present to the King as a testimony of the "love and good affection" of the city. Giles Elbridge appears to have proposed that the gift should be £20,000, but the Mayor and twenty-five others voted for £10,000. Four aldermen and four councillors, amongst whom were Alderman Taylor and Thomas Colston, declined to vote for either sum. The bulk of the money was, of course, to be raised by a rate on the householders, who would thus, it was hoped, be protected from looting. A personal subscription towards the gift was then made in the Chamber, to which the Mayor contributed £300, Alderman Charlton £600, Aldermen Long and John Langton £200 each, Aldermen Gonning and Hooke, John Gonning, jun., and Hugh Browne £150 each, whilst many of the rest offered sums varying from £100 to £40. Miles Jackson closed the list with £20. Twelve gentlemen, about half of whom were Puritans and the others Royalists—amongst the latter being Aldermen Taylor and Jones, and Messrs. Elbridge, Colston, and Fitzherbert—declined to subscribe anything.

If the Corporation imagined that this peace-offering would satisfy the appetites of the conquerors their illusion was soon at an end. Documentary evidence as to the initial stages of what followed has not been preserved, but the Council must have been informed soon afterwards that

Prince Rupert required a handsome gratification, and the helpless civic body had to submit with such cheerfulness as it could muster. The collection of the "gifts" had evidently been proceeding for some time when, on October 16th, the Council approved of the labours of two committees previously appointed "for raising £20,000 for the King and Prince Rupert," and they were desired "with all expedition to get in the arrears," using any means to wring out the money that they might think proper. As the population of the city was then only about 15,000, and the value of money was certainly three times greater than it is now, a proportionate "gift" at the present day would exceed a million sterling. The civic treasury was then so exhausted that the Corporation were compelled to give 8 per cent. for a loan of £100, and to shut up the House of Correction in order to save the gaoler's paltry salary; while the members of the Council were called on to club up 40s. each to pay for £72 worth of wine presented to the King. Besides the above princely donations, a weekly assessment was levied upon householders for the support of the garrison. The amount, as originally fixed, does not appear, but it was probably £400, for in September a deputation was sent to Oxford to implore the King for a remission of £200 a week, and the tax was then apparently reduced to £300. Subsequently (May, 1644), when an enormous weekly rate was being levied to strengthen the fortifications, the King consented to reduce the £300 to £100; but the relief was in fact only nominal, the citizens being required to complete and furnish the new Royal Fort, for which purpose the Governor was ordered to assist the Corporation in raising additional taxes, and at the same time a lump sum of £2,000 was demanded for the maintenance of the garrison. The unfortunate Corporation had again to resort to borrowing, though the fact does not appear in the accounts, but is again hidden away in the Bargain Book. Robert Bing, the rector of Cannings, Wilts, lent £300 free, for six months. Local Royalists were not so liberal, Alderman Wallis requiring 8 per cent. interest for £200. Two daughters of Humphrey Hooke and one Thomas Fowens lent £200 each at 6 per cent., but four prominent and wealthy loyalists—Alderman Taylor, Francis Creswick, John Gonning, jun., and Alexander James—contributed only from £50 to £150 each. A loan of £80 was also wrung from William Cann, a leading Parliamentarian.

The capture of Bristol—which "struck the two Houses

to the heart"—brought a long-subsisting discord in the royal army to an acute stage. The moderate men who had taken arms in the King's cause thirsted for reconciliation, and were anxious that the constitutional reforms effected in the first year of the Long Parliament should be preserved intact. The extreme Cavaliers, on the other hand, of whom Prince Rupert was the idol, looked on national liberties with contempt, were eager to destroy the Parliament by the help of foreign and Irish mercenaries, and constantly urged the King to maintain the war until his opponents were under his heel and a future despotism assured. The Marquis of Hertford, a representative of the former section, had been for some time Lord-Lieutenant of Bristol and the two adjacent counties, and being by his commission in command of the Western troops (though he delegated the actual leadership to Sir Ralph Hopton), he looked upon Rupert as but an auxiliary to his army. The Prince, however, disregarding Hertford's position, had drawn up the articles of Fiennes' capitulation without even asking for his counsel, and assumed a right to deal with the city at his discretion. Hertford, to vindicate his authority, thereupon nominated the gallant Sir Ralph Hopton as Governor of Bristol, without consulting the Prince; on hearing of which the latter wrote to the King, concealing the fact of Hopton's appointment, and asking for the governorship for himself, to which Charles unwittingly consented. The jealous hostility that had long existed between the friends of the respective commanders now rose to exasperation, and the dissension threatened such serious consequences that the King paid a visit to the city to bring about a reconciliation. Accompanied by his youthful sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, Charles arrived on August 3rd, and took up his residence in the mansion of the Creswick family in Small Street, which stood on the site of the present post-office. (Barrett states that the King lodged in "Mr. Colston's house" in the same street, but the father of the philanthropist, from his marriage to his death, a period of nearly fifty years, resided in Wine Street.) According to a Royalist news-sheet, the King was received with great demonstrations of joy, and at night the city was ablaze with bonfires. His Majesty had not been appeased by the liberal gift of the Corporation, but informed his nephew that he would not admit the Mayor and Council to his presence until "the businesses be settled"; or, as the news-writer says, until

they had answered for the murder of the two "martyrs." Possibly his ill-humour gave a spur to the "present" made to Rupert. Thanks to the nobility of character shown by Lord Hertford and Sir Ralph Hopton, a compromise between the rival parties was effected, Hopton (who was created a peer) consenting to become Lieutenant-Governor under the Prince. A more momentous decision was arrived at during the King's brief visit. The city of Gloucester alone interrupted the communications between the royal forces in Wales, the West, and the North, and Charles, sanguine of an easy triumph, resolved on besieging the Puritan town in person. It was eminently characteristic of the King's temper during a flash of prosperity that a day or two after his beleaguering of Gloucester, he issued orders for the levy throughout the county of £6,000 a month for the maintenance of the garrisons at Bristol and other places within the shire. The money was to be paid by the high constables to "Thomas Walter of St. Nicholas's parish in Bristol." The issue of his attempt on Gloucester is historical.

A few days after the King's departure, the Council appointed a committee to "mediate" with the new Lieutenant-Governor "for the liberties and freedom of the inhabitants, both for their persons and estate, especially those that are now in custody, and have petitioned for relief." To propitiate his lordship, he was presented with a butt and three hogsheads of wine, a hundredweight of sugar, and the freedom of the city. The ultra party at Court were still so drunk with success that Lord Hopton seems to have been prevented from liberating the imprisoned Puritans, for on the discomfited King's return to Oxford the Corporation renewed their appeals for merciful consideration in humble petitions, accompanied with copious presents of wine. After many months' hesitation, marking the reluctance of the act, His Majesty granted the city his "gracious pardon" on February 24th, 1644, which may have brought liberty to the captives. The document cost the poverty-stricken Council £150 in cash, irrespective of numerous presents and the heavy travelling expenses of supplicating delegates. In other respects the civic body was treated with scant respect. The King ordered the appointment of his nominee to the vicarage of St. Michael; Lord Hopton "commanded" the grant of the freedom to one Richard Allan, "postmaster-general"; and pressure was exerted to secure a loyal majority in the Chamber. Councillors Vickris

and Hodges—probably in prison—were struck off the roll, and to supply these and other vacancies William Colston and five others of ultra-royal principles were elected. On September 15th, when Humphrey Hooke (now become a Royalist) was chosen Mayor, and William Colston and Henry Creswick were selected as Sheriffs, an illegal oath, the author of which is not stated, was tendered to each member of the Council, who was required to vow that he would not abet or assist, or hold any intelligence with, the forces of the Parliament, or pay any tax imposed by the Houses, or encourage any one to bear arms against the King. Thirty-two members swallowed this formula, it is said “voluntarily,” though that assertion may well be doubted. The outgoing Mayor, Richard Aldworth, and about nine others either refused to swear or absented themselves. Perhaps the most egregious instance of the high-handedness of the royal officers occurred in November, when the General of the Artillery, styled Lord Piercies in the minutes, demanded of the Council that all the church bells in the city should be immediately delivered up to him for conversion into cannon. The mandate evoked a dignified reply from the Mayor and Aldermen, pointing out that the request was contrary to the terms of the capitulation, and that, in any case, the Corporation had no right to dispose of parish property.

During the summer, Sir John Pennington arrived in the city for the purpose of taking the command of a number of ships of war that had gathered in the port for the royal service. To aid in procuring crews, the King issued a proclamation promising pardon to all sailors who deserted from the Parliamentary fleet, and threatening those who served against him with the punishment of rebels. A royal news-sheet of August 4th alleges that a ship of eighteen guns had come into Kingroad, and surrendered. Parliament, on the other hand, directed their admiral, the Earl of Warwick, to cruise near the mouth of the Bristol Channel, in order to capture ships sailing to Bristol, and prevent the transport of soldiers sent over to the King from Ireland, in which last service, however, Warwick was far from successful, considerable numbers of Irish mercenaries being afterwards landed in the Avon.

A royalist quarrel, somewhat similar to that already recorded, occurred at this time between Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Ashburnham, Paymaster of the Forces. The latter, embarrassed for money,

lost no time in seizing the receipts of the Bristol Custom House, and when Hyde, the proper recipient of the dues, applied to the local officers for the amount collected, he was enraged to find that he had been forestalled by his military colleague. After a bitter controversy the King decided in favour of the Chancellor.

A brief reference must be made to the fortunes of ex-Governor Fiennes. On arriving in London that gentleman defended his conduct in the House of Commons, and invited an inquiry before a Council of War. His challenge having been taken up by the well-known William Prynn, seconded by a shifty politician, Clement Walker, who both alleged that they had "lost the best parts of their estate in Bristol," and who stigmatised Fiennes as a coward in separate pamphlets, the Earl of Essex summoned him and his accusers before a Council of War, which after several weeks' delay, owing to the efforts of Fiennes' friends to avoid a trial, was opened at St. Albans on December 14th. The indictment, framed by Prynn with his usual acrimony, was of great length, and its virulence may be estimated by the fact that one charge was founded on the condemnation of Yeamans and Bowcher, which had been approved by both Lord Essex and the Houses of Parliament. The accusation of cowardice was put in various forms, and the evidence of numerous witnesses (one of whom was the strong-willed Dorothy Hazard) was produced in its support. Fiennes discredited his defence by raising the quibbling plea that as he was never legally invested with the governorship of the city, the whole indictment was vitiated. Having been confuted on this point, he fell back on assertions that he had done his best, and that the defence of the town was impracticable with the forces at his command. Puritan resentment, however, demanded a victim. The Court found him guilty, and he was sentenced to death. But his civil abilities, which were confessedly brilliant, and the powerful influence of his family, as well as the conflicting opinions of military men as to the justice of the sentence, were urged upon the Commander-in-Chief, who granted him a pardon, in which his valour at Edgehill fight is warmly applauded. A few years later Fiennes was appointed by Cromwell a member of the Council of State, and he was also for a time Keeper of the Great Seal.

When the sanitary condition of the city, as previous notes bear witness, had been always unsatisfactory, mat-

ters were not likely to be improved by the introduction of a large garrison and the contingencies of a siege. A minute of a Council meeting in October shows that householders were in the habit of throwing their refuse into the streets, and that filth was lying thickly in the unswept alleys and on the quays. Fines were threatened if those abuses were persisted in, but it was felt that something more was necessary, and the salary of "the Raker" was raised from £70 to £80, the Council ordering that the additional £10 should be levied on the inhabitants.

During August a Bristol ship with a valuable cargo was taken by one of the Parliamentary men-of-war, and sold as a prize in London by order of the House of Commons, to the serious loss of some Royalist merchants. Soon afterwards, Colonel Massey, the heroic Governor of Gloucester, equipped a frigate, by which a party of his soldiers, sailing down to Chepstow, succeeded in surprising and carrying off some of the officers of the royal garrison, and the vessel was afterwards employed in cruising for prizes in the Bristol Channel. To meet this danger to local commerce, efforts were made to send out ships for the defence of the port. In February, 1644, Sir John Winter, Governor of Chepstow, offered the Corporation a pinnace fit for this service, and undertook to pay half the outlay for the crew's wages and provisions. The proposal was accepted, and the Merchants' Company having contributed £20 towards the expense, the Corporation ordered that the remainder should be levied upon the inhabitants, who seem to have been regarded as a sort of inexhaustible milch cow. (They were now, by the way, paying a new contribution of over £1,000 a year for the relief of maimed soldiers and various military needs.) A second pinnace was afterwards manned, under a similar promise of assistance from Winter, which, as in the previous case, he entirely failed to fulfil. In February, 1645, the Corporation, who had borne all the outlay, informed him that if his moiety was not forthcoming, the city would bear no further charge. Though nothing was received, the King insisted that the ships should be kept at sea; but in July the Council resolved that in consequence of other excessive burdens on the ratepayers the charge could no longer be sustained.

The King, on December 22nd, 1643, granted a new charter to the Society of Merchant Venturers. The patent stated that "in consideration that the merchants of Bristol have expressed their loyalty and fidelity to us in these late

times of differences, when even the merchants of London, who have enjoyed many more privileges and immunities, have many of them traitorously rebelled against us," the King had granted the Society the same rights of trade as were possessed by the Russia and Turkey Companies of London, and also freedom to trade to the Hanse Towns and Denmark.

Owing to the lack of current money, always hoarded in troublous times, a large proportion of the contributions extracted from local householders on behalf of the royal cause were presented in the shape of silver plate, the value of which was taken at about 4s. 4d. per ounce. In order to turn this mass of treasure to account, a Mint was established in the Castle, and great quantities of half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, dated 1643, were put into circulation. Several varieties are preserved, most of them bearing the mint mark BR. As plate continued to be offered in lieu of money, the Mint was busily employed throughout 1644, groats and half-groats being added to the previous pieces. In the early months of 1645, in addition to fresh issues of half-crowns and shillings, a number of sovereigns and half-sovereigns were struck in gold, the metal having doubtless been received in the shape of chains, etc., tendered in lieu of cash. Descriptions of most of the various local specimens still in existence may be found in Henfrey's well-known work on the English coinage. In addition to these authorized coins, it would appear that vast numbers of tokens were made in the city during the royalist occupation. According to a contemporary news-sheet, quoted by Mr. Henfrey, it was stated in the House of Commons on September 13th, 1644, that the King's soldiers were for the most part paid with Bristol farthing tokens, some of which had been secretly conveyed to London for conversion into money. These base pieces, alleged in a Round-head pamphlet to be made of "tinkers' metal," are supposed to be represented by numerous coins dredged from time to time out of the Floating Harbour. They are somewhat larger than the modern silver threepence, and bear a crown and two crossed sceptres instead of the royal head, but have neither date nor mint mark.

The city was also indebted to the Royalists for the introduction of a printing-press. Out of about a dozen tracts emanating from it which have been preserved, the earliest is entitled:—"The Association Agreement and Protestation of the Counties of Cornwall and Devon. January 5, 1643

[old style, really 1644]. Bristoll, Printed by Robert Barker and John Bile [error for Bill] Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, MDCXLIII." The latest of these pamphlets is:—"A Letter from the Earl of Essex to his Highness Prince Rupert," dated 1645. All of them are of course in support of the Royalist cause. The King's Printers left the city on the entry of Fairfax and Cromwell, and it was not until half a century later that a local printing-press was definitely established.

A document amongst the State Papers for 1644 indicates how the Bristol and other mints were kept provided with raw material. It is a writ of Privy Seal under the sign manual, dated February 14th, 1644, and directed to William Wyatt, merchant, Bristol, setting forth that as the Parliament at Oxford had approved of the speedy raising of £100,000 for the royal defence, and had subscribed a large portion of that sum, the King hoped that the remainder would be made up by loyal subjects, and therefore required Wyatt to subscribe £20 in money or that value in plate. Appended to the mandate is a memorandum, signed by Francis Creswick, Sheriff, to the effect that Wyatt had brought in eighty ounces of "touched" plate, value £20. Similar extortions were largely practised in other towns where the Cavaliers were predominant.

The above reference to the mock Parliament at Oxford recalls attention to the somewhat equivocal position of the representatives of Bristol. Serjeant Glanville seems to have effaced himself from the time of his election, and received no "wages" from the Corporation; but, so long as the city was in Puritan hands, Alderman Taylor remained at Westminster, and, as has been shown, lent and promised pecuniary help to the Parliamentary cause. The entry of Prince Rupert greatly altered his position. Having his property and business in the city, he could not have remained in the House of Commons without being personally ruined, and, like many others subjected to the same peril, he repaired to Oxford, repudiated the assembly he had deserted (which declared him "disabled"), and thenceforth conducted himself as a supporter of the King. The change of front is noted in the corporate accounts for 1644 without remark:—"Paid Alderman Taylor, charges as burgess at London and Oxford, £10." A few months later he received £160 more, in addition to £60 previously paid as salary whilst sitting at Westminster.

Though direct evidence is wanting, it is certain that

the royal officers had not been long in possession of the city before they felt the urgent necessity of strengthening the fortifications, and thus securing against such a mishap as had befallen their opponents. Whatever may have been the date at which the additional works were commenced, a corporate minute of March, 1644, shows that they were then in full operation, two members of the Council being ordered to ride round and view the works every afternoon and encourage the workmen. Entries of a month's later date show that money was collected in advance from the inhabitants every six weeks for the payment of the labourers, and that those unable to bear the burden were required to send an able man, who was to work from six a.m. to six p.m., save two hours at midday. Mr. Thomas Colston was then engaged in extending and strengthening the redoubt at Kingsdown that was afterwards known by his name, and the Council undertook to refund him all his disbursements. The most important extensions, however, were on the summit of St. Michael's Hill, where the little Windmill Fort had been constructed two years before. The royal engineers resolved on converting this place into a great pentagonal fortress, almost deserving the name of a citadel, styled the Royal Fort, deeply entrenched, mounted with twenty-two guns, and provided with magazines, barracks, and other military buildings. The city being unable to furnish the extra number of labourers needed for the completion of this stronghold with the rapidity which the course of the war rendered urgent, workmen were drafted by force from the surrounding country, the inhabitants of which were also required to contribute to the cost of maintaining the garrison. One of the warrants for labourers, dated June 15th, transmitted to the head constables of Grumboldsash hundred, Gloucestershire, many parishes of which are fifteen miles from Bristol, is amongst the State Papers. It requires the sending in of sixty able men for a "few days," provided with good shovels and pickaxes, their wages being promised out of the monthly contributions levied on the hundred. Larger contingents would be available from the more populous hundreds surrounding the city, but even six months later £219 per week were still being expended upon the fortifications generally. The permanent military establishment had then been settled. The garrison was fixed at three regiments of infantry (3,600 men), the maintenance of which cost £834 a week; a regiment of cavalry,

420 strong, costing weekly £352; the Prince's troop, 200 men, requiring £121, and about 60 gunners, receiving £38. The Governor's salary is not stated, but £21 weekly were apportioned to the Lieutenant-Governor, £10 to the Deputy-Governor, £5 each to the Major and Petardier, and minor sums to subordinates. Finally £350 a week were to be laid out for making arms and ammunition. With the exception of £200 derived from the Customs, the whole of this burden—£2,000 a week in round numbers—was arbitrarily levied upon the householders of the district, the hundreds of Somerset being compelled to pay £850, of Wilts £500, of the lower division of Gloucestershire £300, and Bristol £150.

About the end of January, 1644, a body of about 1,500 Irish soldiers, under the command of Lord Inchiquin and "the great O'Niel," disembarked at Bristol for service in the royal army. The fact appears to have been suppressed by the Royalist news-sheets, the writers of which were aware of the detestation with which the "Papists" were regarded by Englishmen generally, in consequence of the wholesale massacres of Irish Protestants. The Roundhead scribes, on the other hand, made the most of the intelligence, adding that Mass was being openly celebrated in five different places in the city, and that the neighbouring counties were being pillaged to support the "rebels." About two months later, when these mercenaries had departed, three more shiploads of Irish arrived, but the pilots at Pill rose in mutiny, and refused to allow the vessels to come up the river; whereupon Alderman Hooke called a meeting of about sixty leading citizens, who approved of the pilots' action, and warned the Deputy-Governor that an attempt to force the hated hirelings on the city would lead to an insurrection of the trained bands, and possibly to a general revolt. The Deputy-Governor then prudently ordered the ships to land the troopers at Bridgwater.

Although our local historians have overlooked the incident, the corporate records bear witness that Queen Henrietta Maria spent a night or two in the city in April, 1644. She was lodged in the Great House at St. Augustine's Back, which must have been scantily furnished, for beds were borrowed from the landlord of the Red Lion inn, who seems to have received nothing for the loan. On April 23rd the Council resolved that £500 should be "freely bestowed" on Her Majesty, hoping that she would "graciously accept it as a token of their love." One

fourth of the amount was to be paid by the Chamber; the remainder was ordered to be forthwith "imposed on the inhabitants," whose experiences of such "benevolences" must by this time have been painful. Some trouble was found in raising the money, for Mr. John Gunning lent £40 to complete the sum. The present, being in silver, was a bulky one, and ten bags, costing 2s. 8d., were required to transport it. The Queen then disappears into black night.

Lord Hopton, who had been absent from his post for some time, returned about the middle of May, after having been defeated by Sir William Waller in Hampshire, and appears to have apprehended an early investment of the city. Doubtless at his request, the Council, on May 21st, resolved that the trained band should be increased to 1,000 men. This and other expenses for defensive purposes necessitating an outlay of £1,000, it was determined that the Chamber should become security for the loan, but that the money should, at a convenient season, be levied upon the inhabitants. It was further decided that, as much previous expenditure imposed on the citizens had been only partially recovered, the Mayor and Aldermen should issue warrants for the collection of the arrears, and that persons refusing to pay should have their goods distrained, or be committed to Newgate till the money was forthcoming. Constables and churchwardens remiss in carrying out this order were also to be sent to prison. To make further provision for defence, it was determined on June 5th that Bristol should enter into an Association with the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, in conformity with a proposal to that effect brought by Sir Edward Rodney from the central committee at Exeter. It will presently be seen that this step plunged the Corporation into fresh financial embarrassment. On September 20th the Council received an urgent letter from Lord Hopton's deputy, Sir Francis Hawley, for help to finish the Royal Fort, which he was unable to accomplish through lack of means. The civic treasury being empty, the Mayor and Mayor-elect were requested to become security for £200, borrowed to furnish the needful assistance, the Chamber undertaking to save them harmless. By this time the royal cause was evidently becoming desperate. Amongst the many interesting documents in the collection of the late Mr. Sholto Hare, now in the possession of Mr. Fenton Miles, is a letter from Sir Francis Hawley to Prince Rupert, dated November 22nd, stating that many of the Bristol auxiliaries had run away,

and begging for an order to impress 1,000 men. Shortly afterwards, the Corporation raised a loan of £400 at 8 per cent., and sent half the money to Hawley, then become a peer, towards his expenses in entertaining Prince Rupert, who had just passed through the city, after his defeat at Marston Moor, to join the King at Chard. The needs of the ships of war at Kingroad were next pressed upon the authorities, who promised £160, but for a time could raise only £20. Under these painful difficulties the salary of the Mayor was suspended, as was that of the Recorder, who ceased to exercise his functions after 1642, gaol deliveries being abandoned.

Owing to the distracted state of the country, the great fair at St. James's tide was not held in 1644. The suspension deprived the Sheriffs of their customary receipts from booths and standings, and the Council voted them £50 "in respect of their great loss." Many persons, too, had quitted the city, leaving houses uninhabited, and upwards of £200 of rents due to the Corporation were reported as "utterly lost."

The Common Council, on September 30th, deliberated upon a letter just received from the King, requiring a provision of 1,500 pairs of shoes and stockings for his army. There being no other means of meeting the outlay, it was resolved that the weekly levy on householders for maintaining the garrison should be doubled for a month. Another resolution passed at the same meeting shows that orders had been already given for doubling that imposition for four weeks to pay for "Prince Rupert's firelocks, frigate money, and other necessary occasions." The condition of the citizens under these eternal exactions must have been pitiable. Nevertheless, on October 8th, the Chamber received another mandate from the King, requiring it to assist the Somerset Committee with a loan for the payment of the royal army. This order had been sent through Lord Hopton, who coolly "propounded" that £2,000 should be advanced in ready money, and £1,000 spent in providing the soldiers with clothing, allowance being made for the shoes and stockings already sent in. His lordship's demands staggered the impecunious Council, who adjourned without framing a reply. Two days later, however, after much debate, it was resolved by a majority that £1,000 only should be lent to the Somerset gentry, to be borrowed on the security of the Chamber, and ten Councillors, selected from former supporters of the Parliament, were requested

to raise the money on their personal credit. The King's necessities being in no degree mitigated, he sent down another mandate in February, 1645, requiring £1,500 more to be provided for his troops in Somerset. He had, however, so thoroughly exhausted the city that the Council frankly made answer that, in view of the increasing debts of the Corporation, the demand could not be complied with.

In or about December, the construction of the Royal Fort was at length completed, to the great relief of the labouring population that had been driven in to work upon it. On January 7th, 1645, the Council ordered a re-assessment of the citizens, and, in accordance with the King's requirements, increased the weekly rate for supporting the garrison from £100 to £150, but discontinued the tax for the fortifications.

Early in March, 1645, the Prince of Wales, who, although under fifteen years of age, had been appointed General of the Association of the four Western counties, arrived in Bristol, accompanied by Lord Capel, Sir Edward Hyde, Sir John Culpepper, and others, who had been nominated as his Council. Lord Hopton had previously solicited the assistance of the Corporation in receiving this little Court, which was accommodated in the Great House, St. Augustine's, and four hogsheads of wine, with coal and wood, were forthwith provided (on credit), and consigned to the cellars. The house being unfurnished, the Chamber further resolved that whosoever would lend furniture, bedding, etc., should have the guarantee of the Corporation for the return of their goods undamaged, whereupon, it is recorded, five Councillors each undertook to send in a feather bed, mattress, bolster, two pillows with pillow bearers (cases), a pair of sheets and a pair of blankets. The Corporation furnished a service of pewter for the royal table at a cost of £19. Some of the Prince's party were lodged in the Bishop's palace, for which furniture was also required. A few days later the Common Council determined to present the royal visitor with £500, which were to be raised "out of hand" by collecting "3s. and upwards" from the householders. Only £430 being obtained in this way, the Chamberlain contrived to make up the remainder, and five bags, costing 1s. 8d., were purchased to convey the gift, which was doubtless most acceptable. The juvenile General found the Royalists in complete confusion. The Association, on which high hopes had been founded, was

still in embryo. The county of Somerset, which had professed much, had performed nothing; the £100 a week promised for the Prince's support were not forthcoming; not a man or a horse had been raised; and the county gentry were spending their time in squabbling amongst themselves. An alarming discovery had moreover been made through some intercepted letters, showing that Sir William Waller, then at Taunton, was contemplating an advance on Bristol, and had friends there eager to support him; but the disclosure of the design led to the flight of the local conspirators, and the adjournment of Waller's advance. Of course there was the chronic lack of money. On April 3rd the Corporation received a demand from the Prince's Council "to make good about £400 for the garrison," which, adds the minute, was "pretended to be in arrears." Remonstrance being futile, the collectors were ordered to get in funds with all expedition. The money was really wanted to victual the Royal Fort and the Castle, to which the Chamberlain sent large supplies, including nearly 12,000 gallons of beer, costing £81. About the middle of the month the Prince repaired for a few days to Bridgewater, where an attempt was made, with little success, to set the royal cause on a better footing. Before May 15th his Royal Highness had "propounded" to the Court of Aldermen the loan of £400, promising to allow it out of the "arrears" of the inhabitants, which were alleged to be "very great"; but the Common Council, who had heard too much of these imaginary liabilities, "humbly conceived" there were no arrears at all, and desired the magistrates to say so in a "meet" manner. An attempt to extract more money on behalf of the phantom Association was dealt with in a similar manner; but a charge of £548 for coals and candles for the guard-rooms during the thirteen months ending May was paid without apparent protest.

The horrors of pestilence were now to be added to those of civil war. The Plague had made its appearance in the previous autumn, when the Corporation hired Knowle House, to which were sent some infected people in the Castle Precincts and other districts; but the sickness was not then serious, and there is no further reference to the subject until April. The Council then assessed a fortnight's contribution for the relief of sufferers, and appointed a committee to assist the aldermen in their respective wards. A Pest House was next established, to which those suspected of

the disease were sent, with orders to remain for thirty days. This place of detention consisted of nineteen huts, specially built for the purpose, and large numbers of poor patients were consigned there "in great want and necessity," in spite of loans taken up for their assistance. One of these loans, for £100, advanced by Alderman Farmer, remained owing for thirteen years owing to the penury of the Corporation. The mortality from the epidemic reached an alarming height about the middle of May. Sir John Culpepper, writing to Lord Digby on the 18th, says:—"The sickness increases fearfully. There died this week according to the proportion of 1500 in London. Thereupon the Prince is resolved to remove upon Monday to Bath." No trustworthy statistics as to the ravages of the pestilence are to be found in the Calendars; but one of them asserts, perhaps from guesswork, that there were about 3,000 victims. One fifth of the trained-band auxiliaries are reported to have disappeared, but this may have been due partly to the want of employment, and partly to the desperate state of the royal cause. The mortality began to decline about the end of September, but there were 81 victims in the week ending September 23rd, and 32 in the week ending October 28th. There was another, but brief, outbreak in the following spring. In connection with this visitation a brief reference may be made to a tract entitled "A brief Treatise of the Nature . . . of the Pestilence," by William Kemp, M.A. (a native of Bristol), a copy of which is in the British Museum. A fashion had become prevalent amongst Royalist ladies to wear small black patches, styled beauty spots, on their faces, whereupon one of the King's chaplains in Bristol preached an oburgatory sermon, warning his feminine hearers that these so-called ornaments were forerunners of other and more deadly spots (the Plague), which soon after broke out, and drove all the patched women out of the city. Fashion, however, was proof against either diseases or sermons, and beauty spots were still in vogue in the reign of George I.

If dread of the deadly scourge declined during the autumn months, the prospect of an early and sanguinary conflict of the opposing armies for the possession of the city must have daily grown more terrible. After the crushing defeat of the royal forces at Naseby in the middle of June, Prince Rupert retreated to Bristol, and made preparations against the obvious intentions of Parliament and the new modelled Puritan army to recover the second port in the kingdom. The Prince was accompanied by a brilliant staff, and a body

of troops which must have brought up the garrison to an effective strength of nearly 4,000 men, exclusive of the auxiliaries, though Rupert afterwards asserted that the number did not exceed 2,300. The continuous labour and expenditure of two years, under the supervision of a skilful engineer, Sir Bernard de Gomme, had effected immense improvements in the fortifications. Besides the Great Fort, already described, Colston's strong redoubt on Kingsdown had been erected and furnished with seven guns; Prior's Hill Fort had been converted into a lofty stronghold with two tiers of loopholes and thirteen cannon; the Lawford's Gate works had been enlarged; flanking redoubts for musketry had been raised at intervals; and the entire line of defence had been made more formidable by the heightening of the rampart, and the deepening and widening of the trench. Altogether, the number of cannon mounted on the works reached 140. No exertions were spared to complete the preparations against a siege. The inhabitants were required to victual themselves for six months, and as 1,500 out of the 2,500 families remaining in the city were too poor to comply with the order, all the cattle in the surrounding districts were driven within the walls, and supplies of grain and other food were drawn from Wales and elsewhere to feed both the troops and the indigent. Writing in high spirits to the King on August 12th, Rupert undertook to hold the city for four months.

The Parliamentary generals did not give him a long respite. On July 11th, after having routed the royal army under Goring, near Langport, Sir Thomas Fairfax surrounded Bridgwater, which, after a gallant defence, capitulated on the 25th. Bath was taken with little difficulty, and Sherborne Castle was captured by storm on August 15th. Bristol thus became the only important Royalist stronghold in the district; and its reduction being an indispensable preliminary to the suppression of the war in the West, a rapid advance towards it was ordered, and Fairfax's army reached Chew Magna and Hanham on the 20th. The weather being extremely unfavourable, Rupert, to distress his assailants, ordered all the villages around the city to be destroyed. Bedminster, Clifton, and part of Westbury were accordingly burned to the ground; but Hanham, Keynsham, and Stapleton were saved by detached squadrons of the enemy. Fairfax, after careful reconnoitring on the 21st and 22nd, fixed his headquarters on the 23rd at Stoke House, Stapleton, the seat of a cadet branch of the Berkeleys. By

that date orders had been given for the posting of the Puritan regiments around the works, especial attention being given to Prior's Hill Fort, which was regarded as the key of the whole ; and Fairfax considered the place of such vital importance that he removed his headquarters to a humble farmhouse on the western brow of Ashley Down, since known as Montpelier farm, near which a battery was thrown up to support the attack on the opposite fort. Fairfax's practice of paying ready money for all that his troops consumed soon had a great effect on the country people, who had been mercilessly plundered by Goring and other Royalist officers. and supplies of provisions were cheerfully furnished. Public feeling in the rural districts was further stirred by the eloquence of Hugh Peters, Cromwell's chaplain, who boasted that by one sermon in Somerset he won over to the Puritan host 3,000 "clubmen" (who had armed to defend their property from the raids of both camps), and that a similar discourse brought in 2,000 more from Gloucestershire. Vast numbers did, in fact, come forward from both counties, and proved useful in keeping open Rownham Ferry, excavating batteries, etc. Hopes were also entertained that the "well affected" Bristolians would make a vigorous effort to promote their own deliverance, but, probably from the vigilance of the garrison, "their good affection." Cromwell wrote, "did not answer expectation." (The Gloucestershire auxiliaries, according to "The True Informer" of September 20th, were led by Sir John Seymour, of Bitton, Mr. John Codrington, of Codrington, Mr. Stevens, and Philip Langley, of Mangotsfield.) Prince Rupert showed characteristic energy whilst the investment was proceeding. On August 23rd. during heavy firing from the Royal Fort and Prior's Hill, a cavalry sally was made from the former, but was soon repulsed, Sir Richard Crane being mortally wounded. On Sunday. the 24th, the Royalists rushed from the sallyport at Stokes Croft, some horse being supported by infantry, but were again driven back with loss. At dawn on the 26th, a fresh outbreak was made, this time from Temple Gate, against the forces stationed near Bedminster, when twenty of the besiegers were killed or taken prisoners ; but later in the day the Royalists lost Sir Bernard Ashley, who was captured mortally wounded. A fourth and wholly fruitless sally took place at Lawford's Gate on the evening of the 27th. Next day the Prince proffered ten prisoners in exchange for Sir B. Ashley, but his proposal was rejected. During this day

the fort at Portishead Point, with seven guns, after a siege of four days, surrendered, and five of the Parliament's warships were thus enabled to enter Kingroad and blockade the Avon. On the 29th, which was devoted by the besiegers to prayer and fasting, a fifth sally was made at Lawford's Gate, but resulted only in the capture of three or four Roundheads. Intelligence also reached the Puritan generals that the King was moving westwards, in the apparent hope of raising the siege in co-operation with Goring, who was advancing from Exeter; but, although the situation was admitted to be critical, it was resolved to continue the investment. On the 31st, Fairfax was cheered by the arrival of the Parliamentary Admiral from Kingroad, who offered the assistance of his seamen in the impending attack. On September 1st, a wet and murky day, Prince Rupert made a sixth and final sally from the Royal Fort, with 1,000 horse and 600 infantry; but the effort was as ineffectual as its forerunners, only one Puritan officer being killed, but Colonel Okey, of the Roundhead dragoons, lost his way in the mist and was captured. Rain having fallen for several successive days, the besiegers were now suffering severely from the saturated state of the ground. On the 2nd Fairfax held a Council of War, when it was felt that a regular blockade would be tedious as well as distressing, and might possibly be perilous; and it was resolved to effect a capture by storm whilst there was no enemy in the rear. The preparations for the enterprise were completed on the following day. Colonel Weldon's four regiments of foot and three of horse were ordered to assail the formidable southern ramparts. Three "forlorn hopes" of 200 men each were to lead the storm in different places. Montagu's brigade—four infantry and two cavalry regiments—proud of their great deeds at Naseby, were directed to attack the rampart on both sides of Lawford's Gate. To the veteran brigade of Rainsborough, comprising four foot regiments and one of horse, was reserved the most important task of all—the conquest of Prior's Hill Fort, commanding the greater part of the long line of entrenchments. Colonel Pride was to occupy the attention of the Royal Fort. Okey's dragoons were to feign an advance towards "Washington's breach," which the Royalists had taken care to render practically unsailable. Three cavalry regiments under Fleetwood were to be posted on Durdham Down to act as necessity should arise, and the sailors coming up by boats were to attack Water Fort. Upwards of 2,000 countrymen, brought up

by Sir John Seymour on the 4th, with twelve companies more that came in on the 5th, added somewhat to the impressive appearance of the besieging forces.

Preparations being now complete, a summons to surrender was forwarded on the 4th by Sir Thomas Fairfax to Prince Rupert, earnestly desiring him to avoid bloodshed. If, said Sir Thomas, through wilfulness, a great, famous and ancient city, full of people, be exposed to ruin, "I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and us, and to requite the wrong." A personal appeal followed to the son of the Electress Palatine:—"Let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, ruining its cities, and destroying its people be a good requital from a person of your family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purses and blood of its Parliament and people." As it was reported that Rupert had threatened to hang any one who brought in a demand to capitulate, the trumpeter charged with this missive must have been a courageous man. He got safely to his destination, however, and the Prince, opening the letter, cried, "God damn me! 'tis a summons," and called for a cup of sack. The trumpeter was detained until the 5th, when he brought back a request from the Prince to be allowed to communicate with the King. This being refused, Rupert again held back the messenger for a day, and then returned him bearing an offer of surrender providing, amongst other things, that the Royalists were allowed to depart with all the honours of war, carrying off their cannon and ammunition, and that the fortifications be immediately destroyed. Fairfax responded by naming three of his generals to confer with the Prince on the terms of a treaty to be signed that night. After another delay, Rupert demanded that the objections to his proposals should be stated in writing; and when Fairfax, on the 8th, complied with this request, the royal general succeeded in delaying his reply until the evening of the 9th, when it was found to be as evasive as before. Feeling at last that he was being trifled with, and that Rupert was gaining time merely to strengthen the defences, Fairfax gave orders for the assault, at which, it is asserted, his soldiers "leaped for joy."

About two o'clock in the morning on Wednesday, September 10th, the signal for attack was given from the battery on Ashley Hill, and by the firing of a great heap of straw, the blaze of which was everywhere visible. Montagu's brigade more than maintained its high reputation. Surmounting the rampart near Lawford's Gate, that posi-

tion was assailed in every direction, and after a short resistance was captured, with many prisoners and twenty-two guns; the ditch, about seven feet wide and five deep, was bridged; and Bethell's and Desbrowe's horse, dashing down the Old Market, forced the great gate of the Castle after a fierce fight, in which Bethell was mortally wounded. Sir Hardress Waller's men, accompanied by Fairfax's regiment, had in the meantime carried the rampart between the Avon and Lawford's Gate, where the defences were weaker, and joined hands with Montagu. The sallyport at Stokes Croft simultaneously yielded to Hammond, while Skippon and Birch's troops carried the works between the Croft and Lawford's Gate. But a desperate resistance was made against Rainsborough's attack, with three regiments, on Prior's Hill Fort. For nearly three hours, mostly in profound darkness, the assailants vainly strove to gain a footing on the parapet, the top of which was hardly touched by ladders of thirty rungs; and a deadly fire of balls and case shot was all the while plied from the cannon on the summit, aided by musketry from the portholes. At length some of the men that had taken Stokes Croft climbed the hill on the inside of the rampart, and attacked the fort at its weakest point, whilst other assailants succeeded in forcing their way through the upper portholes and seizing the royal standard. After struggling some time longer, pike against pike, the garrison were forced to retreat below, where, owing to the exasperation of the victors, whose early offer of quarter had been rejected, most of the Royalists were put to the sword, a few only being saved by the personal exertions of Rainsborough and Hammond. The struggle was over before sunrise. The Puritans would almost certainly have been defeated if the attack had been postponed until daylight, for the fort was fully commanded by the guns of Royal Fort and Colston's Mount.

The Roundhead assaults on the Somerset side of the fortifications were as unsuccessful as those of the Cavaliers in 1643, and for the same reasons. There was no lack of zeal and gallantry; but the wall was so lofty and the ditch so deep that the longest scaling ladders did not reach the parapet, and proved mere death-traps to those who strove to mount. Water Fort was captured for a time, with its little garrison of Welshmen, but when the tide ebbed the victors, open to the fire of Brandon Hill Fort, found it expedient to withdraw. The attacks on Brandon Hill and Royal and Colston's Forts were mere feints, the chief object

of the Puritan officers in that direction being to prevent the escape of any royal cavalry towards the Severn.

Two incidents of the day are worthy of mention. Soon after the capture of Prior's Hill Fort, whilst Fairfax and his great lieutenant, Cromwell, were viewing the city from the parapet, a cannon shot from the Castle grazed the wall within two handbreadths of them, but left them uninjured. Amongst the Cavaliers slain in that fort was a young officer named Pugsley, who had just been married, and who, by Fairfax's orders, was buried in an adjoining field with military honours. His widow survived him for no less than sixty years. On her death, in 1705, she was, in accordance with her dying request, buried by the side of her husband in her wedding dress, without a coffin, but with girls strewing flowers and musicians playing merrily as her body was borne to the grave.

In despite of the successes of the besiegers, Prince Rupert's position remained a strong one. He still held four great forts and the old Castle on the northern side of the Avon, with all the ancient inner defences; he was undisputed master of the parishes south of the Bridge, and his store of provisions and ammunition would have sufficed to maintain a lengthened resistance. Desperation, however, seems to have taken possession of his followers, who recklessly set fire to the city in three different places, to the grief and alarm of Fairfax and his generals. About four hours after the loss of Prior's Hill Fort, the royal commander, who seems to have suddenly lost his nerve, made voluntary proposals for a surrender, and commissioners were appointed on each side to arrange details. At this critical moment something occurred which was kept secret at the time, and will probably always remain a mystery. Alderman Hooke, Mayor in the previous year, a man of dubious principles, as previous notes bear witness, had posed as a zealous Cavalier during the Royalist occupation, but thought this a desirable opportunity to seek the favour of his previous friends. At all events, to use Cromwell's expression some years afterwards, he did "something considerable" in support of the Puritans, for which Sir Thomas Fairfax engaged that he and his property should be as free as before the war. In 1650, when Hooke was threatened by the Compounding Commissioners with a heavy fine, for "delinquency," the Alderman urged this pledge upon Cromwell, and the latter stayed the hands of the spoilers, informing them that Hooke's proceeding was "for many reasons desired to be

concealed." Before entering into negotiations, Fairfax, fearing the destruction of the city, insisted that the garrison should extinguish the fires, and this was complied with. Deputies were then sent in to draw up a treaty of surrender, which was concluded in the evening. The Prince, his officers, and other gentlemen were permitted to leave with their horses, arms, and baggage; the soldiers with their swords. Rupert was also allowed a convoy to guard him against the country people, the "clubmen," who detested him for the cruelties he had permitted, and threatened revenge. The sick and wounded left in the city were to be sent to the King on their recovery. In return, Bristol was to be surrendered at noon, next day, and the Puritan prisoners were to be liberated. On Thursday, September 11th, the young Prince, splendidly clad in scarlet and silver, and mounted on a gallant steed, left the Royal Fort, followed by the distinguished party of lords, ladies, and gentlemen that had taken refuge there. As a mute but eloquent reproach on the ruffianly outrages committed on Fiennes and his companions under a similar misfortune, Sir Thomas Fairfax escorted Rupert and his friends for two miles over Durdham Down, and lent him 1,000 muskets (most of which were never returned) for protection against the infuriated peasantry. The King's printers, with their printing-press, were allowed to depart for Exeter. Even the malignant pamphleteers of Oxford were not able to adduce a single charge of pillage or ill-treatment on the part of the conquerors. The stores left by the Royalists showed the vastness of their preparations for defence, made at the cost of the city and district. The mounted cannon numbered 140, with 3,000 muskets, and an ample supply of ammunition. The Royal Fort contained nearly eleven months' provisions for 150 men, and about half that quantity was found in the Castle. The victory cost the lives of 200 Puritans, 400 more being wounded.

A few hours after the departure of the Cavaliers, Fairfax, accompanied by his Lieutenant-General, Cromwell, about whom the narrators of the storming maintain a singular silence, removed his headquarters into Bristol, and was shocked at the condition of the town. "It looked," wrote Sprigge, the ablest of the reporters, "more like a prison than a city, and the people more like prisoners than citizens; being brought so low with taxations, so poor in habit, and so dejected in countenance; the streets so noisome, and the houses so nasty as that they were unfit to receive friends till

they were cleansed." The Plague was still raging, but Cromwell, in his historical letter to Parliament (given at length by Carlyle and Seyer), stated that, so far as he could learn, the army, though quartered in infected places, had lost only one man from the scourge. As it would have been foolhardy to incur useless danger, Fairfax soon departed with all his forces, except the regiment of General Philip Skippon, a valorous and high-minded Puritan. So early as September 15th the House of Commons was petitioned by several exiled citizens to appoint Skippon as Governor, and Fairfax, by the advice of the House, complied with the request. On September 17th, Parliament ordered a national Thanksgiving for the victory; and during the services collections were requested to be taken for the relief of the "many distressed and plundered people of Bristol" who had taken refuge in London during the Royalist occupation. Sir Thomas Fairfax, either before or soon after his departure, was presented by the Common Council with two pipes of wine, the political sentiments of the body having changed with marvellous celerity.

On receiving intelligence of the overwhelming disaster, Charles I., as was but natural, was bitterly incensed at the hasty submission of his nephew, whom he loaded with reproaches for the non-fulfilment of his promise, only a few weeks old, to hold out for four months, and concluded by dismissing the Prince from the army and ordering him to leave the kingdom. Rupert, however, though reviled with cries of "traitor" by the soldiery at Oxford, followed the King to Newark, where he treated his uncle with gross disrespect, abetted some mutinous officers, and insisted upon an inquiry into his conduct, which resulted on his being acquitted of all but indiscretion. His Majesty seems to have eventually come round to the same conclusion. In a letter to Prince Maurice, the King expressed his confidence that "this great error proceeded not from change of affection, but merely by having his [Rupert's] judgment seduced by some rotten-hearted villains"—a remark which deserves to be considered in conjunction with the Hooke mystery. It must be added that a "declaration"—really an apology—written by Rupert, and published about this time, does no credit to his reputation, his assertions as to the weakness of the fortifications and the feeble strength of the garrison being disproved by incontrovertible facts, adduced by Royalist writers. Perhaps his most daring contention was, that the Royal Fort was untenable because it was commanded by

Brandon Hill, where the works were but a fifth the size of the great pentagon. The assertion was false, and would have been frivolous if true, for both the strongholds were occupied by his soldiers. It is almost needless to add that the inglorious failure of the Prince threw Fiennes and his friends into transports of exultation, and a comparison between the action of the inexperienced lawyer and that of the much-vaunted general was certainly all in favour of the civilian.

A slight deviation from chronological order has been made to complete the story of the siege, which may be said to have sealed the doom of the royal cause. Attention must now be drawn to the proceedings of the civic Council. On September 3rd, when the siege was far advanced, the Royalist majority resolved to contribute to relieve necessitous members of the trained bands and other auxiliaries, lists of whom were to be brought in by the two colonels, Taylor and Colston. (Colonel Taylor, whose chequered career has been already referred to, was killed during the storm, a week later.) On the 5th, a proposition was received from Prince Rupert, proffering to refrain from demanding free quarters for his troops on condition of being paid £800. This being accepted, the money was ordered to be raised in a somewhat extraordinary manner. It was determined that a quantity of wine, ginger, cochineal, etc., lying in store (doubtless the property of strangers), should be compulsorily sold to the inhabitants. "Those that will not take some reasonable proportion, being able, and not doing duty in person on the lines, shall pay as much weekly as they are rated at for free quarters." Whether this resolution was or was not carried out before the surrender took place cannot be discovered. On September 15th, when the Puritan victors were in possession, the Council, before proceeding to the annual elections, desired to know Fairfax's wishes as to the new officials. As Sir Thomas declined to interfere, and suggested that the ancient custom should be observed, Alderman Francis Creswick, a zealous Royalist, was chosen chief magistrate. As a counterpoise, Richard Vickris and Luke Hodges, two noted Roundhead councillors expelled in 1643, were reinstated in their places. Alderman Holworthy, another ejected member, was readmitted to his seat by order of Parliament. On October 2nd it was resolved that £5,000 should be given as a "gratuity" to the soldiers who had entered the city, the money to be raised, partly by the sale of all the goods of strangers stored in the

Back Hall and elsewhere, partly by a tax on such strangers as were in the town at the surrender, and partly by a rate on the inhabitants. Two days later, perhaps in alarm at the attitude of the troops, the gratuity was increased to £6,000, a motion to that effect being supported by Colonel Colston, and carried by the casting vote of another ex-Royalist, the Mayor. On November 12th it was reported to the Council that as only one-fourth of the gift had been collected, the military authorities had ordered the rate books to be handed to them, in order that the soldiers might gather in the money; whereupon the Council, in a panic, prayed for a brief respite, promising to bring in the gratuity with all despatch. Money being very scarce, contributions were largely made in silver plate, but it was not until February that the total amount could be extracted from the city.

Whilst this matter was in progress, two members of Parliament deputed by the Commons to superintend local affairs addressed some letters respecting their mission to the Speaker. These documents, which have been disinterred by the Historical MSS. Commission (Report XIII.), throw a flood of light upon the lamentable state of the city and neighbourhood. The writers, on October 8th, after observing that the irregularities of the military had begotten much trouble, refer to the immense destruction of provisions committed in the country districts by roving bands of soldiers and clubmen. The victimised people, who had previously been ravaged by the enemy, were now being eaten up by those that had flocked to the siege, and would perish unless they were relieved. "The city of Gloucester demands twenty-four months contributions to the very walls of this city, and enforces it by driving the country and imprisoning, beating and wounding such as resist." The writers had especially complained of the treatment of Henbury hundred, but the Gloucester committee resented their interference, and continued the outrages. In Bristol, where the Plague was increasing, the inability of the writers to relieve the sick and wounded begot daily mutinies and desertions, and but for the gratuity raised for the troops ruin would have fallen on the city from the soldiers' appetites. It had been hoped that funds would be obtained from the wealth of the enemy; but the city was found to be a den of thieves, the goods of escaped Royalists being claimed under pretended transfers or for pretended debts. The citizens, moreover, refused to buy such prize goods as had been found. In a second letter, dated November 12th, the deputies warmly

complain of the exaction of free quarters by the soldiers, and the cruel pressure exercised in the country districts by the Parliamentary committees of the two counties, who had no regard for the impoverished state of the people. The Bristol garrison could not subsist without help from the neighbouring hundreds, yet its maintenance was of great concern owing to the public discontent. Complaint is also made of the "crying down of the ryalls of eight," previously current for 4s. 6d., but which the Customs and Excise officers had refused to accept at any price. This stop to trade, together with expected changes in the Corporation and the orders for fining and sequestering certain citizens, had put an end to all hopes of collecting the gratuity for the soldiers. The writers wish for Governor Skippon's return (their letter is the only evidence of his absence), as many officers were taking all they could lay hands on for themselves. The letter concludes with some remarks on religion which dispose of the baseless statements of various Royalist authors. The people, wrote the deputies, were still sitting in darkness owing to the want of a godly ministry. The collegiate (cathedral) men were still chanting out the Common Prayer to the wonted height, and no other discipline was thought of in the parish churches, there being hardly three sermons on Sundays in the whole city.

The conduct of many members of the Corporation during the Royalist occupation had not escaped attention at Westminster, and the Parliamentary leaders lost little time in determining upon extensive changes in the Common Council. On October 28th an Ordinance was passed by both Houses "for the better securing and government of Bristol," setting forth that Aldermen Creswick (Mayor), Hooke, Long, Wallis, James, and Thomas Colston, and Councillors Fitzherbert, Henry Creswick, William Colston, Cale, Bevan, Gregson, and Elbridge had been so disaffected to Parliament, and so active in promoting the designs of the enemy, that their continuance in the magistracy and Council would be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the city. They were therefore suspended, and threatened with prosecution for their delinquency. The Ordinance next nominated John Gonning, junior, as Mayor, and ordered the Sheriffs to assemble the remaining members of the Council, who were to proceed to the election of well-affected persons to supply the vacancies created by the above dismissals; but men under imprisonment, or whose estates had been sequestered by Parliament, were to be held as disqualified.

The "something considerable" done a few weeks before by Alderman Hooke was evidently unknown to the framers of this decree. The favour shown to John Gonning, who, if the minute-books can be trusted, had been a Royalist, is one of the puzzles of the time in reference to the conduct of some prominent citizens. The only explanation of their wavering and inconsistencies seems to be that they had no settled opinions as to the national issues then pending, and sought to protect their personal interests by favouring whichever party got uppermost, and by deserting each in turn when the tide of fortune turned. On November 1st the Houses approved of another Ordinance, requiring the reinstatement in their former places of Alderman Richard Aldworth and Messrs. Vickris and Hodges, "removed without lawful cause," and of whose "great sufferings for being faithful the Houses had ample testimony." (Vickris and Hodges, as stated above, had been already admitted.) Owing to the absence of Governor Skippon, these mandates did not reach the Council for several weeks. At length, on December 19th, they were presented by the General, who required them to be read, with the effect of producing the following characteristic minute:—"And all persons therein concerned willingly submitted thereunto, and Francis Creswick did next day in the usual place deliver up his office, sword and cap of maintenance unto Mr. John Gonning, who was thereupon sworn Mayor." As if to further attest their obedience, the Council a few days later presented Governor Skippon with a pipe of Canary and two hogsheads of claret.

No class of society in Bristol appears to have suffered so much from the devastating effects of the war as did the incumbents of the parochial churches. Nearly all the livings being miserably endowed, the clergy had been accustomed to look for support to the yearly offerings of their flocks. But when the city became a garrison town, and ceaseless impositions were extorted for military purposes, the majority of householders grew indisposed, and many doubtless were rendered unable, to continue their voluntary subscriptions. In consequence of representations made at Westminster as to the poverty of the ministers, the Houses, on November 28th, empowered their delegates in Bristol to draw up a report, defining the number of churches that would suffice for the population, uniting parishes where it was thought desirable, and determining how adequate stipends could be provided for the reduced number of incumbents, either by taxation of the inhabitants or by an

allotment of part of the Dean and Chapter revenues. The Journals of the two Houses are silent as to the result of this order, but the Corporation will hereafter be found dealing with the subject. In the meantime, the local Parliamentary committee took action under a general Ordinance for the removal of ill-affected ministers. Early in 1646 Messrs. Towgood and Standfast, vicars of St. Nicholas and Christ Church, Mr. Pierce, vicar of St. Philip's, and Mr. Brent, vicar of Temple, were sequestered for "disaffection," which then denoted loyalty, only a fifth of their incomes being paid by way of indemnity to their wives and children. The Nonconformists who had taken flight on the entry of the Royalists had returned soon after the recapture of the city, but no longer lived in their former harmony. Many new sects had arisen, doctrinal subtleties provoked disputes and divisions, rivalries arose amongst the preachers, and meetings called for prayer sometimes ended in angry confusion. The founders of the first Dissenting congregation (see p. 151) held together, and for some time attended All Saints church to hear the sermons of a Mr. Ingello, who at length was chosen as their regular teacher. But Mr. Ingello, to the indignation and grief of his followers, not only flaunted in gay apparel, which was deemed absolutely sinful, but devoted much of his time to profane music, his love of that art tempting him to frequent the houses of various wealthy worldlings. Proving incorrigible, the devotee of harmony was dismissed.

The Parliament, on December 3rd, passed an Ordinance confirming General Skippon in the governorship of the city, garrison, Castle, and forts, and empowering him to execute martial law. It was further decreed that, for the support of the garrison and for necessary charges, a levy should be made of £3,000 per month for six months, of which sum £200 were to be raised in Bristol, £1,200 in Somerset, and £800 each in Gloucestershire and Wilts. By another Ordinance of the same date, £5,000 were to be bestowed for "raising" the forces in Bristol, and for other necessary services; and it would appear that Major Samuel Kem was employed by the Government to raise a regiment amongst the inhabitants. Kem had been an army officer under Lord Denbigh, and, as was long customary in English regiments, combined the functions of major and chaplain. He was also for some time lecturer at St. Werburgh's, *vice* the Rev. Richard Standfast. Certain writers of limited knowledge, who have treated of the Civil War, have branded all the military preachers as uncultured fanatics. Kem,

however, like others, was an educated gentleman, and held the degree of B.D. In a letter to Lord Denbigh, dated December 19th, he refers with grief to the scandal caused in Bristol by a schismatical lieutenant, who "daily preacheth in a scarlet coat with silver lace and with his sword by his side . . . who holds the mortality of the soul." When called to other services in 1646, Kem preached, and afterwards printed, a farewell sermon to his Bristol regiment, in which he referred with scorn to the prevalent "rabble of heresies," and to "the subservient actors for Scout-Master-General Self Ends," who were slaying more than had perished by the sword.

On December 9th the House of Commons took into consideration the petition of Richard Netheway, a Bristol brewer, who made an urgent appeal for relief from the distress to which he had been reduced by the Royalists, owing to his affection for the Parliament. The enemy had, he averred, burned down his valuable houses near the Pithay Gate, and thereby ruined him. The Commons directed that he should be given £500 in money, and that their deputies in Bristol should provide him with a house suitable for his trade out of the estates of sequestered Royalists, and also consider how £500 more should be raised in compensation for his losses, which was done. Nothing more is heard of Netheway for twenty years; but in the State Papers for 1665 there is a petition from him to Charles II., affirming that he was reduced to poverty through his fervent loyalty. He had supplied Rupert's garrison with £120 worth of beer, never paid for, and his house at Pithay Gate was burnt with his consent, lest it should advantage the Roundhead besiegers. The impudent rogue begged for a place in the Custom House or some other compensation, declaring that he was likely to die in prison. The King's response has perished.

As the Recorder, Sir John Glanville, persistently refrained from visiting the city to perform his functions, the Council, on January 6th, 1646, declared that he was incapable of holding his place any longer, and that the office was therefore void. Edmund Prideaux, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, was thereupon appointed to the vacancy.

Glanville had been "disabled" from sitting in Parliament by the House of Commons in the previous September, and Colonel Taylor, the other representative of Bristol, "disabled" in 1644, had been killed during the siege. An election for two members consequently took place on January 26th, 1646.

Major Kem, B.D., had previously preached a sermon exhorting the electors to return godly men, and Alderman Richard Aldworth and Luke Hodges, two of the Puritans expelled from the Council in 1643, were elected. Aldworth from time to time advanced considerable sums for the service of the Parliament, and appears to have been a popular member.

Early in the year the Corporation was sued, in the person of the Under Sheriff, by one John Roberts, who would have brought about the absolute ruin of the civic body if success had crowned his enterprise. When the "gratuity" of £20,000 to the King and Prince Rupert was being collected from the householders, Roberts's father was assessed at, and paid, £20; and the action was brought to recover this sum. The Court of King's Bench, however, seems to have summarily quashed the plaintiff's claim, for the law costs paid by the Corporation amounted to only ten shillings.

The soldiery of the garrison, having no serious duties to perform, occupied much of their leisure about this time in visiting the parish churches, and destroying what they styled "idolatrous" sculpture and stained glass, the latter being almost entirely demolished. Much havoc is said to have been wrought in the tabernacle work of the tombs, etc., in St. Mary Redcliff, where the organ was pulled to pieces, and the pipes carried away and blown as trumpets in the streets. The supposition that these zealots mutilated the once magnificent reredos at the end of the north aisle of the cathedral is, however, unfounded, the destruction of shrines and images in churches having been relentlessly carried out by order of the Government of Edward VI., a century earlier. Fearing that the painted glass in the Guildhall would fall a prey to the fanatics, the Corporation had 134 feet of it removed, and replaced by ordinary material at an outlay of £3 7s. Unfortunately, the ornamental glass seems to have perished through neglect, as it is never mentioned again.

When iconoclasts were aroused to fury by the sight of pictured glass and carved corbels, their hatred of what they styled prelacy was pretty sure to make them equally pitiless towards human beings. The local chroniclers are silent on the subject, and the only existing source of information is the book known as Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," compiled upwards of sixty years later, and much of it avowedly based on hearsay and tradition, but which, it is only too probable, is in many cases trustworthy. Dr. Thomas Howell was nominated to the see of Bristol in 1644, and was in residence during a part of the second Puritan

occupation. His palace and park were sold by order of Parliament to Thomas and Samuel Clark for £240, and, as the Bishop refused to quit, the purchasers stripped the lead off the roof, by which the inmates, including Mrs. Howell, then advanced in pregnancy, were exposed to the weather. The unfortunate lady died in childbed, after which the Bishop was driven out of the house, which was first plundered and then converted into a malt mill and storehouse. Dr. Howell died a few months afterwards, leaving ten children.

When so little respect was paid to a bishop, it might be assumed that still less would be rendered to the King, against whom the Puritans were in arms. Yet the assumption would be erroneous as regards the period under review. Revolutionary ideas were developing rapidly in the Parliamentary army, but amongst civilians, in spite of years of misgovernment, loyalty was still deep and widespread, and possibly may have increased under the severe rule of the two Houses. In March, 1646, by order of the Corporation, the Chamberlain laid out 3s. 4*d.* "for wood for the bonfire before Mr. Mayor's door on Coronation Day, being the King's Holiday." The same item occurs in the accounts of 1647 and 1648, the latter entry showing how the holiday was then celebrated:—"Paid Mr. Jessop for preaching a sermon at the College (cathedral), on the King's Coronation Day: ordered by the Mayor and Aldermen Lock, Vickris and Gibbs, but never paid before by the city, £1." This entry, together with the usual quarterly items for dusting the Corporation seats, satisfactorily explodes the assertion made by some prejudiced writers that services in the cathedral were discontinued and the building desecrated soon after the departure of Prince Rupert.

Owing to the exorbitant demands of the Royalist officers whilst the city was in their power, the means of maintaining the ordinary machinery of police were no longer procurable, and the results may be imagined. The scavenger, for example, having been discharged through want of funds, the cleansing of the streets was left to the elements, and as the issue of two years' neglect, the main thoroughfares, according to a corporate minute of February 3rd, 1646, were "full of dirt, soil, and filth, and very dangerous in this time of infection." Yet their condition was savoury when compared with that of the numerous narrow lanes inhabited by the poor. The Council, heavily burdened with debt, evaded the task of reform, and ordered the churchwardens

to levy rates with a view to purification; but after a lengthened trial of this system, the Corporation were compelled to resume their functions. In 1648 the Raker again became their servant at a salary of £100, of which sum the Council contributed £40, and the remainder was raised by a rate. The condition of the banks of the two rivers, especially of those of the From, was at low water even more sickening than that of the streets, owing to the impurities deposited there from the sewers and the filth cast in by the neighbouring inhabitants; but reformation was left to the winter floods, the authorities contenting themselves by threatening heavy penalties on detected malpractices.

General Skippon, who found the governorship of Bristol a by no means envious position, addressed a letter to the House of Lords on February 2nd, 1646, describing his embarrassments and praying for assistance, the want of which, he asserted, "is likely suddenly to bring this place into a very sad condition." The order made by Parliament for contributions from the three neighbouring counties has been already recorded. Skippon's letter stated that though more than £9,000 ought to have been received from these sources, not so much as £900 had actually arrived; and that he had no power to raise money except in the city. Not a penny had been sent in from Gloucestershire and Wilts, and only about £700 had come from Somerset. He had thus been disabled from increasing the garrison, or rendering help to distressed friends in the three counties lately plundered by the enemy; whilst he had to keep in awe a multitude of ill-affected persons in Bristol (an assertion worthy of note). His earnest prayer for attention to his necessities led to an Ordinance of the two Houses, passed on February 24th, directing that the receipts from the Excise and new Impost in the city and district should be temporarily appropriated to the maintenance of the troops. In August, when the King was a prisoner, it was ordered that the garrison should be reduced to 800 infantry and one troop of horse, and that the soldiers be no longer employed in Gloucestershire in levying the contributions. The difficulty in procuring money from that county is explained in a letter addressed to the Speaker by Colonel Pynder, a deputy from the Commons. "The charge for free quarters during the siege," he wrote, "amounts to so great a sum that, without your encouragement, the poor county will be undone, and disabled either to support the garrison or themselves."

The Chamberlain, in August, disbursed £8 as a recompense to a citizen named Moore, on account of his house having been plundered by Prince Rupert's soldiers, "who possessed the same two whole years." A shilling was also paid to a smith for his help in letting down "the portcullis at From Gate, to keep out carts," which were always regarded as a nuisance by the Corporation.

Raglan Castle, the last stronghold of the Royalist cause in the West of England, surrendered to the Parliament forces in August. A London news-sheet reported soon afterwards that one Major Tuleday had arrived in Bristol on his way to the capital, with the King's standard and other badges of triumph borne before him, and that as he approached the city he was met by joyous crowds, who heartily welcomed him.

One of the earliest indications that the civic body was recovering from the blood-sucking practices of the Cavaliers occurs in the Council minutes of October 15th. There being much distress amongst the poor, owing to the dearness of food, the members clubbed up £266, the whole of which sum was expended, not in the purchase of corn, but of butter, destined for sale by retail at low prices. In the result there was a loss on the transaction of over £30, which was borne by the Chamber. Soon after, a gratuity of £30 was voted to Sir John Glanville for "arrears" of his fees when Recorder, though a much larger sum was nominally due to him. This was followed by the revival of the Mayor's fishing excursion on the From, by a perambulation of the boundaries, and by a duck-hunting feast, the expenses of each, though on a modest scale, indicating a desire to revert to old-fashioned festivities. A novel item crops up about the same time—a payment of £4 3s. 6d. for horse-meat, etc., for Mr. Recorder's horses—which the Chamberlain carefully noted was "not to be brought in president for the future." In point of fact it became a "president" for annual items of far greater amount, extending over more than a hundred years. It is probable that the Recorder, during his first visit, may have pointed out the desirability of re-constituting the aldermanic body, which, by the purgation of the previous year, had been reduced to four members; for during his stay, eight gentlemen, all prominent Puritans, were elected, thus completing the magisterial bench. Six Common Councillors, of similar political views, were chosen about the same time, one of whom was William Yeamans, a relative

of the "martyr." Finally, in November, when Dublin was in danger of falling into hostile hands, the members of the Council subscribed upwards of £160 for the purchase and despatch of ammunition for the Puritan garrison.

Towards the close of the year the Parliamentary tribunal charged with inquiring into the value of "delinquents' " estates, and "compounding" with the owners for fines in lieu of sequestration, was actively fulfilling those duties, and several Bristol names occur in the State Papers, which often omit to mention the decisions arrived at. It is clear from these papers that some prominent local Royalists changed sides immediately after the Puritan victory. For example, Thomas Colston, the trained-band colonel who constructed Colston Fort, petitioned for favourable consideration because he had at once conformed to Parliament; while his subordinate, Captain Bevan, made the same prayer, alleging that he had laid down his arms even before the storming of the town, and had since advanced "great part" of the gratuity to the Roundhead soldiers. No fine is noted in either case. Ex-Alderman Wallis's petition admits that he was for Parliament until Prince Rupert entered, and for the King till the Royalists were driven out. Being now "well affected" again, he got off on paying £177 10s. Richard Gregson acknowledges having taken arms for the King, but pleads that he has now taken the Covenant, and had paid "£40 for his 25th part," which was probably the assessment levied for raising the £6,000 given to the soldiery. He escaped on paying £105 more. Ex-Alderman Richard Long made no profession of change of opinion, but asked to be allowed to compound, which was granted on payment of £800. Thomas Chester, in the same way, compounded for his landed estate by a fine of £1,000, which would have been more but for the fact that some of his houses were destroyed by the fires raised by the defeated Royalists. He paid a further, but unrecorded, fine to redeem his personal estate. John Bowcher, merchant (doubtless the brother of the "martyr"), in praying to be allowed to compound, stated that he had been a captain in one of the King's foot regiments. He was fined £135. Alexander James, Mayor in 1644-5, appears to have been mulcted in £670. Ex-Alderman Humphrey Hooke, already well known to the reader, made an urgent appeal for tender treatment. When Fiennes was Governor of the city, the petitioner lent him £250, supplied powder (value £90), which was never paid for, and made other gifts in money.

It was true he had helped Prince Rupert to defend the town against Parliament, but he had since given much towards the soldiers' gratuity, and paid all contributions, and had finally become a good Puritan, by adhering to the Covenant! Mr. Hooke had large estates in the two adjoining counties and in Worcestershire, and his case occupied the commissioners for five years. Two fines, amounting to about £800, occur in the proceedings, but, as has been already mentioned, he appealed to Cromwell, and probably escaped scot-free. Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Stoke, near Stapleton, in asking to be allowed to compound, alleged that he had been forced, from the nearness of his house to Bristol, to adhere to the King's party. He was fined £1,030, but petitioned again "on a fresh particular," when the mulct was fixed at £343. His son Richard declared that, "being under the power of the enemy," he was forced to take the King's side. He appears to have got off on payment of £231. Sir Robert Poyntz, K.B., of Iron Acton, who had property in Bristol, and was in the city with the Royalists, was fined £723.

The most destructive fire recorded in local history until the present century occurred on February 17th, 1647. It originated in a house on Bristol Bridge occupied by an apothecary, named Edwards, and owing to the dwellings there being chiefly constructed of timber, the flames rapidly spread. About twenty-four houses lining the narrow thoroughfare between the relics of St. Mary's chapel and the northern end of the Bridge were consumed in a few hours. The tradesmen on the Bridge were regarded as amongst the wealthiest in the city, and some of the stocks destroyed were of great value. A London news-sheet stated that the flames were prevented from spreading further only by the pulling down of a number of dwellings. Such was the fruit, added the writer, of "paper or wooden buildings, which no loss will make to be laid aside." The city was then destitute of a fire-engine, and it is improbable that such an apparatus would have been of much avail. At a meeting of the Council on the 25th it was ordered that, to repay the charges of quenching the flames, and also for erecting walls or rails for the protection of passengers, a rate should be levied on householders. Subsequently it was determined to send to London for a fire-engine, for which £31 10s. were paid, with £8 8s. more for forty-eight buckets. A further resolution required every member of the Council to keep six buckets in his house, and the magistrates were

desired to fix the number to be kept in each parish church and in each hall of the trade companies. The owners of the burned property found some alleviation of their own misfortune in taking advantage of that of a great nobleman. As has been already noted, Raglan Castle, the princely seat of the aged Marquis of Worcester, was captured by the Parliamentary forces in August, 1646; and some months later, when the extensive building had been pulled to pieces, the timber, with the lead roofings, was removed to Monmouth, and sold in lots by auction, realizing only trivial prices. Much of the material was purchased by Bristolians, floated down the Wye and Severn on rafts, and made use of in the work of reconstruction.

Moved by the appeals made by the inhabitants of the city and district for relief from military imposts, the House of Commons, in March, 1647, ordered that the garrison of the Castle and Great Fort should be reduced to 250 men, and that the town should be disgarrisoned, and the outer ramparts and minor forts "slighted." The Corporation lent no assistance in carrying out the work of demolition, and how it was effected is matter of conjecture. Probably the owners of the ground occupied by the wall and trench were allowed to resume possession of their property, and to restore it to its original condition. The levelling was executed so thoroughly that a hundred years later the precise course of the line between Stokes Croft and Lawford's Gate could no longer be traced. Several of the cannon from the forts and redoubts were stored in the Guildhall in January, 1648.

An Ordinance of the Corporation for the benefit of the Whitawers', Glovers' and Pointmakers' Company was issued in April. After reciting that the fines and forfeitures imposed by the Company for breaches of their laws had been previously recovered from offenders either by distraint or imprisonment, the document states that those processes often led to affrays and bloodshed, and sometimes to far worse misdemeanours. For remedy whereof it was ordered that the penalties should thenceforth be recovered by actions raised in the Mayor's Court, and the proceeds applied to works of charity. This suppression of brutality on the part of petty officials worked so satisfactorily that other trades applied for, and were granted, a similar recourse to a legal tribunal.

A corporate lease granted on April 14th to John Elliott, of Barton Regis, preserves the only record of the first place

of detention for offenders in the Gloucestershire portion of St. Philip's parish. The document demises "a splot or rag of ground near Lawford's Gate, behind the place where the Cage theretofore stood." The Cage had doubtless been destroyed during the Civil War, and it was not replaced by a permanent prison until early in the following century.

A new office was created by the Court of Aldermen in June, a man styled a Warner being appointed to bring up intelligence from Avonmouth of the arrival of vessels. The appointment gave much offence to the pilots, who had previously fulfilled this duty in a perfunctory manner, and they often thwarted the new official by giving him false information as to the names of the ships. Threats of dismissal at length put an end to misconduct, and the Warner was a useful public servant until the introduction of steam-tugs.

The Common Council, in August, approved of a charter of incorporation for the Mercers' Company. This fraternity, though one of the latest, was for some time one of the most influential, of the trading societies, some of its members attaining high office in the Corporation. The first Master was John Young, Sheriff in the previous year. A "hall" was rented in St. Thomas's Lane, but the Company afterwards removed to Nicholas Street. Like many of the city fraternities, this incorporation seems to have died out in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

In September, 1647, a deputation of Bristolians carried to the House of Commons a petition, purporting to be signed by "many thousand hands," praying for a variety of reforms. The petitioners asked, amongst other things, for such a settlement of peace as would prevent another war, for the redress of army grievances, the preservation of popular rights, the expulsion of incapable members from the House and from seats of justice, for tenderness in imposing the Covenant upon pious consciences, and for the restoration of the old supporters of the King to the privileges of Englishmen. The document evidently proceeded from persons opposed to the dominant Presbyterians, and sympathising with the new sect of Independents represented by Cromwell and the army; but it was possibly signed by many Royalists. After the petition had been read, the deputation were called in, and informed by the Speaker that the House did not approve of some of their requests, but thanked them for their good affections.

An entry in the corporate Bargain Book, dated Novem-

ber, 1647, affords some information respecting Tower Harritz, a building frequently mentioned in the city annals, but of which little is known. The record shows that the tower had lost its roof during the siege of 1645, probably from fire, and that a neighbouring dwelling-house had been burned down. In consideration of one Puxton covenanting to rebuild the house, the Corporation granted him the property for thirty years at a rent of £5. A sluice that, previous to the war, had been used to let water into and out of the moat in front of the town wall was to be repaired by the Chamber, so that masts might be left there according to ancient custom; and Puxton was allowed to put a roof on the tower, and to build against it if he pleased.

Some local histories assert that on November 23rd Parliament was informed that the garrison had mutinied, and had seized and threatened to keep in prison an alderman until they should receive a month's pay; that the Corporation protested against the outrage, and that the Houses ordered the immediate discharge of the captive. The story was probably copied from one of the mendacious pamphlets of the time. No mention of such an incident occurs in the Journals of the two Houses or in the minutes of the Common Council.

The Parliament, on December 30th, issued an order for the payment out of the Excise to one of the wealthiest of Bristolians, Alderman Aldworth, M.P., of £3,961, advanced by him for the service of the State, chiefly whilst Fiennes was Governor of the city, together with £1,313 interest.

Continuous symptoms of reviving prosperity are noticeable in the corporate account-books. At Christmas, the waits, rarely mentioned for several years, were furnished with new liveries at a cost of £4 16s. The Chamber was still paying 8 per cent. for money borrowed, but in January, 1648, Sir Robert Poyntz, of Iron Acton, advanced £800 at 5 per cent., and two pressing creditors were paid off. In the following month £80 were paid to Aldermen Aldworth and Hodges, on account, for their services in Parliament; and soon afterwards several long-outstanding debts for presents of wine and other matters were discharged. Owing to the distractions of the war it had been impossible to collect the rentals of various charity estates; but in February a sum of £480 was received from London as the recoverable instalment of rents arising from Dr. White's benefactions. For several years the Corporation suspended the payment of the

£104 per annum devised by Sir Thomas White to various English boroughs in rotation, alleging that the income from his estate had been entirely lost. The account-book of the charity preserved in the Council House proves that this assertion was wholly unfounded, but allowance must be made for the extreme penury to which the civic body had been reduced by military exactions.

The spring of 1648 was memorable for the outbreak of the second Civil War, brought about by the King's intrigues with the Scotch Presbyterians, and the drifting of many conspicuous members of Parliament towards the royal cause through fear and detestation of the Republican party. On May 1st letters from Bristol were received at Westminster, announcing that divers persons in the city were enlisting soldiers for the King, and that the garrison showed coldness in suppressing these proceedings. The Journals of the two Houses are strangely imperfect about this time, but their defects are partially supplied by documents amongst the State Papers. From these it appears that on the receipt of the above intelligence a committee of the two Houses directed the Gloucestershire committee to send forty barrels of gunpowder to Bristol. Orders were also given that £5,000, then lying in the city for transport to Ireland, should be instantly removed to a ship of war lying in King-road, until it could be safely despatched; and an order was sent to the Lord General Fairfax, pointing out the peril to the whole kingdom if the "malignants" should recover power in Bristol "now that there is so great a distemper among the people," and requesting that 600 foot and 100 horse be sent under a faithful commander to secure the place. Whitelock records in his well-known "Memorials" that on May 2nd a sum of £6,000 was voted "for Bristol," for what service he does not state. On May 10th the Commons passed an order for charging £500 on the Excise for reparations and provisions at Bristol, and Mr. Aldworth was directed to take it up to the Lords, by whom it was at once approved. Whitelock says the money was required "for fortifying Bristol in some new places." On July 1st the Houses resolved that £1,000 should be advanced to the city for the repair of the Great Fort, and for furnishing that place and the Castle with provisions and ammunition, showing that great anxiety still prevailed. The money was to be raised out of the estates of local "delinquents." An Ordinance for re-organizing the militia and raising forces for the better defence of the city was passed about

the same time. Having regard to these panic-stricken arrangements, it is surprising to find that the Corporation, although unquestionably in sympathy with the then predominant party in Parliament, seem to have treated the alleged peril with almost perfect unconcern. On July 14th the Council ordered that £200 should be levied on the ablest inhabitants, by way of loan, for equipping the trained bands and auxiliaries, it being added that the money would be repaid in a short time by virtue of the Ordinance for charging the outlay upon the Excise. And this is practically the only local reference to the scare at Westminster.

The chief subject occupying corporate attention during the year was the famishing condition of the poor, resulting from a succession of bad harvests. It was resolved that a quantity of wheat and other grain should be stored in the Old Jewry (in Bell Lane), and sold in retail at the rate of 8s. 10d. per bushel for wheat, 6s. 8d. for rye, and 4s. for barley, the loss on the transactions to be borne by the Chamber. If reliance can be placed on the statement of a contemporary annalist, the above prices were greatly below the market rates, which are given at 96s. per quarter for wheat, 80s. for rye, and 64s. for barley. When it is remembered that the ordinary wages of artizans were then only one shilling per day, the general misery may be faintly conceived. Butter, says the same authority, sold at 7d. per pound, nearly three times its normal value, a fact which perhaps prevented the Council from indulging in one of its favourite traffics. A little later in the year, a contribution of from 7s. to 10s. was required from each member of the Council to provide the poor with coal; and in December, bread being still at famine price, a generous subscription was made for the purchase of peas to relieve the starving.

After the use of the Book of Common Prayer, either in churches or private houses, was prohibited by Parliament in 1647, the usual liturgical services in the cathedral were suspended; though, as has been already shown, the members of the Corporation retained their seats in the building, occasionally went in state to hear a sermon, and made a donation to the preacher. Desirous that a service in conformity with their views should be permanently established, the Council, in August, sent a petition to Parliament, praying that steps might be taken for maintaining a preacher in the cathedral by an allowance out of the capitular estates; and a second petition, practically to the

same effect, was forwarded in September. Though the Houses took no action on either memorial, the above facts are sufficient to disprove the reckless assertions made in Tovey's "Life of Colston," that the sacred edifice, on the departure of Prince Rupert, was converted into a military stable, and polluted to the vilest purposes. On October 2nd the House of Commons directed the members for Bristol to draw up an Ordinance for levying a rate on the inhabitants for the maintenance of their ministers, whilst a committee was ordered to grant an augmentation of the ministers' stipends out of the revenues of the Dean and Chapter. The collapse of Presbyterianism, brought about soon afterwards by "Pride's Purge," seems to have prevented either of these proposals from taking effect. In the meantime, as well as afterwards, the Corporation continued their state visits to the cathedral. A Mr. Paul was paid 20s. for preaching a sermon there on Guy Fawkes Day. The audit books for 1649-50 and 1650-1 have been lost; but the accounts for 1651-2 contain the usual quarterly payments for looking after the corporate seats, while a further item occurs for repairs, indicating that Sunday sermons were then re-established, if they had ever been discontinued.

The Revenue Commissioners presented a report to the House of Commons in August, upon the petition of Robert Cann and the Merchants' Company of Bristol, complaining that merchandise to the value of £2,815 had been taken out of their ships at Scilly to supply the Parliamentary garrison, and praying for relief. The House ordered that the above amount should be paid "out of money due for the two subsidies of 1641, and in the collector's hands concealed." As no further complaint appears in the records, the money seems to have been forthcoming. The Merchant Venturers applied about the same time to the Houses for the loan of a frigate to protect the commerce of the Bristol Channel, then infested with "Irish rebels"—that is, with privateers sent out by the Royalists. The request was granted, but owing to further heavy losses sustained from those raiders, the Society's intention to man and equip the frigate could not be carried out, and Bristol vessels were stated to be unsafe even in Kingroad. An increased Parliamentary fleet on the Irish coast probably put an end to the grievance.

The English colonies in North America and the West Indies were still in their infancy at this period, but the planters and settlers seem to have already acquired a

yearning for forced labour. On Cromwell's victory over the Scotch Royalists in Lancashire, in August, several thousands of the invaders were captured, whereupon, says the Commons' Journal for September 4th, "the gentlemen of Bristol applied to have liberty to transport 500 of the prisoners to the plantations," and their request was at once granted. Owing to the Custom House records having perished, all details as to this remarkable shipment—the first of its kind—have disappeared. After the battle of Worcester, in 1651, a great number of the defeated Scotch were brought to Bristol, not only from the scene of that fight, but from Chester, Stafford, Ludlow, and other places, some local merchants having undertaken with the Government to transport them to the colonies, where they were sold into slavery. Great delay occurred before the captives were shipped, and many perished through sickness. In July, 1652, again, the Council of State ordered the Governor of Waterford to deliver to Robert Cann, Robert Yate, and Thomas Speed, three wealthy Bristol merchants, as many Irish rebel prisoners as they might choose to embark in their ships, bound for the West Indies; and three months later Thomas Speed, who became a Quaker, was granted 200 more of the rebels for shipment to Barbadoes. The above facts are obtained from the State Papers, which contain many other documents relating to this abominable traffic.

On the annual civic elections day, in September, John Bush, Common Councillor, gave a bond for the payment of £100 in consideration of being relieved from his office. In a fit of economy the Council passed an ordinance reducing the Mayor's salary from £104 to half that sum. A twelve-month later it was resolved that the chief magistrate should have £104 notwithstanding the ordinance, and this payment continued until 1658, when another lurch towards frugality took place, it being determined that the existing Mayor, and he only, should have £104. But the salary was again raised two years later.

At a meeting of the Council on January 3rd, 1649, the members for the city were "requested to put Parliament in mind of the destruction of [blank] Forest, and to desire a restraint for the preservation thereof." The obscurity of the minute is cleared up by a letter amongst the State Papers, dated March 26th, addressed by the Council of State to the Governor of Chepstow Castle, intimating that, in consequence of the complaints of the Corporation of Bristol as to the great waste of timber in the Forest of Dean, direc-

tions had been given to the members for that city and other Bristolians to take measures for its preservation, and requesting the Governor to lend them his assistance. It is somewhat surprising that the Corporation should have directed their energies so far afield when the wholesale destruction of Kingswood Chase was going on almost under their eyes; the ravages of the labouring population on the deer and the woods being winked at, and not improbably encouraged, by neighbouring landowners, whose dubious claims to the soil were much furthered by the depredations on the old rights of the Crown. An obscure minute of June, 1652, shows that the Council had tardily discovered how deeply the citizens were interested in the valuable coalfield, but the negotiation for a lease then contemplated with the Government appears to have fallen still-born.

The Chapel of "the Assumption of the Virgin" on Bristol Bridge was purchased by the Corporation from the Government of Edward VI. soon after the suppression of the Chantries, and was subsequently assigned to a tradesman, subject to a small ground-rent, and converted into dwelling-houses and shops. The buildings extended over the centre and both sides of the bridge, there being a gateway in the middle similar to the still existing arch under the tower of St. John's church. Having sustained much damage from the great fire of February, 1647, and threatening peril to the public, the state of the fabric was represented to the owner by the Corporation, with the result set forth in the following minute of a Council meeting held on February 13th, 1649:—"Walter Stephens hath now promised to conform to the order of the Mayor and justices, and will either pull down or forthwith repair the arch hanging over the highway leading over the Bridge, which is very dangerous to all people travelling that way." Mr. Stephens, who was Sheriff in 1645-6, was a draper, and was not only the owner but the occupier of the building. The ancient portal, which must have been a great impediment to traffic, was removed shortly afterwards. The matter is characteristically recorded in Tovey's "Life of Colston," where it is antedated six years, and where Stephens, styled an "obstinate visionary," is pictured as inciting a "mob" to destroy a sacred building.

A letter of the Council of State to the Mayor, dated April 13th, 1649, a copy of which is preserved amongst the State Papers, introduces the reader to a man who played a notable part in local affairs for many years, and whose

virulence towards political opponents is displayed on his first appearance. The Council state that the captain of the President frigate had reported an insult to him and the owners of the ship, and therein an insufferable affront to the authority of Parliament, offered by John Knight, who had called them "Parliament dogs" and "Parliament rogues," and other like terms, his insolent speeches being approved by many others. The Mayor's conduct in refusing to take into his custody a vessel captured by the President is also noted. The Commonwealth, add the Council, cannot be preserved in peace if such attempts upon its authority go unpunished. The Mayor is therefore to call Knight before him, and to see that he is punished as his offence deserves. His worship is also to take charge of prizes, and to preserve authority by punishing disaffection. The Mayor thus admonished was William Cann, who had earned a dubious fame a few weeks earlier by formally proclaiming at the High Cross the abolition of the monarchy.

General Skippon's military duties with the army frequently required his absence from the city, and though no record exists of his removal from the office of Governor, he appears to have relinquished it. In March, 1647, Colonel Charles Dowly was appointed by Parliament Governor of the Great Fort and Castle, but his name does not occur after June of the same year. In July, 1649, the Council of State apprised Colonel John Haggett by letter that, for the better security of Bristol, the government of the place was committed to his care, and that, as security against danger, a regiment was to be enlisted there under his command, while £500 would be remitted for repair of the defences. But in the State Papers for January, 1650, only six months later, is a communication of Colonel Adrian Scrope, "Governor of Bristol," and in the following June £1,000 were forwarded to that officer to repair the fortifications. Scrope, who was a member of the tribunal which passed sentence of death on Charles I., and who was executed as a regicide after the Restoration, was presented with the freedom in 1652. His son was subsequently an eminent local merchant, and his grandson, John Scrope, for some time Recorder and M.P. for Bristol, was long one of Walpole's trustiest lieutenants, holding the office of Secretary of the Treasury for upwards of a quarter of a century.

Oliver Cromwell, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, arrived on July 14th, to embark for Dublin on his memorable campaign. The future Protector travelled in great state, his

carriage, drawn by six horses, being followed by the chief members of his retinue in several coaches, and guarded by a fine body of life guards. The journey from London occupied four days. On his arrival, says one of the news-sheets of the following week, "he was royally entertained by the soldiers and officers in arms, and others who held offices by order of Parliament. The citizens also expressed much joy, and entertained him with great respect." At a meeting of the Council on the 10th, it was "thought meet that convenient lodging should be provided" for the visitor, and the house of Alderman Jackson was selected "for his entertainment at the city's charge." The two following items, although not paid until 1652, doubtless refer to the matter:—"Paid Mr. Mayor (Jackson) for entertaining the Lord General, £10. Paid for a butt of sack given to the Lord General, £20." At another meeting, held before the great soldier's departure, the Council, on his recommendation, admitted a chirurgeon, named Allen, to the freedom without a fine, but the favoured intruder had to promise to keep no open shop until he had compounded with the Barber Surgeons' Company.

At the meeting on July 23rd just referred to, Alderman Aldworth, M.P., had a gratifying announcement to make to the Council. From the minutes it appears that in Aldworth's mayoralty, 1642-3, when Governor Fiennes and his friends were at their wits' end for means to hurry forward the fortifications and prepare for the approaching siege, the Corporation advanced upwards of £3,000 out of the "orphans' money" confided to them, on a pledge of repayment by Parliament. This loan, by Aldworth's exertions, had been at length recovered, and he was cordially thanked for his services. Little suspecting that the sum thus recovered from the frying-pan was about to be thrown into the fire, the Council desired the Alderman "to procure some convenient purchase of Dean and Chapter lands" for investment of the money. Negotiations were accordingly entered into with the commissioners appointed to dispose of capitular estates, and the manors of Blacksworth, West Hatch, and Torleton (formerly belonging to the Bristol Chapter), and the prebend of Henstridge in Wells Cathedral, were purchased by the Corporation in March, 1650, for £3,838. The estates were recovered after the Restoration by the revived Deans and Chapters; but the Corporation lost only about one half of the amount invested, the sum of £1,275 having been saved by a fortunate sale of Torleton,

while the Henstridge estate was disposed of for £600 to William Carent, Esq., of Somerset.

An interesting reference to buildings still in existence—the porch of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the adjoining house—occurs at this time in the corporate Bargain Books. On July 4th a lease for lives was granted to Arthur Farmer, brewer (Mayor, 1657-8), at a rent of 42s., of a corner tenement, and also of "two upper rooms lying over the porch leading into the Free School, situate in Horse Street." It seems probable that the tenement and rooms had then been recently erected. A relic of the city defences disappeared about the same date, the Chamberlain disbursing 30s. "for making up the way at Temple Gate, where the false draw-bridge did stand."

An aspiration for greater comfort and dignity is betrayed by another item of expenditure. Up to this time the only seats in the Council Chamber consisted of long wooden benches, but in September an "upholster" was paid £5 5s. for "twelve Russian [leather] chairs," doubtless for the accommodation of the aldermen. (Chairs were then an almost unknown luxury in private families. In the will of a wealthy draper named Kerswell, dated in July, 1642, mention is made with evident pride of two unusual articles of property, a library of books and "two chairs.") The corporate furniture appears to have been of a substantial character, for there is no record of its renewal until 1700, when a new set of chairs cost £10.

Owing to the House of Commons sitting in permanence, the charge on the Corporation for the "wages" of the city members became very onerous. In January, 1650, the Council, at the request of Mr. Hodges, M.P., whose salary was "divers years" in arrear, ordered that £300 be paid to him on account. A suggestion seems to have been made that the future salary should be reduced, but the Council adjourned it for further consideration, and the proposal was not revived.

The distressed condition of the parochial clergy of the city at this period was noticed and explained at page 208. In February, 1650, a Bill promoted by some of the unfortunate gentlemen, apparently with the tacit approval of the Corporation, and styled a Bill for the more frequent preaching of the Gospel and the better maintenance of the ministers in Bristol, was brought into the House of Commons, and became law in the following month. Its provisions were of an extraordinary character, a yearly rate

being imposed of 1s. 6d. in the pound upon real property, and of 5s. per cent. upon merchandise and stock in every branch of trade, whilst several parishes were to be united with others so as to increase the incomes of certain favoured ministers. A number of leading Presbyterians were nominated in the Act as commissioners to carry out its provisions. But the measure aroused a storm for which the promoters were unprepared. A protest, signed by upwards of 400 free burgesses, chiefly adherents of the silenced Church of England, but joined by some zealous Independents and Baptists, declared that the provisions of the Act were in contravention of the city's great charter, granted by Edward III., and a gross violation of the privileges and franchises of the burgesses, who could not submit to such a burden without breaking their oaths. Confronted by this opposition, the authorities refrained from exercising their powers, either as regarded the levying of rates or the consolidation of parishes. It will be seen hereafter that another statute of a similar character was obtained in 1657.

The Plague again visited the city in the summer of 1650. The Council, in June, ordered a rate to be levied on householders to defray the charges already incurred, and a day was appointed for a "private Fast." No further reference to the subject occurs until 1651, when the alarm was so serious that the Corporation hired the "Little Park" (in the neighbourhood of Brandon Hill), where a number of huts were built for the reception of the infected. Precautions were still being taken in March, 1652, when the guards stationed at the gates to keep out suspicious strangers were ordered to remain on duty; and in the following November stringent provisions were issued against the introduction of goods from infected localities until they had been aired to the satisfaction of the justices.

Under an outward show of submission to the new Government there was much inward dissatisfaction, evinced to some extent by an unwillingness to accept or retain public offices. In September, 1650, three members of the Council prayed for dismissal from the Chamber on various pretexts. Robert Blackborow, whose turn had come for the shrievalty, pleaded infirmity, and was allowed to depart on paying £100, of which £20 were returned in consideration of prompt payment. William Pynney urged losses in trade, and was let off on a fine of £100, afterwards reduced to £50. Thomas Woodward, one of the signers of the Protest mentioned above, escaped on payment of £50. Wood-

ward's seat remained vacant for two years, and the Council thought it advisable to revive the ordinance of 1635, threatening to fine, at their discretion, any one refusing to accept office, but exempting those able to swear that they were not worth 2,000 marks. For reasons now unknown, the Council of State suspected the fidelity of the dignitaries elected about this time in Bristol and other towns, and requested the House of Commons to take steps to prevent danger to the Commonwealth arising from the appointment of "very disaffected" persons as magistrates.

The local elections mentioned above brought trouble to Constant Jessop, a Presbyterian minister, who seems to have been intruded into St. Nicholas's church on the expulsion of the vicar, the Rev. Richard Towgood. At a service on the election of the Mayor (Hugh Browne), Mr. Jessop preached a sermon that gave anything but satisfaction to some of his hearers. The fact was, that rigid Presbyterians of the minister's stamp, who were as intolerant of dissent from their doctrines as Laud had been towards all sectaries, were irritated by the laxity of the Government in maintaining the Solemn League and Covenant, and their pulpit discourses became so troublesome that Parliament was applied to for an Act to repress seditious preaching. Complaint as to Jessop's sermon was sent up by "the well-affected"—meaning the adherents of other sects—to the Council of State, and the minister was summoned to London to explain his language. As was to be expected, the reverend gentleman, whilst admitting some of the allegations against him, refused to retract anything, whereupon the Government insisted on his promising obedience to Parliament, and making an apology in the pulpit for the scandal he had provoked. Mr. Jessop refusing, of course, to comply, he was forbidden to exercise his ministry in Bristol, or to come within ten miles of the city. In February, 1652, on his petition, the Council of State allowed him to pay a two months' visit to his former quarters, and he clearly took advantage of the concession to denounce the liberty granted to "schismatics." On May 20th the Government, in a letter to the Governor of Bristol, observed that it was not intended, in permitting Jessop's sojourn, that he should stir up former factions; and on a warning being given him, he departed. In September, however, he obtained a license to return for a fortnight, to remove some goods; and in 1654 the Government's interdiction was withdrawn, and he became free to preach if he pleased. In the same year,

“upon the petition of the inhabitants,” the Corporation appointed him to the living of St. Philip’s, but he held it only for a few months.

Ill-conceived regulations devised for keeping down the price of bread crop up in the corporate records from time to time. A notion then universally prevailed that purchasers of large stocks of corn and flour, who sought to make a profit in times of scarcity by retailing at enhanced prices, were simply covert robbers, whose transactions demanded rigorous restraint. By an ordinance passed by the Common Council in January, 1651, no one was allowed to buy or sell meal or grain except in the market within fixed hours, and no grain landed at the quays was to be sold until three days after a proclamation of its arrival had been made by the bellman. Any person buying grain in the market and reselling it on the same day at a higher price was subject to heavy fine or imprisonment by the general law of the land. As the above civic ordinance was re-enacted, with slight modifications, in September, 1656, it may be inferred that the regulations had been frequently disregarded.

The laws prohibiting the entrance of carts into the city, referred to in previous pages, were revived in January, 1651, and made more stringent. It was decreed that no brewer, farmer, or other person should haul beer, fruit, hay, or other commodity excepting upon “drays or sleds”—two species of sledges. In addition to the ordinary fine of ten shillings for each offence, it was ordered that the wheels of the intruding carts should be taken off and confiscated.

By a Government proclamation issued in January, all statues, heraldic emblazonments and other insignia in honour of the late King decorating public buildings, ships, etc., were ordered to be removed and broken to pieces. The statue of Charles was accordingly taken out of its niche in the High Cross; but the authorities, with commendable foresight, deemed it sufficient to conceal the monument in the civic cellars. The picture of His Majesty and the royal arms displayed in the Council House were doubtless dealt with in a similar manner.

Up to this time the two city coroners were so poorly esteemed by the Corporation that they received no higher stipend than 40s. per annum, and were apparently the worst paid of local officials. In February the Council, in a fit of generosity, raised their salaries to £3 6s. 8d. each, or about fifteen-pence a week, “to encourage them to proceed with cheerfulness in executing their office.” A curious

case connected with an inquest was discussed at the same meeting. A small vessel had lurched over in the harbour, causing the death of a labourer, and according to the ancient law dealing with such fatalities, the ship and its cargo were thereby forfeited as "deodand"; the medieval intention being that the value of the forfeiture should be devoted to the payment of masses for the soul of the person killed. The Council, recognising the hardship of the penalty, surrendered the ship to its owner on payment of £10, half of which sum was given to the deceased man's sister.

The Council, at the same meeting, resolved that the freedom of the city should be presented to Major-Generals Skippon and Harrison, and that the fact should be intimated to them in a "letter of thanks." The parchment sent to General Skippon, still preserved, states that the honour was conferred upon him "for the love, respect and affection we have found that he beareth towards the city, and the welfare of the inhabitants thereof."

By a deed of conveyance, dated February 11th, 1651, the commissioners appointed by Parliament for disposing of the ancient fee-farm rents payable to the Crown, in consideration of £1,260, granted to Alderman Richard Vickris the fee-farm rent of £142 10s. per annum for the town, markets, etc., of Bristol, reserved by Edward III. in his well-known charter; also a rent of 53s. 4d. reserved by Henry VII. in his patent for a water-bailiff; also a rent of one half-penny in lieu of a red rose, payable on St. Peter's Day, for land near Tenby; also a rent of sixpence for a shed in Bristol; also 5s. yearly issuing out of the former house of Jaspin, a Jew, in Wine Street; also 6s. 8d. yearly arising out of a house in Fishmonger Street; also 4s. yearly issuing out of houses of David Tott, hanged at Yorkshire assizes; also 9s. yearly out of a house on the Bridge, once belonging to Boniface, a Jew; and two or three other trifling rents issuing from places not described. (Some of these minor fee-farms must have been in existence for about four hundred years.) The connection of the Corporation with this purchase is somewhat obscure, owing to the disappearance of the audit book for the year. At a Council meeting in May, the conveyance was read, and was ordered to be sent to the Town Clerk, then in London, from which it is evident that the Corporation were interested in the transaction. But Vickris remained the legal owner throughout the Commonwealth period, and received the city fee-farm from the Chamberlain half-yearly. At the Restoration all

the fee-farms disposed of by the commissioners were seized as Crown property, and the whole of the purchase moneys was lost.

Simultaneously with the above purchase by Vickris, the commissioners conveyed to one Oliver Wallis the fee-farm rent of £40 per annum reserved by Charles I., when he granted the Castle and its precincts to the Corporation. The sum paid for this assignment does not appear.

The Corporation made a further purchase of fee-farms on its own account, securing a Crown rent of £20, issuing out of the estates formerly belonging to Gaunts' Hospital; another, of £41, issuing out of the manor of Congresbury, and a third, of £6 3s. 6d., payable out of lands at Winterbourne. The two latter estates belonged to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital; and the Council resolved that, as the yearly expenditure would be reduced, four additional boys should be admitted into the school, raising the total number to twenty-four. The sum paid for the above fee-farms was only £577, so that the investment produced a yearly return of nearly 12 per cent. The purchasers, however, in 1661, were fated to learn the truth of the maxim that high interest means bad security.

The Earl of Pembroke, Lord High Steward, had died in January, 1650, but the Council took no steps to fill the vacancy for upwards of a year, although Cromwell's sojourn in the city had in the meantime afforded an opportunity of following the usual practice of appointing a person of influence in the Government. At a meeting on March 4th Sir Henry Vane was elected on the accustomed conditions. The minutes indicate that Cromwell was nominated, but that his candidature was withdrawn before the question was put, a large majority of those present being Presbyterians. The new High Steward visited Bristol in November, 1654, when the long friendship betwixt himself and the Protector had changed to violent enmity. He was lodged at the Bell Inn, and was complimented by the Corporation with a banquet. Mr. Barrett has perpetrated a gross blunder in placing the name of Cromwell in his list of Lord High Stewards, apparently through reliance upon some worthless calendar. Further proof of Vane's occupation of the office will be found under 1658.

An ordinance of a somewhat puzzling character was passed by the Common Council in June, 1651. After setting forth that the number of "hot water houses" had greatly increased of late years, and that they were used

and frequented as common tippling houses, insomuch as divers persons spent their time and money in drunkenness to the scandal of the city, the new law ordained that vendors of hot water should not suffer any person to continue drinking hot water in their houses, or set up any seats in their shops for that purpose, under a penalty of 6s. 8d.; and persons found drinking were to forfeit 3s. 4d. "Hot water" really meant ardent spirits, and it would appear from this ordinance that the sale of such liquors was not customary in inns and taverns, but confined to a special class of retailers.

The Corporation, in August, established a "passage," or ferry, for men and horses, from Temple Back to the St. Philip's shore of the Avon, to the great accommodation of the increasing population of those districts. The project was really due to an unnamed individual, who had set up a ferry boat there without asking the leave of the authorities, and was ignominiously driven off for his pains. The place, styled Bathavon, was let on the first occasion for five years, at an annual rent of 40s. A century later the rental was about £150.

The advance of Charles II. at the head of a Scotch army to Worcester, and his expected march on Bristol, aroused intense excitement in the closing week of August, awakening the hopes of the Royalists and the terror of their opponents. The Council of State, writing on the 24th to the Commissioners of Militia for Bristol, Somerset, and Wilts, gave them urgent directions to draw out all the available forces of horse and foot for the defence of the city, "being of extraordinary importance"; and to secure malignants and suspected persons, together with their horses, arms, and ammunition. By another despatch the Commissioners were ordered to take immediate steps to improve the fortifications, and an existing document shows that £320 were expended for this purpose within a few days. Governor Scrope was further instructed to get the ships in port sent down to Kingroad, so as to be out of danger of surprisal if the enemy approached. Whatever discontent might have been provoked by the proceedings of the party in power—and it was probably deep and widespread—Bristolians generally had no relish for a possible domination of semi-barbarous Scotchmen, and showed vigour and alacrity in arming to prevent it. On August 29th, whilst the issue was still in doubt, the Council of State, addressing the Mayor, Governor, Common Council, and

Militia authorities, expressed their thanks for the readiness and zeal displayed by the inhabitants for the preservation of the town. A laudatory resolution to the same effect was passed by the House of Commons, and another by the Common Council. Cromwell's overwhelming victory on September 3rd put an end to the crisis.

The escape of the young King after his defeat has been the theme of many disquisitions, but its local incidents may be disposed of briefly. Disguised as a servant attending upon a lady named Lane, the fugitive rode with her through Gloucestershire upon what was called a double horse, approached Bristol by way of Sodbury, Winterbourne, and Stapleton, and must have entered the city by Lawford's Gate. Lord Clarendon relates an idle story about the King being unable to forbear carrying his assumed mistress far out of the way, in order to ride around the place where the Great Fort had stood. The historian was perhaps thinking of the Castle, but as a matter of fact both the Fort and the Castle were standing unaltered when the visit took place, and both, as the last paragraph testifies, were garrisoned by troops of men whose suspicion of wandering strangers it would have been madness to arouse. A more reasonable supposition is that the King—if he did not cross Bristol Bridge, which would have been hazardous—made his way to Rownham with all the haste consistent with safety, crossed the Avon by the ferry, which then accommodated horses, and arrived a few minutes later at Leigh Court, the seat of a country squire named Norton, whose wife was a relative of Miss Lane. Notwithstanding a pompous epitaph in Abbots' Leigh church eulogising Mr. Norton's eager loyalty in harbouring and entertaining the King at the risk of his own life, and in despite of the attempt of some local scribblers to do honour to the lord of Ashton Court by bringing him also into the secret, it is certain that Miss Lane kept her relatives in profound ignorance of the rank of her pretended groom, and left Leigh with him on her further perilous journey towards the south coast, whence he found an opportunity to escape.

Amongst the many novelties invented by the Republicans during their brief tenure of power was the introduction into election proceedings of voting by ballot. At a meeting of the Council in November it was "agreed that the election of officers and all ordinances hereafter to be made by the Common Council shall be by billets, balls, or tickets in

writing, denominating the party, or by assenting or gain-saying any order or not by I or noe."

Mr. Edmund Prideaux, who had become Attorney-General after his election as Recorder, resigned his connection with the city in November, when the celebrated Bulstrode Whitelock, Serjeant at Law, and afterwards Keeper of the Great Seal, was appointed to the vacant office.

A corporate ordinance, undated, but inserted in the records between an order of August, 1651, and another of June, 1652, affords definite information as to the issue of the well-known Bristol farthings of the Commonwealth period. After reciting the permission granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Mayor and Aldermen to coin square farthings, the ordinance states that through the omission for some years to exercise this privilege, some shopkeepers had taken upon them to make and vend small farthing tokens for exchange in their trades, which, not being allowed to pass generally, were found to be a great prejudice to the poor. In consideration whereof, the Mayor and Aldermen had set on foot the making of new brass farthings, round, and circumscribed "A Bristoll Farthing" on one side and "The armes of Bristoll" on the other, which were allowed to pass within the city, all others being suppressed as unlawful. And to the end that none should suffer loss by the new issues, the Mayor and Aldermen had proclaimed their general use in the city, and undertook to accept them at the rate of four for a penny for any quantity. Contemporary memoranda in other books state that Alderman Aldworth, M.P., initiated the movement, obtained the sanction of the Council of State, and procured the round stamp from which the coins were struck at the Mint in London. And it would seem that he was allowed to receive the profits derived from the issue. In 1653 there is an item in the civic accounts:—"Paid Alderman Aldworth £65 for farthings"; but the charge is not carried into the column of payments, for which there is a marginal explanation:—"This repaid again." It will be seen that the sum in question represents a coinage of upwards of 62,000 farthings. Six varieties of these coins are known to modern numismatists. They are all dated 1652, but vary in slight details.

It will be remembered that in October, 1644, a forced loan of £1,000 was extorted from the Corporation, or rather from its chief Puritan members, for the assistance of the Royalist party in Somerset. The Council, about the close of 1651, threatened legal proceedings for the recovery of the money

from the gentry of Somerset who had given bonds for its repayment, many of whom had saved their estates from confiscation only by the payment of heavy fines for their "malignity." The borrowers necessarily submitted, the chief contributors towards paying off the debt being Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir Edward Rodney, and Mr. Speke. The Corporation had, at an earlier period, lent £500 to the Puritan gentry of Wilts and Somerset, payment of which was demanded in 1653-4. Colonel Alexander Popham forwarded £300, "being his proportion," and subsequently sent £106 more, which had probably been collected from other squires, as his steward received a gratuity of £10 "for his pains."

Early in 1652, one Major Samuel Clark, who had abandoned a military life for commercial pursuits, but had neglected an indispensable preliminary to local trading, got into trouble with the Corporation. Being a mere "foreigner," he had, it appears, presumed to bargain for, and purchase, a quantity of fruit imported by another "foreigner," and on the discovery of this enormity, the goods were forthwith confiscated as "foreign bought and foreign sold." The culprit having applied for some relief, the Council resolved in March that if he would pay £30, and satisfy the Sheriffs for their dues, he should be admitted a free burgess and have his goods restored. Soon after it was found that the fruit had been seriously damaged during its long detention, and the fine was reduced to £20, which Clark paid. About this time two other "foreigners," before being allowed to carry on trade, were required to pay fines of £50 each, and in 1654-5 a third stranger was mulcted £66 13s. 4d., equivalent to over £250 in modern currency.

The renewed misdoings of Mr. Morgan, of Pill, or rather of the son of the obstinate gentleman referred to in previous pages, were reported to the Common Council in June, 1652. It was stated that in despite of the former decree of the Court of Exchequer, and of the demolition of the alehouses erected on the river bank, the landowner or some of his tenants were raising fresh buildings at the same place, to the prejudice of navigation. It was ordered that a peremptory notice should be sent to Morgan to desist, and to demolish what had been built. Following the custom of his family, Morgan set the Corporation at defiance, and, though the civic minutes are strangely destitute of information on the subject, another action against him was raised, and another judgment in favour of the prosecutors pronounced after a

protracted litigation. In the State Papers for 1657 is a petition of divers sailors and shipwrights of Pill to the justices of Somerset, setting forth an order of the Court of Exchequer for the demolition of their houses fronting the river, "to the utter undoing of themselves and families of fifty persons," and praying that the order be not executed, as the petitioners must otherwise perish under hedges. The justices had doubtless forwarded the petition to the Government, with what result does not appear.

A calendar in the Council House mentions a quaint fact that apparently occurred during the summer:—"Christ Church spire new pointed, and an iron spear whereon the cock standeth was set up in the old one's place, whereon was a roasting pig eaten." The lucidity of the statement leaves something to be desired.

The picturesque almshouses in King Street belonging to St. Nicholas's parish had their origin at this period. The parishioners having petitioned the Council for the grant of a plot of land on which they might build an almshouse, the Chamber, in June, ordered that a piece of ground sufficient for this purpose should be laid out under the city wall, in the Marsh, near Back Gate, and should be conveyed in perpetuity at a chief rent of 6s. 8d. per annum. An additional plot, including a round tower on the town wall, was granted in 1656. The almshouse was one of the first buildings erected on the line of what was subsequently to become King Street, and, until 1663, the almsfolk had a pleasant outlook on the green Marsh and the busy Avon.

Amongst the multifarious losses of the Corporation brought about by the Civil War, the diminished income derived from the Castle Precincts was a not inconsiderable bereavement. Through military exigencies after the Castle became a garrison in 1643, a number of houses surrounding the Keep were entirely swept away, many others were burned or rendered uninhabitable by the soldiers, and rentals of course disappeared. On the other hand, heavy incumbrances accumulated in connection with the fee-farm rents originally due to the Crown, but since, as has been shown, transferred to private hands. The two ancient fee-farms were owing for the three years ending 1650 (previous to the purchase by Alderman Vickris), and the debt amounted to £435 10s.; and £140 were due for three and a half years' fee-farm of the Castle, ending March, 1651, when this charge was purchased by Oliver Wallis. In April, 1651, the Council appointed a committee to consider what could

be done towards restoring the Castle estate to its former value, and likewise to seek for a remission of the debt due to the State. If the silence of the minute-books may be taken as evidence, the committee took no steps in either direction; and a crisis arose in November, 1652, when it appears, from a letter of one Collins, a State official, to Alderman Joseph Jackson, that the Government had taken proceedings for the recovery of the arrears, and that a distraint on corporate lands was imminent. The writer stated that he would allow 2s. 6d. in the pound, or about £70, for taxes, provided the debt was forthwith liquidated, but not otherwise. It must have been about this point that a petition of the Corporation, a copy of which is preserved without date or address, was sent up to Westminster, setting forth the grievous hardships under which the civic body was suffering. Nearly all the houses in the Castle Precincts had been demolished, and nearly eleven years' rentals entirely lost. (Another paper estimates the total loss from these causes at £3,000.) The petitioners therefore prayed that they might be released from the arrears, "and from payment in time to come," including in this extraordinary request the rent due to Wallis, who was also suing them for arrears amounting to £100. The petition was considered by the House of Commons on April 5th, 1653, within a few days of its memorable dismissal by Cromwell, when it was resolved that the arrears of the fee-farms due to the Commonwealth should be discharged, and that £100 should be paid to the city in consideration of the use made of the Castle by the army (in other words, to wipe off Wallis's claim). It was further resolved that the fortress should be forthwith dismantled and the city disgarrisoned. These resolutions were treated with scant respect by the coming dictator. In 1656 the Corporation were compelled to pay Wallis £200 for five years' arrears, and in September of the same year, the law officials of the Government seized the corporate estates in Somerset to recover the town fee-farm arrears, amounting as before to £435. Another urgent appeal for relief having been then made to the Council of State, that body advised the Protector to pardon the debt in consonance with the above resolution of Parliament, and this was eventually done. The sharp State accountants, however, discovered that another year's arrears—for the period ending Michaelmas, 1647—had been overlooked, and a fresh claim was sent down for £145. But on an appeal, in October, Cromwell remitted this debt also.

Two ordinances regulating trade Companies were passed by the Council in 1652. The rules for the Barber-surgeons' fraternity provided that no barber should employ a "foreigner" as journeyman, unless with the license of the Mayor, on pain of forfeiting 40s. a month, nor was any one, under the same penalty, to open two shops for "barbing or shaving." A chirurgion taking the patient of another member out of his hands without his consent was to be fined 20s. The other ordinance decreed that the Tobacco-pipe Makers' Company should consist of twenty-five members, from which it may be assumed that the export of pipes, afterwards considerable, had already commenced. Any inhabitant, not a pipe-maker, presuming to buy pipe clay to sell again was threatened with a penalty of 20s.

The earliest mention of a Baptist congregation in the city occurs in 1652. The members had separated from the dissenting body referred to at page 151, whose "Records" note that "divers of the church were baptised in a river"—probably the From. (The statement in Mr. Hunt's history of the city that "the new secession has left its mark in the name Baptist Mills, where a wholesale immersion took place in January, 1667," is based on a silly fable. A map of the eastern suburbs, drawn in 1609, nearly half a century before the new sect arose in Bristol, styles the place in question Baptist Mills, and there can be no question that it is identical with the Bagpaths Mill mentioned by William Worcester about 1480.) The Baptists worshipped in the Pithay, where they built the first Nonconformist chapel in Bristol, some remains of which are still standing. About this time, the original sect met weekly at the house of Dennis Hollister, a prosperous grocer in High Street, in whom the Common Council placed much confidence, and who, perhaps on that account, was nominated by Cromwell in 1653 as a member of the Little, or Barbone's Parliament. He was also, for a while, one of the Council of State.

The honours conferred on Hollister led to unexpected results, which are noted with some acerbity in the "Broadmead Records," and may here be conveniently summarised by a slight deviation from chronological order. Whilst in London, say his critics, he "sucked in some upstart doctrines" from the sect of Quakers, who had just sprung up through the preaching of George Fox; and upon his venting these "poisonous" notions after his return, "the Church" shook the dust off their feet at his doorstep, and went to his house no more. Shortly afterwards (July,

1654), to the great horror of his old companions, Hollister entertained two missionary Quakers who had wandered here from Kendal, and countenanced them in visiting the Independent and Baptist meetings and preaching their "damnable doctrines," which were strongly suspected to be the invention of Jesuits or other Papists. To make matters worse, Hollister's example had already allured away about twenty members of "the Church," previously diminished by the Baptist secession, and now reduced to less than sixty faithful. The Quakers at the above visit had preached only on one day, having a pressing call to Plymouth. But they must have caused a great sensation, for in the following September, when one of them returned, accompanied by a convert as illiterate but as zealous as himself, frequent services were held at the Red Lodge, the Great Fort, and the open fields, in the presence, according to a Quaker pamphleteer, of "two, three, nay sometimes near four thousand people." Such spectacles were not calculated to calm the exasperation of other sects and parties. "The priests and rulers," writes the Quaker aforesaid, with "Puritans, Presbyterians, Independents, Notionists, Ranters," were for once in complete accord in their revilings and reproaches, and "the rude rabble of ignorant" re-echoed their cries. The Common Council, inspired by the general animosity, summoned the Quaker orators in October, and, after a sharp examination, angrily ordered them to leave the city; but this they refused to do, alleging that the mandate was contrary to law. And so, in despite of some being committed to prison, they went on with their meetings, although they could not appear in the streets without being molested by people of every rank, from gentlemen to errand boys: "abused, dirted, stoned, pinched, kicked, and otherwise greatly injured." It must be added, in fairness to the persecutors, that the acrimonious and insulting language used by the preachers was exceedingly irritating, and that their conduct was as perverse and provoking as their speech. On December 10th, a Quakeress named Marshall entered "Nicholas steeple house," where the Mayor was attending service, and, after denouncing the minister, Ralph Farmer, as a "dumb shepherd," proceeded to bestow her own eloquence on the congregation until she was driven out of the church, and received a pelting from the crowd gathered outside. A similar disturbance took place at "Philip's steeple house" on the afternoon of the same day, the offenders being two Quakers. A week later,

at the cathedral, Mrs. Marshall turned up again, and raised such a tumult by her invectives against the minister that she was committed to Newgate. Next day an alarming riot occurred in Wine Street, owing to the populace having got hold of the two leading Quaker preachers, whose philippics had aroused the wrath of the mob. Soon afterwards, on a market-day, an enthusiast named Sarah Goldsmith clothed herself in sackcloth, leaving her legs bare, covered her flowing hair with ashes, paraded in this guise through all the Gates of the city, and finally exhibited herself at the High Cross, in company with two female admirers, "as a sign against the pride of Bristol." As her procession through the streets had attracted a delighted throng of youthful idlers and other mischief-makers, the spectacle naturally ended in a protracted tumult, and the three women were saved from deadly peril only by the exertions of the magistrates, who, after enduring Sarah's flighty harangues, committed them to Bridewell for a few days—a sentence which a Quaker pamphleteer denounced as iniquitous. Many other disturbances arising out of Quaker outbreaks in churches are recorded, but the above cases are fair illustrations of what was a constant source of offence. Although the Quakers admitted no weapon but the tongue, they seldom failed to use it unsparingly. To return to Dennis Hollister, who provoked this digression. In 1656, "moved by the Evil One," say the Broadmead Records, Hollister fulminated a pamphlet, entitled "The skirts of the Whore discovered," against "the Independent baptised people who call themselves a church of Christ, but are a synagogue of Satan," in which it was casually stated that a Quakeress—a deserter, like the writer, from the original flock—had been whipped and imprisoned in Bridewell for "testifying" in their meeting—in plain terms, reviling the preacher and his hearers. "The church," adds the Broadmead scribe, was fain to put forth an answer, in which Hollister was complimented with the title of "Satan enthroned in the Chair of Pestilence." Whereupon the Quakers, "moved by Jesuits," made irruptions into the parish churches, in which Nonconformist ministers then preached, and yelled at them as hireling deceivers, never ceasing to scream until they were forcibly expelled.

The gallantry of General Blake as a soldier has been already briefly noted. The Somerset hero was at this period winning imperishable fame as a naval commander. In September, 1652, he dealt a heavy blow at the Dutch fleet,

sinking several vessels, and chasing the rest to their own coast; but this success was eclipsed by his brilliant victory over Van Tromp in February, 1653, when, with only sixty ships against eighty, he captured seventeen of the enemy's men-of-war, together with fifty merchantmen. The news of the restored naval supremacy of England was received in Bristol, as everywhere, with transports of delighted pride; and no time was lost in collecting subscriptions for the relief of those wounded in the action. The Mayor's Calendar records that £200 and much good linen were at once gathered and sent to Weymouth and other ports, earning a grateful letter of thanks from the Speaker of the House of Commons. The civic scribe appears from the State Papers to have understated the charity of the inhabitants. A naval agent at Southampton, writing to the Admiralty on March 3rd, says:—"The Sheriff of Bristol has brought in £250, collected there for the sick and wounded"; and the corporate audit book shows that £200 were carried to Weymouth by Sheriff Blackwell. Notwithstanding Blake's triumph and the consequent prize money, the demand for sailors to recruit the fleet aroused strong local discontent. In the Record Office is a letter of two naval agents in Bristol, stating that they found much difficulty in getting seamen on account of disaffection and unwillingness. The Mayor had readily assisted, and had impressed 164, but many of the men escaped; other self-interested magistrates complained that the port was being plundered of sailors; and some masters of Bristol ships had carried off part of the impressed seamen.

The subscription for the wounded tars had scarcely been disposed of before another urgent call was made on public benevolence. On April 28th a fire broke out at Marlborough, which, from the general use of thatch for roofs, rapidly spread over nearly the whole town, about 1,500 people being unhoused. The calamity excited great sympathy, and £227 were contributed in Bristol. The fact would have been unknown to us but for two small items in the civic audit book, noting the expenses of the Chamberlain, Swordbearer, and a sergeant, whose outlay on a three days' journey amounted to £2 18s. 6d., including 6s. "for a port-mantle and pillion to carry the money."

The royal licenses for exporting tanned calf-skins and Welsh butter, frequently noticed in previous pages, were not abrogated by the Long Parliament, partly, perhaps, owing to the benefit which the landed interest derived from the suspension of the old laws prohibiting such exports, and

partly from the absence of complaints from other classes. The only action taken by the House of Commons on the subject was to insert calf-skins and butter in the regular Customs tariff as dutiable articles, and licenses to export were granted to the Bristol merchants. This arrangement went on quietly for some years; but in the State Papers for February 8th, 1653, is a petition of the Merchant Venturers' Society to the House of Commons, complaining that, although they had conformed to the licenses and paid the Customs duty, they had been repeatedly informed against by one Michael Measy, who grounded his prosecutions on the old statutes prohibiting exports of the above articles, and that judgment against them at his suit would be applied for that day in the Court of Exchequer. Being put to very great straits and likely to be undone by these suits, which also threatened ruin to the whole commerce of Bristol, they prayed for the interference of the House. The Commons responded by an order to the judges, directing Measy's suit to be dismissed. After the disappearance of the Long Parliament Measy revived his prosecutions, and in 1655 he obtained a second judgment *nisi*, when the Merchants' Society applied for relief to the Council of State, by whose order the actions were quashed. Nothing daunted, and having the statute law clearly on his side, Measy, in 1656, petitioned the Government in his turn, alleging that he, in conjunction with Hugh Lewis (son of the original calf-skin patentee), had been prosecuting the merchants for many years, at a cost of £1,000, on account of their exports being in excess of their licenses. The petitioner was now ruined, and Lewis had died in utter misery. But if the Council would allow a new suit to be carried to judgment in the Court of Exchequer, the petitioner would obtain relief, and £20,000 a year would be added to the national revenue. Although the Council of State responded by ordering Measy to drop his prosecution, the irrepressible litigant drew up another appeal. In this document he alleged that Lewis raised the first suit for excessive exports in 1643; that when the King recovered Bristol in that year the merchants, out of spite, denounced Lewis to Lord Hopton as a rebel, when he was plundered by the soldiery; and that when Fairfax captured the city, in 1645, the same merchants denounced Lewis as a malignant to Parliament, by which he lost his office of Searcher in the Custom House. The Merchants' Society, moreover, discontinued to pay the rent due to Lewis under his patent, and he died without a

penny. The petitioner, having lent £500 freely to Parliament, therefore prayed that the law might at length have its course. The only reply being a repetition of the previous order, Measy made a final effort by laying his grievances before the Protector, but met with no better success, and then disappears into darkness. The above is but a brief summary of the voluminous papers in the Record Office. It is only too certain that the merchants availed themselves of Lewis's patent to make large illegal gains, and treated the patentee himself with exceeding harshness.

At the Somerset quarter sessions in January, 1653, the justices drew up a memorial to the Committee of Parliament, representing that they had been informed by the minister and chief inhabitants of Bedminster, and had, many of them, personal knowledge, that in September, 1645, the church of that parish was burned down by Prince Rupert's soldiers, and thereby made unserviceable for the worship of 800 inhabitants, and that the rebuilding of the edifice would not cost less than £3,500, which the parishioners, most of whose dwellings the troops likewise destroyed, were unable to bear. Their worships therefore prayed the Committee to empower the parish to collect the charitable benevolence of the well-disposed towards reconstruction. Nothing appears to have been done, however, until after the Restoration, when the Royalists, naturally ashamed of Rupert's havoc, began the work of rebuilding, and completed an extremely ugly edifice in 1663. In Tovey's "Life of Colston" the desecration of Bedminster church is characteristically laid to the charge of Puritan fanatics.

The odd ideas of the age in reference to the responsibilities of a municipal corporation are illustrated by a vote of the Common Council on March 4th, 1653. The secrets of the House, says the minute, having been divulged by some members, whereby contentions and animosities have been occasioned in the city, "Ordered, that any member divulging matters on which secrecy has been enjoined in debate shall forfeit £10, to be recovered by distress, or imprisonment until he pay."

The memorable dismissal of the remnant of the House of Commons by Cromwell took place in April. About six weeks later, on June 6th, the imperious Lord General issued summonses to 144 persons, "having assurances [from the local Puritan churches] of their love to God and interest in His people," requiring them to appear at Whitehall on the 4th July, and to take upon them the trust of legislators.

The member nominated for Bristol, as has been already stated, was Dennis Hollister. The "Little Parliament," mockingly styled "Barebones'" from the unlucky name of Barbone, one of the members for London, was soon torn by internal dissensions, and surrendered its functions in the following December.

Although statutes had been long in force prohibiting the growth of tobacco in England, the profits of the culture and the widespread love of "the weed" caused them to be often violated, especially in Gloucestershire. In 1652 the House of Commons passed a fresh ordinance interdicting cultivation, and authorizing any one to destroy the plantations; but this was felt as a grievance in the district, and a number of petitions were sent up for its repeal, one of which, signed by the Mayor of Bristol, alleged that riots had been caused by the attempts made by certain persons to destroy the crops. Accordingly, the Barbone Parliament in August, 1653, resolved that a duty of 3*d.* per pound on all tobacco produced in Gloucestershire should be paid by the growers, who should reap the profits of the cultivation for that year only without molestation, after which planting was to be stopped. The cultivation, however, went on as before. In June, 1655, the Government issued an order to the army officers in Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Bristol, commenting on the prevalence and persistency of the unlawful industry, and ordering them to assist the persons authorized to destroy the plantations, and to suppress the tumults of those who might oppose them.

Serjeant Whitelock's inability to fulfil the functions of Recorder owing to the pressure of his duties in the Court of Chancery had been borne with patiently for some time; but all prospect of his immediate services being lost by his appointment as Ambassador to Sweden, the Common Council resolved in September that a letter should be forwarded requesting his resignation. The missive, which was couched in flattering terms, pointed out that several gentlemen who had been elected aldermen, as well as the newly appointed Chamberlain, could not fulfil their offices until they had been sworn in before the Recorder, according to the charter. Moreover, through the illness of the Town Clerk, quarter sessions could not be held, and the course of justice had been thus obstructed for two successive years, whilst the Chamber was in constant want of counsel. The letter ends with a clumsily framed remark that the Council did not

doubt that his lordship "will as favourably resent your resignation as it is unwilling but very necessary requested." Notwithstanding this appeal, Serjeant Whitelock did not relinquish the office until May, 1655. The delay may have been due to the action of the Council of State, who in October, 1653, directed Dennis Hollister to move Parliament for the appointment, as Deputy-Recorder during Whitelock's absence, of John Haggett, who was probably nominated accordingly. The gaol delivery in 1654 was held by Whitelock in person.

A temporary quarrel between the Corporation and the Merchants' Society, arising out of the excessive eagerness of the latter to make profit out of the Welsh butter monopoly, was noted at page 149. A misunderstanding on the same subject again occurred at the period under review. The merchants were desirous that the Council should continue its long-established practice of buying butter wholesale and retailing it at a slight loss, because the system kept down the price of the article in the local market, and so enabled them to export under the terms of their license. But they raised a complaint when the corporate purchases were made in Welsh butter, because the quantity they desired to ship abroad was thereby diminished to their "prejudice." Seeking a way out of the difficulty, the Mayor and Aldermen issued an ordinance in October, ordering the merchants to thenceforth pay one shilling per kilderkin on the butter brought in from Wales for exportation, the receipts from this source to be applied to the use of the poor. The difference subsequently became acute. On June 6th, 1654, the Mayor and Aldermen adopted another ordinance, setting forth that the buying up of large stocks of butter for export purposes had greatly raised the price, to the injury of the poor, and was contrary to precedents, by which such purchases were prohibited unless the market price was at or under 3*d.* per pound. Wherefore the water bailiff was ordered to search and detain all ships that had more butter on board than was required for the crews. The merchants, who had evidently refused to pay the tax of a shilling per kilderkin, but were powerless to resist the drastic measure of the justices, and perhaps dreaded the loss of their patent if their illegal practices came to the ears of the Government, now found it necessary to come to terms; and an agreement was made under which 8*d.* per kilderkin was to be paid on the butter brought from Wales, the proceeds to be applied for the benefit of the poor.

Trading in butter was thenceforth abandoned by the Corporation.

Several Bristol privateers were commissioned in September, 1653. Robert Yeamans equipped the Robert, Gabriel Deane and Thomas Speed (a Quaker) the Richard and Mary, Major Samuel Clark the Hart, Richard Stephens the Jane, and Thomas Leigh the Elizabeth. Francis Bailey, a notable local shipbuilder, made a contract with the Government in October to build a frigate of 400 or 500 tons, afterwards called the Nantwich, at £5 5s. per ton. He was building another, the Islip, when this agreement was effected. In the following May, in reporting progress to the Navy Board, Bailey begged for an order to enable him to pay his workmen more than two shillings a day without being liable to the penalty of £10 and ten days' imprisonment imposed by the Mayor on all who paid more. The Islip was launched soon afterwards, and was reported by the Collector of Customs to be "the best of her rate in England," and by a naval captain as "the best sailer he ever saw." The Nantwich, delayed from want of money, was launched in March, 1655. The above facts are extracted from the State Papers, local annalists treating the subject as unworthy of record.

The proposed tax for the benefit of the parochial ministers being still suspended, the Council of State issued an order in October for the payment to John Knowles, preacher at the cathedral, and to others, ministers of parishes, of "their several augmentations from first fruits and tenths." The State Papers give no further information on the subject.

However bitter might be the political dissensions of the inhabitants, they always showed a laudable unanimity in maintaining the liberties and privileges of the city. The "Book of Remembrances" in the Council House contains a copy of a petition addressed in October to "His Excellency Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of the armies." "The great experience we have had," say the memorialists, "of your indefatigable care and endeavouring for the good of the nation in general, and of this place in particular, inviteth us to make our address unto you with a humble desire." After a little more exordium, the citizens pray that Cromwell will "promote their request to Parliament and the Council of State that in all acts and decrees the city may remain a distinct county, according to the Charter of Edward III., and that they may have all manner of justice administered at their own doors." The explanation

of this appeal seems to be that in the commissions for holding the customary summer assizes, Bristol, instead of being recognised as a separate county, had been treated as if it were part of Somerset.

The early plans of Bristol, as is apparent from a cursory inspection of them, were rude attempts made by unskilled persons to delineate the prominent features of the town, regardless of details and proportions. The fact that some of them represent the Castle as entirely surrounded by water shows how little the designers were acquainted with the locality. About the close of 1653 the Corporation directed one Philip Stainred, supposed to have been a land-surveyor, to make a new plan of the city, and perhaps, amongst the numerous civic documents that have perished in the course of centuries, the loss of this work is the most to be regretted. The cost of it cannot be stated, the surveyor's charge being lumped with the outlay for perambulating the boundaries; but the total amount of the item is only £5 9s. The Council were so pleased with Stainred's labours that they afterwards commissioned him to "amplify the map," for which he was paid £1 1s. 8d.

On Bristol becoming a garrison town at the outbreak of the Civil War, the nightly watch previously maintained was abolished, in order to lighten the taxation imposed on householders. The troops having been for the most part removed, the Common Council, in February, 1654, resolved that the ordinance of 1621 for the regulation of the nightly watch should be revived on March 1st following. On the morning of the day on which this resolution was passed, a serious fire had occurred in Wine Street, when the absence of any provision for protecting property and suppressing disorder must have been painfully felt. Another ordinance that had long been practically obsolete, forbidding the boiling of tallow, oil and pitch in houses in the heart of the city, was also revived at the same meeting.

A combination of wood and faggot dealers, alleged to have been formed for the purpose of inordinately raising the price of fuel, was complained of by several inhabitants before the magistrates in February. The bench immediately ordered that all importers of such material should, before landing their cargoes, acquaint the Mayor with the price intended to be demanded from consumers, when permission to land would be given only if the rates were deemed reasonable. Complaint being also made of the huge piles of fuel lying on the quays, it was ordered that no faggots, etc.,

should be landed "above the lower brass post"—the earliest mention of brazen pillars in that locality.

A magisterial record states that in February, Thomas Hobson, innholder, and G. Linelle, gentleman, made oath before the Mayor, that the Commonwealth was indebted to the innholders of Bristol, for the quartering of soldiers, in the sum of £988 11s. 5d., as certified by the committee of Parliament which had sat in the city. The affidavit appears to have been required by the Government previous to the discharge of the debt.

The Council, in March, made one of its numerous, and invariably abortive, efforts to provide remunerative work for unemployed children. It was determined on this occasion to open a workhouse in the Smiths' Hall (a portion of the old Dominican Friary), in which spinning and knitting were to be taught; a hosier named Messenger having undertaken to manage the place for ten years, on being provided with sufficient stock; his salary and the rent being defrayed by the Chamber. The children were to be paid wages for their work, so that the parishes would be relieved of the cost of their maintenance, and in compensation the parochial authorities were ordered to provide the necessary stock. All Saints, "Nicholas," and Christ Church were required to contribute £20 each; "Thomas'," "John's" and Redcliff, £10 each; "Stephen's," £6, and Temple, £4. The resolution was followed by a sort of proclamation addressed to the churchwardens and overseers, desiring them to see that unemployed people were made to work, and that children were trained, and to give information as to wandering beggars and idle children. The spinning scheme, however, was abandoned soon after as unprofitable.

The "Smiths' and Cutlers' Hall" mentioned in the above paragraph appears to have been acquired by the Company during the reign of Elizabeth, from the possessor of the Friary estate, who sold it on a fee-farm rent of £3 3s. The Company, in December, 1653, demised it to Giles Gough for a term of sixty-one years, and the lease was soon afterwards assigned to the Corporation, doubtless for carrying out their industrial experiment. Subsequently, in 1664, the civic body reassigned the lease to one Richard Baugh for a trivial consideration. The later history of this interesting relic of the Dominicans is given in the annals of the following century.

Although Cromwell had been proclaimed Protector in December, 1653, the Corporation incurred no expense in

notifying the event, and four meetings of the Council were held without any reference being made to the subject—a circumstance only explicable by the discontent and semi-hostility of the predominant Presbyterians in the Chamber. At length, on May 2nd, a committee was appointed to prepare “a humble address and recognition” for presentation to the new head of the State, and a few days later a deputation was selected to carry it to Whitehall. The affair seems to have been conducted with a strict regard for economy. The Chamberlain’s expenses amounted only to £5, exclusive of £1 1s. 8d “paid for a dinner, &c., on those that went up.”

The genial and cultivated diarist, John Evelyn, paid a brief visit to Bristol on the 30th June, during a sojourn at Bath, and made a few interesting notes. He describes the city as emulating London in its manner of building, its shops, and Bridge; but the Castle, over which he was shown by the Governor, he thought of “no great concernment.” Here, he adds, “I first saw the manner of refining sugar, and casting it into loaves, where we had a collation of eggs fried in the sugar furnace, together with excellent Spanish wine; but what was most stupendous to me was the rock of St. Vincent, the precipice whereof is equal to anything of that nature I have seen in the most confragous cataracts of the Alps. Here we went searching for diamonds, and to the Hot Wells at its foot. There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very remarkable seat” (the Giant’s Cave?).

An election of members of Parliament took place on July 12th, and excited great interest, four candidates offering themselves to the constituency. The Presbyterian party was represented by Robert Aldworth, Town Clerk, and Alderman Miles Jackson, who had the support of the Corporation, and probably of many Royalists. The Independents and other sectaries favoured the pretensions of John Haggett, Colonel of the city militia, but a lawyer by profession, whose name has already occurred in connection with the deputy-recordership, and of Captain George Bishop, a leading Independent, who soon after became a Quaker. Nothing is known as to the number of votes polled, but Aldworth and Jackson were declared elected by the Sheriffs amidst the protests of the opposite party, who lost no time in presenting a petition to the House of Commons against the return. This document, signed by ninety-five citizens, asserted that the Sheriffs had encouraged those to vote who adhered to the late King, had insulted and threatened the petitioners,

debarred some of them from voting, and had stigmatised Haggett and Bishop as horse-stealers. "The Cavalier party carried things as if Charles Stewart were again enthroned." Accompanying the petition was a deposition signed by the rough-tongued Quaker, Dennis Hollister, asserting that Miles Jackson, whilst the Royalists held Bristol, subscribed £30 towards the present to the King, and had signed the protestation condemning the bearing of arms against His Majesty (acts notoriously done under threats of ruinous plundering). In the State Papers is a letter of Governor Scrope to the Protector, coinciding with the allegations both of the petitioners and of Hollister, and adding:—"I beg you to consider the condition of the city, which I never saw in a worse posture. The Mayor and Sheriffs cannot be trusted, and were so insolent in the late election that it discouraged the godly party. One of them who had been in arms for the late King declared that all such might vote. . . . The enemies of God now exceedingly insult, and think to carry all before them." The Corporation, on the other hand, vigorously defended the new members, sending up to London the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and numerous Councillors and officers. In curious contrast with the parsimony displayed in forwarding the address to Cromwell, the outlay on the election delegates amounted to nearly £90. The petition, if it were ever brought to a hearing, must have been dismissed.

Though the above Parliament was dissolved in the following January, the "instructions" prepared by the Corporation for the guidance of the city members are of interest for the light they throw on the opinions of the majority of the constituency. The representatives were desired, amongst other things, to promote the spreading of the Gospel in dark places, to settle the maintenance of ministers by tithes and otherwise, to establish order in the church, to relieve the people of burdens and taxes, to obtain for the city the restoration of the Castle, to rectify the mistake of the Government officials in classifying Bristol as part of Somerset, to procure an augmented income of £150 a year for the college (cathedral), to get Bristol farthings exempted from any general law dealing with small coins, to prevent "foreigners" from keeping shops in the city to the prejudice of freemen, and lastly to prevent the growth of English tobacco, which was to the "extraordinary prejudice" of local trade; "there being very vast quantities planted this year, and daily brought into this city."

An example of the high-handed manner in which a power-

ful Corporation could in those days usurp private rights was furnished at a Council meeting on August 25th. It must be premised that in or about the thirteenth century, the house of Carmelite Friars on St. Augustine's Back, who possessed a copious spring issuing near Brandon Hill, granted the parishioners of St. John's a "feather" from their main pipe (in Pipe Lane), which feather was conducted to a reservoir built against the church in Broad Street, and furnished the little parish with a good supply of water. On the suppression of the monasteries, the main conduit, with the conventual buildings, passed into private hands, and in 1654, the Great House, built on the site of the friary, having fallen from its ancient grandeur, had recently been converted into a sugar refinery by Mr. John Knight, junior, but of course retained its former water supply. The Council, alleging certain complaints from St. John's parish as to the scarcity of water at the reservoir, maintained at the above meeting, in flagrant defiance of truth, that all the springs supplying the city conduits, and consequently the spring near Brandon Hill, were and always had been the property of the Corporation; that if a feather had ever been granted to the Great House, of which there was no record, it was conceded only to a "private family," and that the arrangement of the pipes in Pipe Lane, by which the chief supply was diverted to the house, was a gross infringement of public rights! The city plumber was therefore ordered to cut the main pipe leading to the sugar refinery, which was thenceforth to be supplied with a feather, while the bulk of the water was to be diverted to the fountain at St. John's Church, the parish wardens being directed to superintend the operations. There can be no doubt that Mr. Knight, who had not lived long in the city, was ignorant of the true history of the spring, as he made a "humble submission" to the authorities, and sanctioned the alterations commanded.

A week or two after the above meeting, Mr. Knight was ordered to pay a fine of £100 for refusing to serve the office of Common Councillor, to which he had been elected in the previous year. (The fine was never paid, and he did not enter the Council until 1664.) On the same day, John Knight, senior, already mentioned as railing at "Parliament rogues," was chosen a Councillor in the room of Luke Hodges, ex-M.P., who had left the city. Though generally styled senior and junior in the records, the two men were, it is probable, second or third cousins, the former being son of

George Knight, mayor in 1639-40, the latter a grandson of Francis Knight, mayor in 1594-5. Both afterwards served as aldermen and mayors, but a distinction between them was effected at the Restoration, when the senior of the two received the honour of knighthood, and was elected M.P. Later on, when their sons, both named John, became merchants, and when the son of the sugar refiner was also dubbed a knight and elected Mayor and M.P., the confusion in the minutes was extremely great, and has led local historians into innumerable blunders.

The Council, in August, revived the old ordinance prohibiting vessels of 100 tons and upwards from coming up to the quays, a fine of £10 being imposed for disobedience. A few days later the magistrates ordered the water-bailiff to seize a ship called the *Good Success*, "forfeited to the Corporation" because the captain, being part owner, stood charged with murder! The order was subsequently rescinded, it being found that the captain held no share in the vessel. In June, 1661, the justices issued an order that all vessels lying at the quays above 60 tons burden, "which tended to the utter spoiling of the harbour," should fall down to Hungroad within fourteen days, on pain, in each default, of a fine of £20. This order was re-issued in 1666, doubtless owing to numerous infractions, and was finally abolished in 1703 as confessedly obsolete.

One of the most unpopular of the Commonwealth enactments, especially amongst the fair sex, was the statute forbidding marriages to be celebrated according to the liturgy of the episcopal Church. On September 4th, a clergyman named James Reed was committed for trial at the sessions, for having, on his own confession, married two persons a few days previously "according to the old forms." Cases of the same kind occurred in all parts of the kingdom, with the natural effect of exciting sympathy with the so-called offenders. The new system required, in lieu of the customary banns announced in churches, the proclamation of the intended marriage on a market day for three weeks at a public place, which in Bristol was the High Cross.

The administration of the law in other directions can hardly have tended to edification. In October, a blacksmith of the city and a woman from Tewkesbury, having been convicted of incontinence, were ordered to be set on a horse, back to back, and so exhibited through High Street, Redcliff Street, Thomas Street, and Wine Street, the bellman preceding the culprits and proclaiming their crime.

The man was then to be imprisoned until he found sureties for his good behaviour, and the woman whipped and sent home; whilst the drunken alewife in whose dwelling they were found was to be put in the stocks for three hours, and then committed for trial for keeping a disorderly house. In November, a butcher's wife was sent to the stocks for three hours for having in a passion uttered two profane oaths, and her husband, for forcibly attempting to rescue her, was committed for trial. Further instances of people similarly dealt with occur about the same time. A number of persons were also fined, or committed to gaol until trial, on charges of having taken a stroll or carried a parcel on a Sunday; and innkeepers or victuallers who allowed townsmen to eat, drink, or buy liquors in their houses on the "Sabbath" were heavily mulcted. By a magisterial ordinance, all the conduits in the city were kept closed throughout the same day, and the parish constables were required to lay informations against persons carrying water to their homes, in order that the culprits might be brought up on Mondays and duly punished. Still another order forbade the plying of the ferry at Temple Back on the Lord's Day. William Hobson, a cousin of Edward Colston, was sent to prison for six months and required to find securities for his future good behaviour for having said, perhaps in a joke, that drunkenness was not a sin. Many games and holiday amusements were interdicted, and though some of the sports, such as cock-throwing, dog-fighting, and bull-baiting, were cruel and deserved to be put down, it was strongly suspected that they were forbidden, not because they gave pain to dumb animals, but because they gave pleasure to the spectators. Maypoles entirely disappeared, and finally, by a Parliamentary decree, Christmas Day was appointed as a national Fast, and mince-pies, plum-puddings, and family festivities were attempted to be suppressed by police regulations.

A remarkable corporate ordinance was adopted on September 29th. It premises that many complaints had been made of the inveigling, purloining, and stealing away boys, maids, and others, and transporting them beyond seas, and there disposing of them for private gain, without the knowledge of their parents and friends. "This being a crime of much villany," it was ordered that all boys, maids, and others thenceforth transported as servants should before shipment have their indentures of service enrolled in the Tolzey Book. A penalty of £20 was imposed on any ship

captain or officer receiving persons not so enrolled, and the Water-bailiff was directed to use diligence in searching ships for those designed to be carried off. Copies of the ordinance were ordered to be pasted up in convenient places, that none might plead ignorance. The offence was, however, too profitable to be suppressed by a mere bye-law, and it is certain that kidnapping was habitually encouraged by many merchants throughout the century, and was not uncommon even later (see "Annals of xviii. Century," p. 152). In September, 1655, two men, convicted of "man stealing," were condemned by the magistrates to stand one hour in the pillory on three market days, with the offence placarded on their breasts. If the sentence had ended here, the wrath of the populace would have inflicted such a vengeance on the malefactors as would have made a lasting impression on all engaged in the infamous pursuit. But the merchants, sitting as magistrates, with a tender regard for mercantile interests, ordered that the villains should be "protected,"—that is, guarded from the missiles of spectators,—so that the punishment was little more than formal. In August, 1656, a man was committed for trial "for spiriting away two boys." In 1661, another wretch, who had robbed a boy of money on the highway, and then stolen the lad himself, "being known to be a common man stealer, and spirit that enticeth away people," was also committed for trial; but as the Sessions record is lost, the fate of both those men is unknown. A little later, another knave was ordered "to stand in the pillory at the High Cross next market day for half an hour, with an inscription on his breast of his offence—kidnapping. To be protected." The frivolous punishments inflicted on offenders, by a bench which evidently sympathised with them, of course had no deterring effect on a profitable traffic. In July, 1662, the Corporation, representing the trading class as well as merchants, petitioned the King for power to examine the masters and passengers on board ships bound to the plantations, with a view to prevent the "spiriting away" of unwary persons by manstealers, and the escape of rogues and apprentices—a plain proof that mercantile cupidity had set at defiance the ordinance of 1654. The King's response is not preserved, but the traffic had already attracted the attention of the Privy Council. In July, 1660, the minute-book states that their lordships had received information that children were being daily enticed away from their parents, and servants from their masters, being caught up by merchants and

ship captains trading to Virginia and the West Indies, and there sold as merchandise; moreover that if such kidnapped people were found in a ship before her departure, the captain would not liberate them without he received compensation—"a barbarous and inhumane thing." From the order which follows for the searching of three ships then in the Thames, and the rescue of the children they contained, the system appears to have been as common in London as in Bristol.

At another Council meeting in September, 1654, the trustees of the late Alice Cole, widow of an alderman, and sister of John Carr, the founder of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, petitioned for the grant of a piece of ground on St. James's Back, on which to build a free school for poor children, with a dwelling for the master. The Chamber acceded to the request, expressing its approval of "so pious a work." References to this day school—the first established in the city for the instruction of the labouring population—occur from time to time until the early years of the following century, after which all traces of it disappear.

A riot, of which scarcely any details are recorded, broke out on December 18th. So far as can be made out, the apprentices in the city, having taken offence at some of the eccentric practices of the Quakers, had concerted an attack upon the shopkeepers of that sect, with a view of forcing them to close their places of business. The tumult began on the Bridge, where several Quakers resided, and was resumed on the following day, when the magistrates, after being long contemptuously defied by a mob gathered around the Tolzey, issued a proclamation commanding all persons to refrain from disorder, and to retire to their dwellings. The disturbances were nevertheless renewed on subsequent days, about 1,500 youths and men taking part in them, and cries for Charles Stewart were not wanting to heighten the alarm of the authorities. On Christmas Day, which, as already stated, had been proclaimed a national Fast, the justices issued another proclamation, in the name of the Protector, enjoining the apprentices to return to their occupations, and to forbear from the "shutting down of shops which standeth open," from which one may infer that the apprentices' love of a holiday had given a fresh edge to their ill-humour. The Royalists seem to have joined heartily with the malcontents, and boldly raised cries for "the King"; a Quaker pamphleteer, indeed, alleges that

the rioting of the apprentices was openly encouraged by many of their masters. The citizens are said to have been in "great affrightment"; but some troops were brought in to second the efforts of the authorities, and the disturbances at length subsided.

It is not unworthy of note that the above events were contemporaneous with the determination arrived at by the Government to remove the garrison outside the city walls, and to demolish the Norman Castle. On December 27th the Protector signed a mandate to Governor Scrope, desiring him within seven days to draw all the troops out of the fortress, except those needed to guard the Governor's house, and to place them in the Great Fort; a former order (which has perished) to demolish the latter and disband the soldiers there being suspended until further orders. On December 28th the Protector addressed the following laconic missive to the Corporation:—"These are to authorise you forthwith to dismantle and demolish the Castle within the city of Bristol; and for so doing this shall be your warrant." The order was so acceptable to the civic body, who were naturally eager to recover possession of their property, that they bestowed a gratuity of £4 upon the messenger who brought down the letter. On January 3rd, 1655, after a conference between Alderman Aldworth and a Government agent named Watson, the latter gave permission to the Corporation to begin the work of dismantling "to-morrow." On the same day, to facilitate matters, the Council appointed a committee to superintend the destruction, and authorized the Chamberlain to relieve the inhabitants of the Castle Precincts of all arrears of fee-farm rents. On March 10th, when the removal of arms, ammunition, and stores seems to have been completed, the Court of Aldermen issued an ordinance setting forth that the speedy dismantling of the Keep and the putting of the right proprietors of houses into possession were of great concernment to the city, but could not be effected without extraordinary expense. It was therefore ordered that, towards defraying the charge, all the inhabitants in every ward assessed in the monthly contribution upon personal estate should one day in every week either work in person or pay 12*d.* for the hire of a labourer; and officers were nominated to collect the impost and keep lists of the workmen. The members of the Council coolly delegated their personal responsibilities under this ordinance to the Chamberlain, who disbursed about £40 for his masters out of the city treasury. It turned out, a few days later,

that some people near the Castle displayed a superabundance of zeal in the task of destruction, and the justices found it necessary to prohibit the removal of the fine Caen stonework, which was being carried off wholesale for private ends. The walls of Robert Fitzroy's gigantic Keep were of enormous thickness and great solidity; and, although another committee was selected in June to hasten operations, no great impression had been made on the building when, on July 24th, the Council of State issued an order for the removal of all military provisions from Bristol to Chepstow, and for the demolition by the Corporation of the Great Fort. Another onerous burden was thus imposed upon the citizens, who were required, by a magisterial order of September 6th, to severally contribute a labourer's wages for one day weekly until the demolition was completed. The progress made being still unsatisfactory, the justices ordered on October 19th that thirty labourers should be hired at the city's charge for dismantling the Fort and Castle, and payments of wages to these men went on for some weeks. These brief citations from the civic records suffice to explode the absurd statement made in some local histories that the Castle was demolished in a fortnight. In addition to the above expenditure, the Corporation made gratuities to the Governor and others for leaving their dwellings uninjured. "Paid Colonel Scrope, in consideration he should not deface the house in the Castle, . . . and for 27 sheets of lead he put on the Great House, £80." (The Great or Military House is believed to have included the state apartments erected in the thirteenth century, some relics of which are still to be seen in Tower Street.) "Paid Captain Beale that he should no way deface the house in the Great Fort, £20." "Paid Captain Watson for doors, dogwheels, &c., fixed in his lodgings, that he should not take them down, £2." Further outlay was incurred in laying out a direct thoroughfare from the Old Market to Peter Street—the greatest public improvement of the century, affording a convenient approach to the city from the east in the place of the tortuous old route by Castle Ditch, Broad Weir, and Newgate. A bridge was also thrown over Castle Ditch, and was subsequently protected by a gate. These disbursements, however, were amply recouped by the receipts for building sites in what was soon afterwards called Castle Street.

On January 22nd, 1655, one George Cowlshaw, an ironmonger, appeared before the magistrates at the Tolzey, and

asserted upon oath that certain Franciscan friars from Rome had lately come into England under the guise of Quakers, and had drawn together large numbers of people in London, seeking to pervert their religion; and that two of them, calling themselves Quakers, had lately been in Bristol. A warning to the same effect having been received from the Government, the Mayor and Aldermen, on the 24th, issued directions to the parish constables to search for and arrest suspicious characters, naming especially, as probable Papist emissaries, George Fox, James Nayler, and four others, who were stated to have lately come to the city professing to be Quakers, and to have created great disturbances. As none of the persons named in the warrant were arrested, it may be inferred that the missionaries had departed. Fox, indeed, had not been here at all, and there is evidence that Nayler was soon afterwards preaching in Devon and Cornwall. The sect was by this time sufficiently numerous in Bristol to found a meeting-house in Redcliff Street, where a zealot named Mudford was apprehended, and was driven out of town by order of the justices; but he of course came back, and lectured the aldermen on their sins. The disturbance of worship in the parish churches by the zealots was still of constant occurrence; yet, in despite of the rough treatment that it frequently brought upon them, their numbers increased. In 1656, when George Fox paid his first visit to the city, his followers worshipped in an upstairs room of a house in Broadmead, and frequently held open-air services in the orchard of the old Dominican Friary, the property of Dennis Hollister. At this latter place Fox, after silencing a "rude jangling Baptist who began by finding fault with my hair," pronounced his first discourse to "some thousands of people," who listened to him for "many hours," and he had what he terms in his diary "a blessed day." Fox's hair was often a subject of merriment. It was long and straight, and is described by one of his critics as "like rats' tails."

The severity of the restrictions on "foreign" workmen is illustrated by a case brought before the magistrates in January, when an Irish journeyman tailor, then in prison under a decree of the Tailors' Company for having worked at his trade without their leave, prayed for release, promising to depart with his wife and children within three months. He was, nevertheless, still in the city in September, when he signed a receipt for 45s., given him by the magistrates on his undertaking to leave within a fortnight.

Parliamentary contests have never been remarkable for the promotion of brotherly love amongst the partisans who engage in them, and the conflict in Bristol of the summer of 1654 appears to have left the rival parties in a state of rancorous animosity. Whether their fierce contentions kindled a feeling of hope in the down-trodden Royalists is not very clear; but the latter certainly seized an opportunity to make a demonstration. On the night of February 13th the body of Lady Newton, of Barrs Court, Kingswood, was brought in for interment in St. Peter's church, where her stately monument still remains. Her son, Sir John Newton, a notorious Cavalier, having invited a prodigious number of his friends to the funeral, between 300 and 400 armed horsemen made their appearance, and, as was alleged, endeavoured to extinguish the torches borne by retainers along the route to the church. During the procession, probably by accident, a haystack standing near Castle Ditch was destroyed by fire. No disorder, however, occurred, though there was scarcely a handful of troops in the city, and most of the strangers departed after the ceremony. The incident was nevertheless seized by Captain Bishop, one of the defeated candidates, to excite the alarm of the Government and to traduce his enemies in the Corporation, and his voluminous letters, preserved in the Thurloe State Papers, insist that a Royalist outbreak had been designed, and that the civic body was disaffected and untrustworthy. The Protector thought it advisable to order an inquiry as to the alleged plot, and the City Chamberlain informed Thurloe a few days later that the allegations of Bishop, whom he stigmatised as a viper, had been utterly confuted. This assertion was confirmed by a letter of Cromwell to the Mayor, thanking the Corporation for their diligence.

The annual order of the justices was issued in February, prohibiting cock-throwing and dog-tossing on Shrove Tuesday; but it may be doubted whether the lower classes and the 'prentices would have paid much regard for it if they could have foreseen the Royalist outbreak which took place a few days later in Somerset and Wilts, tragical as were its results. On March 14th the Protector issued a mandate addressed to the Mayor, the Governor, five of the Aldermen, and thirteen other Bristolians, nominating them commissioners of militia, in view of the new troubles raised by the enemy, "now robbing and plundering the people." The rising for a time caused great alarm. The Corporation entered into an "engagement" to stand by the Protector

with their lives and fortunes, raised a large body of troops, though there was a painful lack of weapons, engaged scouts to watch the hostile movements, and equipped a small vessel, "to prevent the rebels going into Wales," where they had many sympathisers. In April, though the revolt was then quelled, the Chamber thought it prudent to take permanent precautions, and the number of trained-band companies was increased to eight, each commanded by a captain and furnished with drums, ensigns, etc. The colours and "trophies" for the regiment cost £53. At the close of the year Major-General Desbrowe came down to review the regiment (when he made a communication to the Mayor, of which more will presently be heard), and had, according to custom, a handsome present of wine and sugar.

Public sympathy was much excited during the summer by the infamous persecution of the pious Protestants in Savoy. A local subscription was opened for their relief, and £270 were speedily collected. The sums received from the various parishes indicate the localities chiefly favoured by wealthy citizens. More than two-thirds of the donations sprang from six districts, the parish of St. Nicholas contributing £64; St. Werburgh, £34; St. Thomas, £29; St. Stephen, £25; St. Leonard, £17; and Christ Church, £15.

Serjeant Whitelock having, at length, resigned the recordership, the Council, in August, elected Mr. John Doddridge. Although he held the office only three years, the new Recorder seems to have held the Corporation in high esteem, for by his will he bequeathed them two beautiful pieces of plate, which still embellish the banquets at the Mansion House.

The civic body occasionally offered hospitable treatment to a "foreigner" when it was thought possible to turn him to profitable account. One John Packer, a founder, having petitioned for the freedom, a committee of the Council reported in August that "he might be very beneficial to the inhabitants in the way of his profession," which had no representative in the city, and he was consequently offered enfranchisement on paying 40s. within a twelvemonth.

Indications that the political opinions prevalent in the Common Council were antagonistic to the policy of Cromwell have been already noted. It will presently be seen that the hostility was dealt with in the favourite fashion of arbitrary rulers. In the meantime an amusing note may be extracted from the magisterial records, dated August 29th. "Whereas on the information of several persons

that Richard Jones, coppersmith, had said that the Mayor [the versatile John Gunning, now serving a second time] was a Cavalier, and that he was more like a horse or an ass than a mayor, a warrant was issued against him, when he refused to yield obedience, drew his sword, and endeavoured to wound the officers, and was of uncivil and peremptory carriage during his examination: ordered that he be committed for trial at the quarter sessions, and be imprisoned till he find bail." There can be little doubt that the culprit was an old Ironside, many of whom, by order of Parliament, had been admitted, notwithstanding the privileges of the incorporated Companies, to trade and work within the city.

The Council, in September, passed a resolution setting forth that the old custom of joining in prayer before proceeding to business had been of late years discontinued, but that thenceforth Mr. [Ralph] Farmer, a godly, able minister, should be desired to pray at every assembly of the Chamber, and that £10 a year should be given him for his pains. Except on a single previous occasion, there is no evidence either in the minute or the audit books that prayer had ever previously been a preliminary to civic debates. (Mr. Farmer, described as Chaplain to the Mayor and Aldermen, received two years' salary in 1657, and, which is somewhat remarkable, was paid £30 more, as his stipend for three years, some months after the Restoration.) At the same meeting, a Councillor named Henry Roe, having absented himself from the Chamber for a twelvemonth, was fined 6s. 8d. for each of his ten defaults, and it was ordered that the money should be recovered by distraint. A year later, when the fines were still unpaid and ten more absences were reported, the sum of £6 13s. 4d. was ordered to be sued for, but the Chamberlain never received the money. At last Roe was fined £50 and dismissed from the Chamber, and after another long delay he escaped on payment of £40. Roe was a stout Republican, and was the father of another intractable man of whom much will be heard hereafter.

The premises originally granted for the boarding and teaching of Whitson's Red Maids being found insufficient and inconvenient, an agreement was made in September between the Corporation and the feoffees of the charity, by which the latter undertook to erect new school buildings on the Council granting them £90 per annum for two years. (The new hospital, completed in 1658, cost £660.) A few weeks later, the Chamber took into consideration the salary of the master of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, which was only

£7 16s., in addition to board and lodging, and increased the stipend to £16 a year.

At the Michaelmas quarter sessions the attention of the court was directed to the frequent presentation of complaints by grand juries as to the mischiefs and inconveniences arising from the darkness of the streets during the winter months, owing to the want of candles and lanterns at the doors of the inhabitants. A recommendation of the grievance was made to the Corporation, but the Chamber treated it with indifference, and took no action for several years.

The maintenance of the nightly watch, a frequent source of trouble to the civic authorities, was found in November to again need reconsideration. Many complaints, say the Council minutes, being made of the inconsiderableness of the watch, it was ordered that 27 men should be summoned every night, 17 of whom, of ability of body, were to be hired, receiving sixpence a head per night for the winter, and fourpence for the summer half-years; while the remaining ten were "to watch for themselves"—that is, to be drawn from the householders. The pay of the hired men was to be raised by levying sixpence daily on 22 of the non-watching citizens in turn, out of which money the two night bellmen were to have ninepence each, and the overlooker of the watch one shilling. Two councillors, taking the duty in rotation, were to see the watchmen sworn in nightly, after which four of the ablest guardians of order were to enter inns, alehouses and hot-water houses, and turn out all persons found tippling there after ten o'clock at night. As usual, many householders strove to evade the duty imposed upon them. In November, 1658, the Council gave orders that any one refusing to watch, or to pay for a substitute, should be sent to prison and kept there until he complied with the regulations. Perhaps to mitigate the rigour of this edict, the number of watchmen was reduced a few weeks later to 24, and it was provided that no householder should be forced to pay or to watch more than once in two months, and that a day's notice should be given to each person of the night of his service.

Outstanding liabilities dating from the Civil War are still frequently noted in the corporate minutes and audit books. In November, the Chamberlain was ordered to pay Henry Creswick £150, a sum which his father had lent to the Corporation during the Royalist occupation in 1644, together with eleven years' interest. In 1656 the Keeper of

Newgate and of the House of Correction laid his claims before the Council. He had been appointed in 1643 at a salary of 40 marks a year, which he had never received, and he had spent £15 upon repairs. The Chamber ordered that he should be paid, in full of all demands, £33, less than one-tenth of the promised stipend, the repairs being ignored! At the same meeting a Councillor who had laid out £100 for the relief of the Plague-stricken in 1645 was ordered to be reimbursed. In 1657-8 a man was paid £70 for pulling down, in 1643, the windmill which then stood on the site of the Great Fort. Finally, in 1659, Jonathan Blackwell, a wealthy Councillor and wine merchant (afterwards an Alderman of London), received £34 10s. for wine purchased from him for presentation to General Fairfax, fourteen years before.

Acting, it may be assumed, under the directions of the Common Council, the Chamberlain about this time stripped off a portion of the leaden roofing of the cathedral. As sermons were preached on Sundays in the building, the destruction cannot have been committed on that part of the edifice reserved for services. Indeed, a contemporary annalist expressly states that the devastation was confined to the cloisters and the nave (that is, the transepts). The Chamber in January, 1656, repented of the sacrilege, and gave orders that the lead "lately taken off some part of the cathedral or cloisters" should be sold, and the purchase money employed in necessary repairs of the fabric. And in October, 1658, on the petition of the sextoness, who sent in an account of her disbursements for repairs, the Chamberlain was ordered to pay her £77 8s. 6d.

At this period much of the garden produce, fish, poultry, butter and wood fuel consumed in the city was brought from the valley of the Wye, in boats called wood-bushes, which carried back considerable quantities of domestic and foreign goods. The conditions of navigation in the above river were therefore of importance to Bristolians. In the State Papers for January, 1656, is a petition of the Mayor and Aldermen, and others "deeply concerned in the incommodities from the weirs in the Wye." These annoyances, says the petition, were ordered to be pulled down by Queen Elizabeth and King James, but were kept up by the influence of the Earl of Worcester and others, and the Government are prayed to have them destroyed, by which the river might be made everywhere four feet deep, "and thus would carry large vessels." Nothing was done in the matter

until 1663, when an Act was passed empowering three men to make the river navigable, and to levy tolls on the trade carried on in boats between Bristol and Hereford. The promoters, however, were unable to prosecute the undertaking. In 1697 another Act was passed, declaring the Wye to be a free river, and appointing trustees to carry out the provisions of the previous statute, to borrow £16,000 for that purpose, and to impose a rate upon the county of Hereford to meet the outlay on the works.

Reference has been made to the visit of Major-General Desbrowe to the city about New Year's Day, in connection with the trained bands. On February 13th, this formidable official, in whom the government of the district was practically vested, addressed a letter to the Mayor, reminding his worship that, whilst in Bristol, the writer had directed him to advise three of the aldermen—Gabriel Sherman, John Locke and George Knight—to tender a resignation of their offices, they being in no measure qualified for their position on the public stage, whilst their retention of it could not tend to the reputation or honour of the city. (According to Desbrowe's letter to the Protector, in the State Papers, this step had been taken in consequence of the information of "some honest people" that the aldermen in question were "retaining their old malignant principles and upholding the loose and profane.") The General now renewed his request, and desired the impeached aldermen to be told that, if they would not voluntarily resign, he must take a course that would not stand with their credit, as no persons scandalous in their lives or enemies to the Commonwealth could be suffered in places of trust. On the receipt of this missive a meeting of the Court of Aldermen was convened for February 18th, when, "in pursuance of the aforesaid letter," the three proscribed gentlemen "by writing under their hands and seals requested to be discharged from their places," forasmuch through age and weakness of body and other infirmities, "they were unable to fulfil their duties in a proper manner"; and the Court, "taking the same into consideration," at once accepted their resignation. The plea was truthful in the case of Alderman Knight, who was 86 years of age, but his two colleagues were much younger men. The Mayor communicated the result to General Desbrowe, adding that the displaced dignitaries had offered to resign when his disapproval had been first made known to them, and that the writer would faithfully perform any further commands. The vacancies were not filled until the follow-

ing September, when a fourth seat was void through death. The new aldermen were Richard Balman, Arthur Farmer, Walter Sandy and Edward Tyson, all stanch Cromwellians.

In the State Papers of this year are numerous letters addressed to Secretary Nicholas, the exiled King's minister, then living at Cologne, by various spies and correspondents in England, showing that Royalist conspiracies for a revolt were then rife in many districts. A man named Ross informed Nicholas in February that 1,000 foot and 500 horse had been promised in Gloucestershire, of whom two-thirds would be raised in Bristol. In April the same emissary made the preposterous assertion that 3,000 men were ready in Bristol, and were well furnished for the field, but that the King's friends would not settle there, preferring to be nearer to Gloucester, where they had 1,000 men. A little later there is a note of offers made to a royal agent by two persons, whose names are given in initials, promising to appear in Bristol at twenty days' warning with 3,000 men, armed, and arms for 2,000 more. "There are many prisoners there, but only 60 soldiers, and not meat for one meal." The same persons were also ready to surprise Gloucester, having 500 men in the city and 600 to assist them at the Gates, and then both towns could "quickly be made tenable." The King's agent was afterwards informed by these enthusiasts that they could increase their troops to 6,050. Another letter, apparently of a later date, is amongst the Clarendon MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The writer asserted that if the King effected a landing Major W. C. would have 1,400 men in readiness to march from Bristol within four days, besides many who would be left to guard the town and fort (!), whilst the gates of Gloucester would be opened by D. F. to Colonel V., who was assured of the assistance of 600 "malcontented tobacco planters." At Shepton Mallet, again, 300 men were ready to join with Bristol, and in three days the force there would number 6,000. Though the figures are obviously much exaggerated, the statements as clearly indicate the smothered hostility of many men towards the existing despotism.

At a meeting of the Council in March a lengthy ordinance was passed for the instruction of the deputy-aldermen, officials who, though established by ancient custom, had never been properly made acquainted with the duties of their position. Their chief functions, it is stated, were to perambulate the wards on Sunday, and to suppress every

visible sign of profane desecration of the "Sabbath." To strike terror in evil-doers the deputies were also to see that a pair of stocks was provided in every parish "as formerly." This arrangement for the promotion of Sabbatarianism being deemed insufficient, it was resolved to appoint six fit men as marshals, who were to inform against children playing in the street, ships passing up and down the river, women drawing water from the conduits, and men rambling in the fields during sermon time.

In the general reconstruction of the buildings within the Castle Precincts the ancient royal apartments referred to in a previous page were to a large extent swept away. A considerable portion of the great Military House, with some gardens, was granted on lease to the Chamberlain. Another part, which had been occupied by Captain Watson, with other gardens, passed in the same way to John Knowles, the cathedral minister, who afterwards transferred his estate to Thomas Goldney, a prosperous Quaker grocer living in the neighbourhood. Permission was granted to these lessees to take stone for building purposes out of the wall originally surrounding the Castle. But the most interesting feature of the documents is the mention of an ancient chapel that had stood to the east of the state apartments, and was probably entered by a still existing Early English porch. Another of the corporate grants of the year was a lease to the Sword-bearer of the Gate-house and lodge in the late Great Fort, supposed by some writers to have been once occupied by Prince Rupert, and unquestionably the dwelling of Mr. Seyer, the historian, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Down to this time the roadway from Lawford's Gate to the city, through the Old Market, was an undulating unpaved track, the condition of which, after heavy rain, was on a par with that of the sloughy highways in the rural districts. The Council were informed in May that the inhabitants of "Philip's" were making endeavours to level and pitch the thoroughfare, and the undertaking being deemed "very much to the honour of the city, and commodious for travellers," they were granted permission to take as much as they thought fit of the stones and rubble out of the Castle (thereby relieving the Corporation of a nuisance), whilst gardeners and others using the road were ordered to assist in levelling it, and the scavenger was directed to carry out a large part of the rubbish from the town for the same purpose. At the gaol delivery in Sep-

tember the parish petitioned for relief, stating that the householders, though taxed to the utmost, could not complete the work unless helped to the extent of £200; whereupon the Council, seldom unwilling to be charitable out of other people's pockets, ordered £100 to be levied at once upon the whole city, and promised more from the same source if the gift proved insufficient.

An order was received in August from the Council of State respecting a frigate called the *Royal James*, sent out by the "enemy," which had attempted to capture the Bristol ship *Recovery*, but had not only been beaten off with great loss of life by the latter, but was captured herself and brought as a prize into this port, with twenty-seven prisoners. The captain and crew of the *Recovery* were granted the frigate as a reward for their valour, and diet money at the rate of 4*d.* per head daily was ordered for the support of the vanquished sailors.

An election for members of Parliament took place on August 20th, when Robert Aldworth, Town Clerk, was again returned, in conjunction with the Recorder, John Doddridge, who was also chosen for Devon. Barrett states that the latter was displaced, and that General Desbrowe was nominated in his room; but Desbrowe was already elected for Somerset, Gloucester, and two other constituencies, and there is other evidence that the statement is without foundation. In fact, upon Doddridge's death, early in 1657, Alderman Miles Jackson was chosen M.P. in his place. The Common Council seems to have been reminded by the election that the "wages" of the members in the Parliament of 1654 were still unpaid, and Messrs Aldworth and Jackson were voted £50 each for 150 days' service. Subsequently Aldworth received £138 (including some arrears) and Alderman Jackson £53 for attending the Parliament of 1656-7.

Schemes for effecting a communication between London and Bristol by means of a canal to unite the Thames with the Avon were laid before the Protector during the year, and the citizens of Bath at the same time revived their proposal for improving the navigation of the Avon (see p. 71). The Corporation of Bristol looked askance on both these designs, the mercantile interest being strongly opposed to any competition with the shipping trade; and a committee of the Council reported in October that they would tend to the prejudice of the city, when Mr. Aldworth, M.P., was desired to obstruct the projectors in seeking to secure

the approval of Parliament. Both the plans were soon afterwards abandoned. The Thames and Avon canal scheme was revived in 1662 by one Francis Mathew, who seems to have met with opposition from the landowners on the proposed route. A bill to authorize the project was read a first time in the House of Lords on April 14th, 1668, but made no further progress.

Josias Clutterbuck, grocer, was elected one of the Sheriffs on September 15th, but declined to serve. A fine of £300 was imposed for the contumacy, and upon his refusal to pay he was expelled from the Council, and threatened with prosecution at law. Then the Chamber relented, reduced the fine to £150, and postponed legal proceedings. At last, two years later, Clutterbuck brought in the money, disclaiming any want of respect, but pleading losses and family troubles; whereupon the Council returned him £75, "which he received very thankfully."

The Corporation made another unlucky purchase of church property at this time. The Chamberlain records the matter as follows:—"Paid to the trustees for the sale of Dean and Chapter lands, for the purchase of £6 3s. 4d. per annum (issuing) out of Stockland to the Church of Wells, £68." The Chapter of course recovered their fee-farm rent at the Restoration.

An almost incredible spectacle, inspired by religious fanaticism, was presented to the citizens on October 24th. The first visit of a Quaker enthusiast named James Nayler, and his departure to the Western counties, have been already reported. During his wanderings in Devonshire his fanaticism unquestionably developed into absolute insanity, and he vehemently asserted himself to be a re-incarnation of Christ. That he should have fallen into mental derangement was no uncommon incident in that time of morbid religious excitement. The extraordinary fact is that he communicated his delirium to many of his admirers, especially to several women, some of whom openly worshipped him as superhuman. On his return journey through the towns in Somerset, accompanied by a part of his strange flock, his path was strewn with garments and tokens of thanksgiving, and the streets resounded with shouts of "Hosannah." On departing from Bedminster for Bristol on the 24th, a procession was formed on that part of the road reserved for carts, where, says an observant spectator, the mud reached to the knees of the impassioned pedestrians; and Nayler, on horseback, was escorted by his friends into

the city amidst singing and screams of rejoicing. Soon after he had reached the White Lion Inn, in Broad Street, the scandalised magistrates gave orders for the arrest of all the strangers, and on the following day they were examined at the Tolzey, where Nayler repeatedly proclaimed his Messianic character, whilst one of his female adorers positively asserted that two days after her death he had restored her to life. Somewhat perplexed as to how to deal with the fanatics, the magistrates forwarded a copy of the examinations to Mr. Aldworth, M.P., for the consideration of Parliament. The result was an Order of the House for the removal of the prisoners to London, to which they departed on November 10th. The Corporation found horses for the company, the hire of which cost £4 10s.; but the Government paid the expenses of the journey, amounting to £37. The case was referred to a committee of the Commons, who repeatedly examined the party, and took further evidence, while the reverence of Nayler's companions towards his person continued unabated. After a long enquiry, the committee reported that all the charges of blasphemy were proved, after which, the House, forsaking public business, deliberated for no less than thirteen days upon the punishment to be inflicted. A motion that Nayler should suffer death as a grand impostor and blasphemous deceiver was negatived by the narrow majority of 96 against 82. Finally, on December 17th, it was resolved that the hapless maniac should be exposed for two hours in the pillory at Westminster, and for the same time in London, after being whipped from one city to the other; that he should have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron, and his forehead branded with the letter B; that he should then be sent to Bristol, where he was to ride through the streets on a bare-backed horse and be publicly whipped, and that he should then be carried back to London and kept in solitary confinement, debarred the use of pen and paper, and compelled to earn his food by hard labour, until Parliament thought fit to release him. It does not appear that a single voice was raised in the House against the inhumanity of the sentence. In the State Papers is a letter of a Royalist to Secretary Williamson reporting the case, adding:—"The Protector wrote a letter for some moderation, but the House would not hearken to it." Many of those who concurred in the judgment doubtless lulled their consciences by pleading the urgent complaints against the misconduct of the new sect which were addressed to the House from various counties

from Northumberland to Cornwall, the Corporation of Bristol especially denouncing Nayler as a ringleader of the zealots, and clamouring for relief from "the insolencies of these people, that so the reproach, not only of this city, but of the whole nation, may be rolled away." Public opinion, however, was shocked at the prolonged barbarity of the proposed punishment, for after the culprit had stood once in the pillory, and been brought to the verge of death by the infliction of 310 lashes, a petition for the remission of the remaining horrors, signed by Governor Scrope, of Bristol, and many eminent persons, was presented to the Commons by an influential deputation. It was nevertheless unsuccessful. The second pillory exhibition, with the tongue-boring and brow-branding tortures, took place on December 27th, and it was noted as significant of the feeling of even the populace, of whom many thousands were present, that instead of the sufferer being reviled or pelted with missiles the spectators uncovered their heads when the red-hot irons did their work. As for Nayler's devotees (who appear to have been all discharged), they availed themselves of the opportunity to manifest their unshaken faith. An enthusiast named Rich, as insane as his idol, placed a paper over the victim's head, inscribed "This is the King of the Jews." Nayler's entrance into Bristol took place on January 17th, 1657, when the Keeper of Newgate received orders to have the prisoner tied on horseback, with his face to the tail, and thus led from Lawford's Gate to the Tolzey, and thence over the Bridge to Redcliff Gate. Nayler was then to alight and walk to the market-place in Thomas Street, where he was to be stripped, tied to a carthorse, and whipped; he was next to walk to the south end of the Bridge, where he was to be again whipped; and four more lashings were to be administered at the north end of the Bridge, in High Street, at the Tolzey, and finally in Broad Street, he being all the while tied to the horse's tail. Lastly, his clothes were to be thrown over him in Tailors' Court, and he was to be carried to Newgate "by Tower Lane, the back way." These instructions were punctually carried out, but a contemporary pamphleteer complained that an ugly Quaker coppersmith was suffered to hold back the beadle's arm during the whippings. Throughout the proceedings the madman Rich rode before the prisoner singing "Holy, holy," etc. After his wounds were healed in prison, Nayler was taken back to London, where he was imprisoned for some time. Subsequently he resided permanently in Bristol,

apparently delivered from his mental distemper, and it is asserted that at a meeting of the local Quakers he made a recantation of his errors, and apologized for the offence he had given to the society.

As may be supposed, his persecution gave rise to a cloud of polemical pamphlets, the writers of which vied with each other in scattering insults and invectives. One of the most furious, entitled "The Quaker's Jesus," was written by a Bristol tanner and leading Presbyterian, William Grigge, who was so anxious to disseminate his tract that he announced "there are a store of them in Bristol, to be sold at Nicholas Jordan's for three farthings a piece." The writer, not content with charging the Quakers with drunkenness, blasphemy and murder, attacked the Baptists and other sects with equal virulence, and conjured Parliament to silence all "soul-infecting parsons," and to compel every one, however unwilling, to conform to Presbyterianism. This intolerant rant provoked a reply, entitled "Rabshakeh's Outrage Reproved; or, A Whip for William Grigge . . . to Scourge him for many notorious Lies," etc., which from its references to local events was probably also penned by a Bristolian.

A singular intervention of the Corporation in a business entirely beyond its sphere is recorded in October, 1656. Information having been obtained that certain private persons were applying to the Government to increase the number of wine licenses allowed in the city, it was resolved that Mr. Aldworth, M.P., should solicit the grant of four additional licenses on behalf of the Corporation, raising the number to sixteen, "which are as many as the city can well bear," and should exert himself to hinder the concession of any grants to other people. The Town Clerk's success in the affair exceeded the hopes of the Council, which was apprised in November that six new licenses had been obtained for the exclusive benefit of the civic body. Six Councillors were thereupon nominated to take out the licenses in their own names, they in the first place undertaking to transfer them at the pleasure of the Chamber. The State received £13 6s. 8d. yearly for each document, but the Council disposed of them at £20 a piece, making a clear profit on the transaction of £40 a year. There were numerous petitioners for the licenses, and one of the six successful applicants was Mr. Sheriff Vickris.

"This year," notes a contemporary annalist, "the bowling green in the Marsh"—which had been destroyed when batteries were formed there prior to the siege of 1643—"was

new made and walled-in, in the place where formerly it was; moneys being given by several townsmen." There was another bowling green in the Castle Precincts, a new lease of which was granted by the Corporation in 1657. A new lease of the Marsh bowling green, which had been furnished with a lodge for the entertainment of bowlers, was granted in June, 1660, at a rent of £12 yearly. The place had then become a favourite resort of wealthy citizens, and continued popular until the close of the century.

At a meeting of the Council on January 7th, 1657, a resolution was passed setting forth that an Act of Parliament formerly obtained for the maintenance of preaching ministers in the city (see p. 227) had, through the death of several of the commissioners and various defects, become unworkable; and requesting Mr. Aldworth, M.P., to make efforts for obtaining another and more efficient measure. At another meeting, on April 1st, it was determined that, as the parish of St. Ewen contained only twenty-two families, and as the church, which had no provision for a minister, was separated from two other churches only by the breadth of a street, while there was great want of a library in the city for public use, Mr. Aldworth should be desired to use his best endeavours to procure an Act for vesting the building in the Corporation for a library or other public purpose. An Act by which both these proposals were sanctioned was passed during the session. By this statute the taxes on real property and on trade stocks, authorized in 1650, were reimposed, and the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other commissioners were empowered either to distrain for their recovery, or to sue defaulters in the local Courts for double the unpaid rate. As to St. Ewen's, the parish was annexed to that of All Saints, and the commissioners received power to convert the church into a public library. The fate of this enactment resembled that of its forerunner. In October, a few weeks after it had received the Protector's assent, the Council drew up lengthy resolutions with a view to carry it out. The cathedral and the churches of St. Mark, St. Augustine, and St. Michael were united into one parish; St. Werburgh's was united to St. Leonard's; All Saints' to St. Ewen's; Christ Church to St. John's; and St. Maryleport to St. Peter's; but the existing ministers were to continue in office, and all the churches were to be maintained. The sum to be levied from each parish was as follows:—St. Augustine's, £30, and St. Michael's, £20 = £50; St. Werburgh's, £50, and St. Leonard's, £35 = £85; All Saints', £50, and St. Ewen's,

£20 = £70; Christ Church, £65, and St. John's, £55 = £120; St. Maryleport, £36, and St. Peter's, £60 = £96. In the parishes remaining independent, St. James' was to contribute £50, St. Thomas', £120, Temple, £48, Redcliff, £40, St. Philip's and Castle Precincts, £20, St. Stephen's, £90, and St. Nicholas', £120. The Council expressed their willingness to delegate the power of taxation to the parochial vestries, which were requested to meet and assess their proportions as they thought fit, with a view to the rate being "submitted to cheerfully"; and in order that the ministers might be acceptable to the people, it was promised that each parish should choose its minister, provided it nominated an ordained person or a member of a university. These proposals did not allay public hostility. In March, 1658, a committee that had been appointed to carry out the above scheme reported that they had prepared an assessment for each parish, but that the vestrymen had withheld their approval. They had then sent for three inhabitants of each parish to assist in making a rate, but had met with a general refusal. The Corporation nevertheless resolved to proceed, and directed the committee to reconsider the proposed assessments and to return them for final confirmation. A long delay followed, and in September, when a rate had been imposed, apparently with little success, the Council, alleging the insufficiency of the ministers' incomes, voted £100 a year for their "better maintenance and encouragement," but ordered the grant to be repaid out of the rates. Out of this vote, £80 were divided equally amongst four men—John Paul, minister of St. James's; Henry Jones, of St. Stephen's; Ralph Farmer, of St. Nicholas'; and Edward Hancock, of St. Philip's. The last-named had held the appointment only a fortnight, and, in view of the above disqualification of unordained persons, the story in Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy" as to Hancock having been a menial servant when appointed seems very untrustworthy.

The Council of State, in March, 1657, issued an order for the payment of £40 per annum to Thomas Ewens, minister of "a church" at Bristol, with permission for him and his congregation to freely use "Leonard's church" for religious services. The congregation in question was the original Dissenting body whose history has been preserved in the "Broadmead Records," the writer of which states that Mr. Ewens was induced to come to the city by the magistrates, and that he preached for some years in St. Nicholas, Christ

Church, and Maryleport churches. If Walker's "Sufferings" is to be believed, this minister was by trade a tailor. In June, 1658, the Common Council, on the petition of the parishioners of Christ Church, approved of a Mr. Till-Adams as a preacher in that church, and, "as much as in them lay," presented him to the living (from which the legal incumbent, Mr. Standfast, had been expelled several years before).

At this period the extremely contracted dimensions of the Tolzey and Council House, constructed about a century earlier upon the site of the south aisle of the little church of St. Ewen, must have been a constant source of inconvenience to the Corporation, and their desire, just recorded, to convert the church itself into a library, instead of appropriating it for a much-needed extension of the civic premises, is not a little extraordinary. The Council, however, had contented itself with purchasing an adjacent private house, standing at the corner of Broad Street and Corn Street, with a view to obtaining additional elbow room by its demolition, but the old embarrassments caused by the Civil War still impeded the improvement. In consequence, whenever the Council assembled in full force and delegates came in with petitions, the city officials were unable to find standing room inside the House. Adopting a pitiful expedient for relief, the Chamber, in March, 1657, ordered that the stalls of some stocking-makers, huddled against the walls of Christ Church, should be swept away, and the sellers forbidden to congregate there, in order that space might be provided for the Mayor's and Sheriffs' retinue "to wait upon the Mayor and Aldermen upon meeting days."

At the above meeting, a letter was read from the legal advisers of the Chamber in reference to the four attorneys allowed to practise in the local Courts. The document stated that one of these favoured persons was also practising in the Courts at Westminster, causing his frequent absence from the city, to the detriment of his clients; and the writers advised that he should be ordered to abandon his business in London. It was further suggested that, as another of the attorneys was "very unserviceable," he should be dispensed with in favour of an efficient practitioner, but that, for the encouragement of ingenious persons, it was not desirable that more than four attorneys should be admitted. The Chamber approved of all these recommendations, the unserviceable gentleman being removed, another

elected, and the third man threatened with dismissal unless he confined himself to local business. The Corporation were always jealous of the superior Courts. An ordinance of 1576 imposed a fine of £10 on any burgess suing a fellow freeman except in the Mayor's or Sheriffs' Court, and the penalty had been enforced against an offender only a few weeks before the above meeting.

The bribing of influential personages for the promotion of corporate designs had not been extinguished by the fall of the monarchy. With revolutionary ascendancy had come corruption. It was found that suitors to the Government could make no progress except by offering gratifications, and that so-called saints and patriots were not above making scandalous gains. The following significant resolution was passed by the Council in June:—"Ordered that it be referred to the Town Clerk and Chamberlain to present such gratuities to persons of honour *above* as have been and still may be friends to the Corporation, according to ancient presidents in the like case." Six months later the following entries appear in the audit book:—"Paid by Robert Aldworth (Town Clerk) to the city's friend, for a present, for soliciting city business, £31." "Paid by him to clerks and others about soliciting for the fee-farm, £20." The "friend" had doubtless influenced the Council of State in recommending the Protector to remit the heavy arrears of the town fee-farm noticed at page 238.

In the corporate Bargain Book, dated 30th June, is the minute of a license to "Giles Gough, and other inhabitants of St. James's," to erect, at their own charge, a bridge over the Fromm from Broadmead End to Duck Lane, and to make a passage through the Town Wall there; the bridge to allow of the passage of vessels as usual, and the parties to set up a strong double gate in the wall like to the other city Gates. The latter proviso does not appear to have been carried out; and the new bridge was immediately designated Needless Bridge by everybody, the corporate scribes included.

The progress of building operations in the Castle Precincts is attested by a resolution passed by the Council in July:—"Whereas the Castle now is demolished, and a common street and highway made therein. And whereas there was formerly a house in the Castle called the George inn. A new house having been built on part of the old site, and it being very commodious for entertaining men and horses, Ordered that the said house be used as a common

inn and hostelry." Another resolution, of a few months later date, decreed that there should be no other inn within the precincts "or elsewhere in the city," the existing number being considered sufficient. The George inn, which was in Castle Street, and became a valuable property, was afterwards sold to the Merchants' Society.

Owing to the loss of the records of the Courts of Quarter Session, the regulations made at intervals for equalizing the poor rates in the various parishes cannot now be explained. At a meeting of the Council in September, certain districts that had been ordered to contribute to the relief of Temple parish, where the unemployed poor were very numerous, petitioned to be delivered of the burden owing to the weight of their own charges "in these dead times"; and £12 yearly were thereupon voted to Temple so that the rates of the contributories might be abated. It was further ordered that 1s. 4d. paid (weekly?) by All Saints' parish to Redcliff should thenceforth be paid to St. James's, the Chamber voting £3 yearly to Redcliff in compensation. The extreme triviality of these rates in aid and the impatience with which they were borne are not unworthy of remark.

The procrastination frequently displayed by the civic body in settling many matters that a modern Council would deal with off-hand may be illustrated by a case that was discussed at this time. Seven years previously (September, 1650) Mr. Giles Gough was elected a Common Councillor. After giving him two years to make his appearance, without any result, he was fined 100 marks for his recusancy in 1652. Five years more having elapsed, the Chamber awoke to the propriety of recovering the fine; whereupon Gough put in a plea that, at the instigation of the then Mayor, in 1651, he had spent upwards of £150 in "arching over Broadmead," and that more than half that amount was still due to him. It was next discovered that he had been fined £10 a long time before for cutting down forty trees on the city estate, and that the money had never been recovered. After much deliberation, it was resolved that he should be dismissed on giving a receipt in full for his claim in reference to Broadmead.

The Council, in September, appointed a committee to consider the rules of the House for the regulation of debates, "and also by what means the magistracy and government of the city may be carried on with better port and honour, thereby to gain the more reverence and respect from the

people." The committee, on November 3rd, reported on the rules of debate, but altogether eluded the other and much more interesting subject referred to them by a body evidently dismayed at its increasing unpopularity. The suggestions offered to the Chamber were approved, but they possessed no feature of interest; except that the House was to assemble at nine o'clock in the morning, when a half-hour glass was to be set up, and that those entering after the glass had run out were to be fined 12*d.* each.

The unfortunate people known as hucksters again fell under the displeasure of the Corporation at this time. Their number in the High Street market was condemned as unnecessarily great, whilst their forestalling and regrating were declared to be absolutely injurious. Order was therefore given that nine only should be licensed for the future, that their business should be done on stalls, and not in the street, and that they should be all freemen or freemen's wives or widows. The goods of unlicensed vendors were ordered to be seized, and sold for the benefit of the poor.

A letter of the Protector to the Corporation, dated December 2nd, shows that the Royalist conspiracies in the city, referred to at page 266, were not unknown to him. "Remembering well," he writes, "the late expressions of Love that I have had from you, I cannot omit any opportunity to express my care of you. I do hear, on all hands, that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our Intelligence on all hands being that they have a design upon your city, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby, to put yourselves in the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your militia by virtue of the Commissions formerly sent you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid; letting you also know that for your better encouragement herein you shall have a troop of horse sent to you, to quarter in or near your town. We desire you to let us hear from time to time from you what occurs to you touching the malignant party. And so we bid you farewell." This missive was read to the Council on December 6th, when it was resolved that the city should be forthwith prepared for defence by raising the militia, and a very numerous committee was appointed to consider and carry out what further measures might be thought needful. In March, 1658, the Protector, avoiding the "trusty and well-beloved" formula of his previous communication, ad-

addressed another letter to the Corporation "of our city of Bristol," as follows:—"Gentlemen, We have certain intelligence that the old Cavalier party and those who favour their interest in these nations do design a sudden insurrection in this nation, and are to be encouraged therein by the Spaniards, who, together with Charles Stuart, intend an invasion. And we are informed that your city is particularly designed upon, and that some of their agents are sent down privately to prepare both persons and things against the time they shall be ready. Wherefore we have thought it necessary to give you timely notice hereof, to the end you may be upon your guard, and be in a position to defend yourselves either against open foes or secret underminings. And we shall be ready, as you shall let us understand your condition, to give you assistance as it shall be necessary for the preservation of the peace of your city. We rest your very loving friend, OLIVER, P." The Council, on the receipt of this warning, ordered the superior officers of the trained bands to report on what was fit to be done and on the proper provision of ammunition to be made, and the Chamberlain was directed to disburse funds for an extraordinary guard if the officers thought such a precaution expedient. The reply made to the Protector has not been preserved.

The head-mastership of the Grammar School at this time was held by Walter Rainstorp, who had a salary of £40 a year. This amount was increased to £60 in December, but Mr. Rainstorp died a few weeks afterwards. In March, 1658, the Council, taking into consideration his many years' services, his great success as a teacher, and the little advantage he had derived from the post, granted his widow and children a pension of £10. In 1670, the Rev. John Rainstorp, son of Walter, educated at the school, and Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, was appointed head-master, and was so much in the favour of the Common Council that he was also preferred to the rectory of St. Michael, in despite of the rule forbidding a head-master to hold a benefice.

The first distinct admission of the financial embarrassment of the Corporation occurs in the minutes of a meeting held on January 5th, 1658, as follows:—"Whereas the Chamber is at present many thousand pounds in debt, and thereby necessitated to pay many hundred pounds a year interest more [than] the yearly public revenue of the city can discharge." It was therefore resolved that the manors of Torleton, West Hatch and North Weston should be disposed of at the

best prices obtainable. Torleton, as has been already noted, formed part of the purchase of Dean and Chapter lands in 1649. It was now disposed of to Giles Earle, Esq., a member of a wealthy Bristol family, who accepted such title as could be produced, and paid down £1,275 for an estate which he was destined to lose in little more than two years. The other estates did not meet with purchasers.

A new corporate office was created at the above meeting, a man being appointed sworn Measurer of draperies and linen cloth. He was to measure with a "silver thumb or thimble containing one inch"—nothing being said about longer measures—and his fee was fixed at one penny for all sorts of cloth except Shrewsbury cottons, for which he was to have 4*d.* per piece. The fee was to be paid by the seller, but in cases of dispute, when both parties submitted to his decision, the charge was to be divided between them.

A lengthy ordinance was passed by the Council in March to regulate the admission of freemen. Many of the clauses were revivals of old laws. It was ordered that a widow or daughter of a freeman should not have the privilege of making more than one husband free. Women of these classes, if they had lived out of the city for seven years, were to be deemed aliens; but for shorter terms of absence, their husbands were to be admitted on payment of £2 for each year that their wives had lived elsewhere. No "foreigner" was to be made free either by fine or marriage, unless two burgesses became sureties for his good behaviour, for the payment of his rates, and for safeguarding the parishes from poor relief as regarded his family.

"Foreigners"—even though natives of suburban parishes—were nearly always treated as outcasts by the city rulers. Whilst the above ordinance was being drawn up, the Council learnt, with great indignation, that two strangers had intruded into the city, and had been so presumptuous as to open shops in Wine Street. It was immediately ordered that the sheriffs' officers "do attend at the doors and houses of the said foreigners, or of any other foreigners, and shall shut down their windows as often as they open them, according to ancient custom." As no exceptional fine was paid during the year for admission as a burgess (except by one Griffen, a "labourer," who paid £5), there is little doubt that the interlopers were driven out of the place.

Intimation having been received that the Protector's son, "Lord" Richard Cromwell, was about to visit Bath, accompanied by Major-General Desbrowe, the Council, on June

8th, requested the Mayor and Aldermen to make a present to the visitors, as an expression of love and respect, of wine, sugar, and such other things as were thought fit; also to invite them to Bristol, and to offer such entertainment to them and their retinue as should be agreeable to their honour and the laudable customs of the city. Forgetting that the Chamber was "many thousand pounds in debt," according to the resolution of January, it was further determined that a handsome house should be provided, not merely for the entertainment of the expected guests, but for "the future reception of persons of honour, judges, &c.," resorting to Bristol; but this premature conception of a Mansion House perished still-born. The magistrates fulfilled their commission by purchasing four hogsheads of wine and about a hundredweight of loaf sugar, which were conveyed to Bath and presented by the Chamberlain, together with a letter of invitation, which was accepted. The visit took place on July 3rd, on which day "the most illustrious lord," as he is styled in *Mercurius Politicus*, was met, about three miles from the city, by the sheriffs and about 300 gentlemen on horseback, and conducted, amidst many salutes of artillery, to the Tolzey, where the Mayor and Council were in attendance to do him honour. The mansion of Colonel Aldworth, the Town Clerk, in Broad Street, which, with its garden, occupied the whole of the site of what is now John Street and Tower Street, had been prepared for his reception. On the following day, after a promenade on horseback, he sat down to a "noble dinner," for which a supply of wine (costing no less than £146) had been provided; but the above reporter notes with approval that excess and noise, so common at great feasts, were carefully avoided. (Perhaps gravity was partially furthered by an ample store of tobacco and a gross of tobacco pipes.) The visitor next made the obligatory promenade in the Marsh, where the great guns roared a grand salute; then he attended another "banquet" provided by the Mayor; and finally departed in state for Bath. On all hands, concludes the newspaper scribe, "duty and affection" were never more apparent. The Town Clerk's "note" of expenses at his house amounted to £70 9s., and the outlay for gunpowder was £14 15s., while the present sent to Bath, including a small gift to the Recorder, cost £83. A further sum of £28 was paid for "a butt of sack given away by the Mayor and Aldermen." Nothing is said as to the destination of the liquor, but possibly the

“perfecting of the fee-farm business,” referred to in a previous note, may have had some connection with the gift. One more item connected with the banquets may be noted as characteristic of the age:—“Paid Mr. Ralph Farmer [minister of St. Nicholas] for prayers and graces, which was extraordinary, 13s. 4d.”

On what pretence does not appear, the Corporation from time to time claimed the right of imposing poor rates. At the meeting in June just referred to, the Chamber ordered that, in consequence of the destitution prevailing amongst the widows and children of many Bristol sailors, killed in the recent wars with Spain and Holland, the parochial rates for relieving the poor should be at once doubled. The city ministers were directed to publish the reason of the increase in their pulpits, in order that householders might pay the more cheerfully.

The proposed establishment of a civic Mansion House has just been recorded. The Corporation, in August, adopted another device for striking the eye of the vulgar. It was ordered that a handsome barge, rowed with eight or ten oars, after the manner of the barges of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and also a proper place for keeping it, be built at the city's charge. The vessel was not finished until August, 1662, when a few gallons of wine were drunk at the launch. In the following month the Mayor and Aldermen took an excursion down the Avon, and were supplied by the Chamberlain, for their entertainment, with sixpennyworth of nuts and abundance of wine until a great banquet was ready for them at Pill. But the tidal peculiarities of the river did not lend themselves to corporate pageantry of this kind, and the gay barge—the cost of which was not fully discharged until 1670—seems to have soon fallen into disfavour. After lying neglected for many years, it was offered for sale in 1686, and no purchaser being forthcoming, it was ordered to be ripped up and the material sold.

A brief note in a contemporary calendar states that on August 12th a number of gentlemen, natives of Bristol, held a “feast” at the Great House at the south end of Bristol Bridge, once occupied by the Rogers family, but at this time, it is supposed, converted into an inn. The Mayor (Arthur Farmer) presided, also acting as treasurer, and the company paid 5s. per head for the banquet—an unusually large sum at that period. There can be little question that the dinner in question was the first held by the Gloucester-

shire Society, whose records state that it was founded for charitable purposes on December 1st, 1657, at a meeting of about fifty gentlemen of the city and neighbourhood. The first Steward of the infant institution was Thomas Bubb, Common Councillor, who probably yielded the chair to the Mayor to give greater *éclat* to the proceedings. The "collection," which probably means the surplus over expenses derived from the dinner tickets, amounted to £5 14s. 4d., a sum exceeding the average annual receipts during the remaining years of the century. At a later period the collections were of a very liberal character. The amount received in 1771 reached £306, more than double the sum collected in that year by the three great Colston Societies put together.

At a meeting of the Common Council on September 6th, a letter from the Council of State to the Mayor was produced, announcing the death of the Protector, and the succession of his son, Richard Cromwell. The dispatch requested that the magistrates should be forthwith assembled, and steps taken for proclaiming the new head of the State with fitting solemnity, and for securing the peace against all machinations of the evil-minded. It was thereupon resolved that one of the Sheriffs should make proclamation that day at the High Cross, in the presence of the civic body arrayed in scarlet, the city companies, the officers of the trained bands, etc., and directions were given for bonfires, music, bell-ringing and cannon firing, as well by the great guns in the Marsh as from the shipping in the harbour. There is no record of the subsequent ceremony. No enthusiasm was possible under the circumstances, and it would seem from the corporate accounts that not a single bottle of wine was broached on the occasion.

Sir Henry Vane had been elected Lord High Steward of the city at a time when he was a personage of great political importance. Soon after the appointment he was reduced to impotence through the failure of his resistance to Cromwell, and the Corporation, thinking it needless to maintain relations with him, judiciously forgot for several years to offer the customary honorarium. The aspect of public affairs having been greatly altered by the Protector's death, a change was thought advisable in the civic policy, and the sum of £20 in gold (costing £21) was sent to Sir Henry in September, 1658, in part payment of the arrears. In September, 1659, it must have been determined to forward £20 more, being payment in full, for the item is

actually entered in the audit book ; but the figures are not carried into the column, and the Chamberlain adds in a note :—" This was stopt and not paid." Coming events seem to have cast their shadows before. Sir Henry Vane was arrested in the following year, and was executed in 1662, after a gross breach of faith on the part of Charles II.

A lengthy code of rules for regulating the Grammar School was approved by the Council in October. It was ordered that the boys should be in their places at seven o'clock in the morning in the summer, and eight in the winter months, should leave for dinner at eleven for two hours, and should depart at five in summer and half an hour earlier in winter. Two half-holidays weekly were granted, when the lads were expected to attend a writing school, but any boy going to the latter school except on those afternoons was to be punished, and for a third offence expelled. The holidays were limited to a fortnight at Christmas, ten days each at Easter and Whitsuntide, two days at St. Paul's fair, and four days at that of St. James. All the boys were to attend church on Sundays, and on Mondays the elder youths were to produce notes of the sermon, while the younger were to give an oral account of it. An examination before the Mayor and Aldermen was to take place yearly at Easter, when the best deserving pupil was to receive a prize of ten shillings. This ordinance was re-issued in 1667 with some modifications, one of which required the scholars to be present at six o'clock on summer mornings. The admission fee for freemen's sons was increased from fourpence to 5s. Other boys were to pay what the Master and their parents agreed upon ; but all were to contribute a shilling each for fire in winter and twopence quarterly for sweeping the school.

Another singular instance of magisterial arrogance is recorded in the minutes of the Court of Aldermen, dated October 1st. " The Mayor and Aldermen being informed of a lecture set up without any authority at all in St. Mary-port church at seven on Sunday mornings, the church-wardens are forewarned not to suffer the bells to be rung or the door opened any more, or any suffer to preach without orders from the Mayor and Aldermen " !

Directions were given by the Council in December for the erection of a Gate in Castle Street for the protection of the new approach to the city. An order for a second Gate " at the further end of the Castle Bridge " was given in the following month. The Chamberlain superintended the work-

men engaged, and items for wages occur in his books for many weeks. The Gates, one of which was decorated with a carving of the arms of the city and supplemented by a porter's lodge, were completed in the following year.

Great distress prevailed at this time amongst the working classes owing to the high price of provisions. The Council, in January, 1659, having considered "the manifold and extraordinary necessities of the poor," resolved that a collection should be made from door to door for the relief of those in want. The subscription was started in the Chamber, where it produced £37 10s. A request for contributions was sent to absentees, and the Mayor was directed to urge the parochial ministers to stir their flocks to give freely.

A Parliament having been summoned to assemble on January 27th, an election of representatives took place a few weeks previously, when Robert Aldworth, Town Clerk, was returned for the third time, his colleague being Alderman Joseph Jackson. The local chroniclers, as usual, afford no information as to the proceedings, but we learn from the memoirs of General Edmund Ludlow, a well-informed and trustworthy Parliamentarian, that Sir Henry Vane came forward as a candidate, and had a majority of the votes polled, but that the Sheriffs refused to return him as a member. Mr. Aldworth on this occasion received no "wages" from the Corporation, but Mr. Jackson was paid £28 6s. 8d. for 85 days' attendance. Although the existing form of Government was evidently tottering, the Council thought it worth while to instruct the new members "to consider of any enlargement that may be convenient for the city charters." They were also desired to make endeavours to get the government of the local militia invested in the Corporation. The speedy dissolution of the new House rendered these instructions futile. But the relics of the Long Parliament, which reassembled in the summer, practically fulfilled the corporate wishes as to the militia, by appointing as commissioners the Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being, and several Puritan aldermen and councillors.

Amongst the State Papers for January and February are three letters to the Admiralty from one Shewell, a navy agent in Bristol, respecting a number of maimed soldiers landed at the quays. As to the first batch of thirteen, he states that he had begged help for them, and sent them to the Mayor, who gave them "passes" to beg, and a dole of 5s., "which is Bristol charity to such as serve the State." Two days later he wrote that more men had been sent ashore,

who were cripples, carried on men's backs; but the magistrates took no more care for them than if they had been so many crippled dogs. He had given them 40s. In his third despatch he reported that after pressing the justices closely, they had consented to advance money to send the men up to London in wagons.

The Council, in March, elected as Recorder John Stephens (son of Edward Stephens, Esq., of Little Sodbury), then M.P. for Gloucestershire, *vice* Mr. Doddridge, deceased. The new official had been a stanch supporter of the Commonwealth. In a letter acquainting him of his appointment the Council stated that amongst many others nominated, no name was in so great an estimation as his; God's providence had directed the judgment of the Chamber; and it was hoped that he would "clearly see the footsteps of divine appointment in this your call." Mr. Stephens returned thanks to the Chamber in a missive of a similar character.

The researches of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (vol. x. part 4) have disinterred a number of letters, written about this time by Sir Edward Hyde, the future Lord Clarendon, in reference to Royalist projects in Bristol and Gloucestershire. Addressing one Mordaunt, who had been sent over to England by Charles II. to promote a Restoration, Hyde expressed an anxious hope that "Colonel" Massey (the hero of Gloucester, who, like many discontented Presbyterians, had gone over to the royal camp) would attempt to secure Bristol and Gloucester, for which, "in spite of his weaknesses," the King's friends thought him very desirable. On May 27th, Hyde proposed to move the King to land 3,000 men in the district, "which would give a new life to his business, and make the wariest fly to him. This we have their promises for." On June 4th he wrote that there would be nothing rash in the above venture, which would spread a fire through the kingdom. Mordaunt threw cold water on these sanguine views. Writing to the King on July 6th, he stated that Massey had assured his friends positively of the certain surprisal of the two cities. "But 'twas found we could not assure ourselves of ammunition nor foot arms sufficient for the numbers that would appear. For these we always depended on your Majesty."

In the State Papers for April is a petition to the young Protector from Sarah Norris, of Bristol, praying for relief. "I was ruined," she writes, "by my good affection in the late war in helping prisoners and giving intelligence to our

armies, especially in warning them of an intended attack, which being discovered I had to fly for my life, leaving my goods to plunder. My husband [James Reade] died in prison leaving six small children. My losses and my husband's loans to Lord Fiennes come to £3,000." The truth of these statements was certified by Colonel John Haggett and others. On the report of General Skippon and other officers, the Government granted the applicant an allowance of 20s. per week; but the pension of course ceased on the restoration of the monarchy.

The Council, on April 12th, adopted a singular resolution in reference to a crying evil:—"For the more easy suppressing of the innumerable company of [unlicensed] ale-houses," it was determined to impose a fine on brewers supplying such places, the penalty being fixed at 6s. 8d. per barrel; and the officers of the Brewers' Company were to be compelled to see this order strictly carried out. The idea of fining the unlicensed pothouse keepers, some of whom probably brewed their beer at home, does not appear to have occurred to the city senate.

"In consideration of the poverty of the parish of St. James, and of the small and uncertain maintenance of Mr. Paul, the minister," the Council resolved in July to grant a lease to the parish, for the life of the incumbent, who was to enjoy half the profits, of the churchyard, the benefits of the standings there during the great yearly fair, the tithes, tithe pigs, etc., reserving a rent of £3 6s. 8d. The parsonage, stated to have been recently built, was declared to be for the minister and his successors for ever. There is reason to believe that in the opinion of the parish vestry the Corporation, in granting this lease, were practically laying claim to an estate that did not belong to them. The parish had for centuries enjoyed the profits of the standings in the churchyard during the fair, and had collected money for tithes and tithe pigs, and for the grazing of horses in the burial ground, and any corporate right there, excepting the fee-farm rent of £3 6s. 8d., was flatly repudiated. The matter afterwards became the subject of prolonged litigation (see Sept. 1677).

According to numerous papers in the Record Office, the Royalist conspiracies in Bristol and Gloucestershire, to which reference has been made in previous pages, threw the Council of State into great alarm during the summer. On July 25th, President Lawrence, in a letter to Colonel Haggett, Nehemiah Collins, Edward Tyson, and three other

Bristolians, announced that the Council, hearing of the designs of the enemy, had thought fit, for the safety of the city, to send down commissioners for the enlistment and arming of six companies of foot from amongst the well-affected, to be commanded by the persons above named, who were ordered to put themselves in an attitude of defence. Two days later the Government resolved on securing the city by an army corps, and two days afterwards President Whitelock, in a despatch to Colonel Okey, a prominent local officer, stated that the Council, apprised of an intended insurrection, and of the design of a large number of the enemy to assemble in Bristol, required Okey to dispose of his forces not merely for defence but offence, and to make the security of the city and adjoining county his special care. He was further requested to search Colonel Popham's house near Bristol, as many arms were suspected to be stored there. (Popham, the ardent Parliamentarian of 1642, had, like Massey and many others, become a Royalist.) In August, the Council empowered the militia commissioners to raise money by the levy of a month's assessment on the inhabitants; but the alarm had subsided in the following month, when General Desbrowe reported from the Committee of Safety that the militia authorities should be authorized to pay off and dismiss the troops of horse and foot that they had raised. Nevertheless a panic must have occurred in the city soon afterwards, probably arising out of a Royalist revolt at Chester, for on November 1st, the Common Council ordered that, towards paying off the sergeants, drummers and others employed for the defence of the city "on the late insurrection," the Chamberlain should temporarily advance £42. The regiment of soldiers sent down by the Government next began to give serious trouble. Their pay fell many weeks in arrear, and being unable to obtain food in a regular manner they threatened to help themselves by force. Their commanding officer thereupon proposed that the citizens should provide the men with a week's pay "in lieu of free quarters"; and on December 25th the Chamberlain paid £50 "to certain officers and soldiers of Mainwaring's regiment to prevent plundering." Further sums must have been extorted, for at a Council meeting on January 6th, 1660, the minutes state that with a view to preventing disturbances, and relieving both soldiers and citizens, the Chamber had advanced £105. The money seems to have been recovered by levying a rate on the householders. The troops were removed a few days

afterwards ; and the Council of State having authorized the Mayor to raise a sufficient local force for the preservation of peace, the trained bands were formed into a regiment of militia, commanded by Colonel Aldworth, Town Clerk, with James Powell, Chamberlain, as lieutenant-colonel, and Nehemiah Collins as major.

John Hicks, mercer, having refused to accept the office of Common Councillor, was fined £200 in September, and orders were given for his committal to gaol if he refused to pay. Mr. Hicks, unable to bear this rigorous treatment, consented to enter the Council, and in due course served the offices of Sheriff and Mayor. It may be noted that about this date the minutes of the Chamber begin to be written by a scribe whose execrable caligraphy would alone render them almost unintelligible, but who also occasionally recorded them in shorthand, and sometimes wrote only the initials of the persons named in resolutions !

Probably the last surviving tradesman dealing exclusively in bows and arrows for military and sporting purposes made his appearance in the city at this time. On September 15th, James Price, "fletcher," was admitted to the freedom. "There being," says the minute, "none of the same trade in the city," no fine seems to have been demanded.

The occasional eccentricity of corporate proceedings is illustrated by a resolution passed by the Council on September 29th. It was ordered that the number of boys in Queen Elizabeth's Hospital should be increased from 28 to 40, and that the addition should be made as revenues fell in hand. As a matter of fact, no increase in the number of boys took place until 1681—twenty-two years later.

The Council being informed in October that the head of the conduit near Green's Mill, supplying the Quay and Back Pipes with water, was in a defective state, and the supply much impeded, a committee was appointed to make the necessary reparations. (Green's Mill, of which some remains still exist, was situated about 200 yards to the south of the present Ashley Hill railway station.) The above minute is almost the only one in which any reference is made to the principal city conduit, though it is superabundantly mentioned in the Chamberlain's accounts. The reservoir near the spring must have been entirely unprotected, as there are numberless payments for opening the conduit in various places in order to remove the bodies of dead cats that stopped the supply. In one audit book there are four such items within three months, and in 1660, after

the above committee had presumably fulfilled its commission, the Chamberlain was compelled to disburse money to a plumber "for taking cats out of the pipes." Similar payments occur in connection with "the Gaunts' Pipe" supplying the City School and neighbouring houses in College Green. Seven or eight dead animals were sometimes taken out of this conduit within a twelvemonth.

In despite of the precautions taken by the Protector's ministers, the Royalists in this district were still preparing for an outbreak. Amongst the State Papers for December is a letter from Secretary Nicholas to a local agent, stating that he will advise the King to send Major-General Massey to take charge of "the Bristol business," for which, says the ingenuous writer, "he is the fittest person, being an excellent commander, faithful and loyal"!

The removal of Mainwaring's regiment gave the local loyalists fresh encouragement to prosecute their design for a popular rising. One of the most industrious of the intriguers was a merchant named Richard Ellsworth, who, clearly with the countenance of some influential citizens, sedulously sought recruits amongst apprentices and young men, urging them to take united action for the overthrow of the existing Government and the restoration of the monarchy. The reception by General Monk of petitions for a free Parliament whilst advancing with his army towards London lent additional strength to the secret agitation in Bristol, and on February 2nd, 1660, a considerable number of youths gathered in the Marsh in a tumultuous manner, some raising cries for "a free Parliament," and others for "Charles Stewart." Emboldened by this successful defiance of the authorities, the apprentices and their confederates returned into the city, where they seized the main Guard-house before the militia could be collected, broke into various houses, carrying off the arms found there, and, after attracting many more adherents by beating drums about the streets, and making "great brags of what they would do," had the audacity to set a guard on the Mayor and confine him to his house. Notwithstanding proclamations by the magistrates on the 3rd and 4th, requiring the apprentices to return to their homes, the disturbances were renewed daily for a week, during which many Royalist gentry flocked in from the country to stimulate the rioters; whilst ordinary business was practically suspended, and the authorities were apparently paralysed. Had there been any solid foundation for the statements of

Royalist conspirators as to 3,000 Bristolians being eager to rise for the King, no circumstances could be imagined more favourable than these for securing the city for His Majesty and effecting a revolution. But the arrival of a single troop of horse completely changed the situation. Ellsworth and other instigators of disorder sought safety in precipitate flight, and after a proclamation of the Mayor and Council at the High Cross, requiring immediate submission, the apprentices repaired to the Marsh, and laid down their arms. The Corporation were enabled to inform the Government on February 10th that order was restored. The Council of State promptly replied, thanking them for their good affection in subduing by God's help the mutinous distemper raised by malignant spirits, and for the diligence that had been displayed, and desiring care to be taken for the discovery of the fomentors. Three or four youths are said to have been committed to prison, but there is no record of their punishment. The Government, indeed, discountenanced severity. Addressing Colonel Okey on February 25th, the Council of State sharply demanded to know why he had, contrary to instructions, removed Bristolians out of their houses, imprisoning some, and threatening to send others to Chepstow Castle. Nothing of that kind was to be done without orders, except in case of insurrection, and the military must not trench upon the civil authority, or on the inhabitants in their lawful rights. Nearly the whole of the above facts have been gleaned from the State Papers, the local annalists affording scarcely any information on the subject. Ellsworth stole up to London, and on February 16th, a pamphlet that may be safely attributed to him was published there, entitled "A Letter of the Apprentices of the City of Bristol to the Apprentices of the City of London," denouncing the Government and the House of Commons, declaring that the pretended writers would resist the payment of taxes until the meeting of a free Parliament, and trusting that "you will quit yourselves as free-born English gallants, and play the man for God, religion and the country." Ellsworth's attempts to excite rioting in the capital, of which he afterwards boasted, were, however, speedily suppressed, and he fled back to Bristol, whence, on February 25th, he sent a letter to General Monk. Carefully concealing his recent doughty deeds, the writer stigmatised the Mayor, the Town Clerk, Alderman Yate, and others, as fanatics, who excluded the "sober and judicious" aldermen, Gonning, Joseph and

Miles Jackson, Balman, Farmer, Sandy and White, from their consultations, "so that the most factious are now the only actors," and a number of insinuations follow as to the alleged hostile intentions of the Mayor, the Baptists, and the Quakers. This earliest specimen of Ellsworth's malignant penmanship is amongst the Popham MSS. at Littlecote.

The authority of the magistrates had been greatly shaken by the youthful mutiny, and by the impotence of their efforts for its suppression; and the lower classes were soon ripe for further disturbance. On March 5th, the day before Shrove Tuesday, the justices made their customary proclamation by the bellman, prohibiting the ancient sports of the season—cock-throwing, dog-tossing, and football-playing in the streets. But the bellman was knocked about by a mob, and had his livery destroyed, and next day the apprentices threw at geese and hens instead of cocks, and tossed bitches and cats instead of dogs, committing some of these pranks before the Mayor's windows, and breaking the head of one of the Sheriffs into the bargain. The turmoil, which is reported by Royalist chroniclers with great glee, had no serious consequences. The Corporation, soon afterwards, were so satisfied with the aspect of affairs that on March 25th the Chamberlain paid £20 "to two troops of horse that were in town, to send them going."

The last effort of the civic Council to maintain the Commonwealth was made at a meeting on March 15th, when it was resolved to present an address to Parliament—"the Rump"—recognising its authority, and expressing "good affection" towards it. The Chamber further determined, if London and other places pursued the same course, to petition for a continuance of the existing Parliament—convoked nearly twenty years previously—and for filling up the hundreds of vacancies occasioned by deaths and ejections. A third resolution directed that speedy measures should be taken to obtain from the Government the repayment of upwards of £600 owing to the Corporation and the inhabitants for the quartering of soldiers. It would be interesting to know whether the desire of recovering the debt had any influence in prompting the offering of "good affection." At another meeting, on the 27th, letters were read from General Monk and Vice-Admiral Penn, and as no record of their purport appears in the minutes, it may be safely surmised that they enunciated views respecting the Parliament in flat contradiction to those so recently advocated by the Council.

Admiral, or, as he was often styled, General Penn, had taken an early opportunity of deserting the Commonwealth Government and paying his devotions to the rising sun. In promotion of his personal ambition, he now contemplated offering himself for the representation of his native city in the Convention Parliament, and as a then indispensable qualification for the position, he applied to the Council for admission as a freeman, a privilege that he claimed by right of birth. A committee was appointed to search the records, and as his father, Giles Penn, was found to have been a free burgess, he was admitted in the usual manner.

The election of members took place in April. Admiral Penn had rendered distinguished services at the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, but the vast importance of that island in a local point of view was not then appreciated, and the candidate's conversion to Royalism was not likely to commend him to the bulk of the Corporation. The other aspirants were John Knight (senior), a fervent Royalist, and the Recorder, John Stephens, who had, while member for Gloucestershire, been a supporter of the Commonwealth. Penn was rejected, but the poll has unfortunately perished. The Town Clerk, Robert Aldworth, was elected for Devizes. The Admiral was immediately afterwards returned for Weymouth, which he represented until his death. He was charged in 1668 with embezzling naval prize goods, and he admitted that, by permission of the Admiralty and with the knowledge of the King, goods were distributed to the flag officers to the value of £1,000 each, and that he took double that amount for himself. Pepys, in his Diary, rarely loses a chance of vilipending Penn as a rogue and rascal, but those railings probably sprang from nothing more than vexation at having to serve under him, and irritation at finding personal schemes of aggrandizement detected and overthrown.

An ordinance of the Court of Aldermen, issued about the end of April, may be regarded as the last protest of expiring corporate Puritanism. The document condemns the liberty lately taken by rude persons in setting up may-poles, occasioning disorderly gatherings, especially on the Lord's Day, forbids such assemblies and the erection of may-poles, and orders the constables to remove those that were standing. It is probable that the command was ignored by the parish officials. The truth was that Puritanism, aiming at an unattainable standard, had denied the multitude, not merely brutalising pleasures, but the innocent

amusements of the drama, the may-pole, the Christmas feast, the Sunday walk, and other pleasures which are a moral necessity of human nature. The consequence of a tyranny of godliness when the Republican yoke was felt to be shaken to pieces was a recoil that soon developed into uncontrolled licentiousness.

In the civic audit-book of the year is the following entry, dated May 10th:—"Charges for putting the wine in the Key Pipe at the proclaiming of the King, 4s. 10d." This is the only known record as to the date of the ceremony, but an annalist states that the proclamation was read by Francis Glead, one of the Sheriffs, in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen robed in scarlet—as they had been at the proclamation of Richard Cromwell less than two years before. The wine drank in the Tolzey and that "put into the conduits," at a cost of about £19, were, however, innovations signalling the dawn of a new era. The revolution in the State was accompanied by a startling revulsion in national manners and customs, political consistency going as much out of fashion as personal sobriety, pious enthusiasm, and Puritanical garments. The object most eagerly pursued in the Council House, even by many men who had been ardent advocates of the Cromwellian system, was the favour of the new monarch, a favour which, as seems to have been well known, could be secured only in one way. On May 29th the Chamber debated as to what gift in money should be offered to His Majesty as a token of love and affection, when a considerable majority determined that the present should be £500, only three members—one of them a captain under the Commonwealth—voting for £1,000. It was easier to approve of such a donation than to produce it, for the civic treasury was empty, and the Corporation were deeply in debt. It was at first proposed to borrow the money from a number of members, nearly all of whom had been prominent anti-Royalists. Eventually, the whole sum, with £50 extra for its conversion into gold, was borrowed, on the security of the city, from Aldermen Joseph Jackson and Farmer, two leading Puritans; and the money was sent up to London, accompanied by a congratulatory address of thoroughly loyal ring, for presentation to His Majesty by the members for the city, and a numerous deputation of aldermen and councillors. Even before the gift was tendered, however, it was not deemed sufficiently ample to testify the devotion and open-handed zeal of the new converts to Royalism. The purchase of certain Crown

fee-farms from the Commonwealth Government for £577 has been noted at page 232. At a hastily convened meeting of the Council on June 8th, it was resolved that these rents, producing £67 a year, should be freely returned to the King when the gift in gold was offered to him; and a deed under the city seal, testifying this free-will surrender, was hurried up after the deputation, who, as may be conceived, met with a gracious reception from the throne. A few days later, the Council again assembled to make preparations for duly celebrating the day (June 28th) fixed by the Government for a national thanksgiving on the happy Restoration. It was resolved that the Corporation should proceed in state to the cathedral to hear a sermon, and the members of the trade Companies were desired to attend "in their formalities." Further instructions were given for the firing of salutes from the great guns, and for fireworks in the evening. Altogether, the gunpowder burnt "at his Majesty's coming in" cost the Chamber £76 19s. 9d.

Much more required to be done for perfecting and embellishing the new order of things. The statue of Charles I., which had been concealed after its removal from the High Cross, was again brought forth, but had suffered so much in the civic vaults as to be unfit for restoration to its original place. The Chamberlain had the "old picture," as he called it, taken to the house of a carver named Thorne, who produced a new statue, set it up in the Cross, and repaired the other figures there, for £13. A painter was next engaged to re-decorate the royal arms, also drawn from a hiding-place, and to illuminate the new statue, and received £5 10s. for his pains. The corporate plate, tarnished from disuse, was regilded, and the state sword refurbished, at a cost of £20. A new silver mace was obtained for the Chamberlain. The custom of ducking vixenish women, long suspended, was revived, for which end a new cucking-stool was set up at the Weir. The perambulation of the city boundaries was revived with unusual ceremony, and was wound up by a grand banquet in the Guildhall. And this was naturally followed by a formal survey of the water boundaries, when the monotony of the voyage was relieved by continuous feasting.

Whilst these matters were proceeding, the Court of King's Bench was applied to for the redress of irregularities alleged to have been committed in the Common Council. John Locke and Gabriel Sherman, who had, in 1656, tendered a resignation of their aldermanships in a

formal document (see p. 265), applied for and obtained a *mandamus* to recover their places, and similar mandates were issued on behalf of Henry Creswick, Nicholas Cale, Richard Gregson, and John Knight (senior), who had all been aldermen, but had been expelled (though, with the exception of Creswick, ejected in 1645, there is no record of their expulsion in the civic minutes). Except in the case of Locke, who was generally unpopular, the Council offered no resistance to the writs, and Locke was also reinstated a few weeks later.

The triumphant Royalists, dissatisfied with these legal victories, next sought to expel from the Council Chamber every vestige of the Puritan party. The State Papers of the year contain numerous documents concerning their manœuvres, which have wholly escaped local historians. Early in September, Henry Creswick, the restored alderman, and some of like principles, secretly addressed a petition to the King, asking permission to turn out of the Council all such as had been elected for their support of the late Government, to restore loyal men that had been ejected, and to elect others chosen by themselves. Speedy action was requested to prevent the other party from electing officers on September 15th. The petition passed through the hands of the Lord Chancellor (Clarendon), who informed Secretary Nicholas that the King would write to the Mayor. These men, he added, were impatient to have all done at once, but it must be done by degrees. In the result, the elections came on before the King thought fit to interfere; but the secret intriguers had no cause for complaint. The system of voting by ballot was, of course, abolished as a relic of Puritanism, and the chief magistracy was conferred on Creswick himself, while the sterling Royalist, John Knight (senior), and Thomas Stevens, a convert, were appointed Sheriffs. (Knight, urging that his duties as member of Parliament required all his attention, was excused; Stevens, refusing to accept office, was fined £200, and was ordered to be committed to gaol until he produced the penalty, but was ultimately pardoned, and served as Sheriff in the following year.) The meeting had next to consider a missive from the King, received some time before. His Majesty stated that he had received information of the sufferings, through loyalty, of Alexander Gray, a Bristol merchant, and that the office of corporate Chamberlain was executed by James Powell, said to have been elected on the recommendation of Cromwell. Gray being

represented as fit for the place, the King recommended his appointment. Profusely loyal as the Chamber had now become, it was shocked by this characteristic specimen of Stewart meddlesomeness in behalf of an obscure Scotch intruder, who, being a "foreigner," was disqualified by the express terms of the city charters. A petition was forthwith drawn up, declaring that Powell had been chosen out of numerous candidates as the most deserving, without being recommended by Cromwell or any other, and having always faithfully exercised his office, it was prayed that the royal request would not be pressed. Charles abandoned his nominee, but the determination to displace Powell continued, and was effected, as will be shown, in April, 1662.

To return to the intrigue of Creswick and his confederates. On September 24th, 1660, nine days after Creswick's election as Mayor, the expected letter arrived from the King. His Majesty, professing anxiety to remove difficulties between his subjects if they conducted themselves well, desired that former members of the Council removed for their loyalty should be restored, that the legal number of forty-three should as far as possible be made up from such survivors as were chosen before the Civil War, and that all the rest of the aldermen and councillors should be expelled. It is a remarkable fact that although Creswick was now empowered to deal root and branch with his opponents in accordance with his previous request, he took no action whatever against them. On April 2nd, 1661, the King, in another letter, repeated his previous orders, but the matter was never brought before the Council throughout Creswick's mayoralty. His ultra-Royalist colleagues were naturally furious. Ellsworth, the virulent mouth-piece of the malcontents, complained to Secretary Nicholas that the Mayor still kept in their places his relations by marriage, such as Alderman Joseph Jackson, a factious Anabaptist, who had fined a man 6s. 8d., for drinking the King's health, and Robert Aldworth, the Town Clerk, who opposed the Restoration; whilst the loyalists expelled in 1645 had not been brought back, in spite of the King's instructions. Aldermen William Colston and Nathaniel Cale, two extreme partisans, wrote to the Secretary in a similar strain, affirming that the Mayor was favouring Aldermen who were mortal enemies of the King, and who, being as six to one in the whole number, would throw all chargeable offices upon loyal men, who were disabled to bear them through sequestrations. The Mayor, it was added, had

endeared himself to the sectaries, who abounded, by making Alderman Vickris his deputy, and was now in London seeking to get the militia into the hands of the Corporation, which might be of "ill consequence." Prebendary Dashfield also denounced the Mayor's remissness and the fanaticism of the Aldermen, and sent up the names of "untainted men," fit for service. Eighteen barrels of gunpowder, he added, had been found in the house of Major Roe, a Quaker, who had borne arms against the Crown, yet the Mayor had returned three barrels to the owner, which the writer considered scandalous. The purification of the Chamber under Creswick's successor will be narrated presently.

The insatiable craving for appointments under the Crown, or procurable by its influence, was one of the most conspicuous incidents that followed the Restoration. The King had scarcely settled down at Whitehall before he was up to the knees in memorials for compensations, rewards, and honours. Amongst the crowd of local solicitors, Captain Richard Yeamans petitioned for a surveyorship of Customs, representing that his brother Robert was murdered, another brother cut to pieces, and himself wounded, imprisoned, and banished, after being deprived of an estate of £2,000. (He was appointed Comptroller, but died soon afterwards.) The six children of George Bowcher, executed with Yeamans, prayed, but unsuccessfully, for a continuance of the pension of £100 that had been received by their mother. William Colston, the father of Edward, pleading heavy losses during the war, sued for, and eventually obtained, the post of English Consul at Marseilles for his son Richard, a youth of about 20 years of age. John Fitzherbert coolly applied for two Customerships because he had been concerned in the Yeamans' plot, for which, he alleged, he had been chained to another man in the Castle for nine weeks, and had lost £5,000 in the royal cause. William Baber, gunpowder maker, whose sufferings under the despotism of Charles I. are recorded in previous pages, sought for a good place in the Customs, alleging that he had supplied the late King with £2,500 worth of powder, never paid for. Then Samuel Farley, who had been a leading innkeeper in the city, begged for a good appointment because he had carried letters for General, now Sir Edward, Massey and other Royalist conspirators in 1659 at the hazard of his life. His appeal being neglected, Farley had the impudence to ask for a blank warrant for a baronetcy, for the purpose of selling it to the best bidder (then a common practice):

Being again rebuffed, he besought the King to procure for him the office of Sword-bearer of Bristol; but, though a recommendation to that effect was sent from Court, the Common Council elected another candidate. The King at length silenced the sturdy mendicant by granting him a surveyorship in the Customs at London. A son of one Sir Peter Rycaut sued for the office of Town Olerk of Bristol, and the King actually granted him an order demanding the dismissal of Robert Aldworth, appointed during the usurpation. Aldworth, however, found protectors at Court, and the order was cancelled; but Rycaut made strenuous efforts for its revival, first by an abortive *Quo Warranto*, and afterwards by trumping up calumnious charges that he was unable to prove. John Thruston begged for the chamberlainship of Bristol in consideration for his loyal exertions and losses, and soon after succeeded in his aim. Hester Adams petitioned for the place of one of the Queen's starchers, pleading that her late husband lost £800 by the burning of his house at Westminster for the King's service, by order of Prince Rupert. Lord Bristol's valet applied for the richest place in the local Custom House, simply on the ground that the existing official had served under the Commonwealth. One Laurence Drake asked for another Customs appointment, producing Lord Poulet's certificate that he had lost £2,500 for his loyalty. Several clergymen supplicated for prebends in the cathedral, and four of them, including two popular men, Richard Towgood and Richard Standfast, were appointed. Probably the most clamorous and persistent of all the applicants was Richard Ellsworth, a relative of the Poyntz family of Iron Acton, who alleged he had been wounded during the siege of 1645, and contended that, in spite of the pretensions of various other citizens, he was entitled to the entire credit of inciting the apprentices to insurrection in the preceding spring, though he, of course, said nothing of his desertion of them on the appearance of a few troops. His pretensions were supported by the Mayor and some old Royalists in the Council, and by Sir Robert Poyntz, while the Duke of Albemarle testified that the applicant had rendered useful service in London just before the Restoration. By dint of strenuous efforts, Ellsworth obtained one of the offices of Customer in Bristol, being apparently directed to keep the Government informed upon local political movements. Later on, he got a petty office in the King's household, and was dubbed a knight. He

was afterwards occasionally employed as an agent for furthering Bristol business at Court, for which he appears to have been largely rewarded.

Corporate sympathy with the necessities of the poor in reference to butter temporarily revived after the Restoration. At a Council meeting in November, six members offered to advance £20 each for the purchase of butter to be retailed at cheap rates, and a resolution was passed guaranteeing them from loss. It is known that efforts were being made at this time to obtain a new patent for the exportation of calf-skins; and it may be fairly surmised that, concurrently with the above benevolence, endeavours were being secretly prosecuted to revive the old butter monopoly. Nothing being obtainable from the Government in this direction, corporate butter transactions came to an end. At the same meeting the Council, "taking note of the great number of cottages lately erected and now erecting outside Lawford's Gate, and conceiving it to tend to the great impoverishment of the city," directed the Mayor and city surveyors to confer with Mr. Chester, on whose land the houses were built, "for putting a stop to further building." The district, however, soon became the most populous, as it was also the most disorderly, of the suburbs.

Mr. Richard Ellsworth, the new Customer, with certain colleagues of his own stamp, was engaged during the autumn, under a commission from the Government, in summoning all the inhabitants over sixteen years of age, and commanding them to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In a letter to Secretary Nicholas, dated November 21st, he complains that he and his friends are much obstructed by Quakers and Anabaptists (whose principles forbade the taking of oaths), adding that loyal people felt aggrieved if those dangerous and disaffected sectaries were excused. He ends by asking for power to imprison all who refuse to swear. "These monsters," he says, in a second letter to the same effect, "are more numerous in Bristol than in all the West of England, and hold meetings of 1,000 or 1,200, to the great alarm of the city." His statements illustrate the treatment to which Nonconformists generally were subjected, though their persecution was then only beginning. Ellsworth's policy having been approved by the Government, before the end of the year 4,000 Quakers were in gaol throughout the kingdom, many for refusing to bind themselves by oaths, some for dis-

obedience to the proclamations forbidding religious meetings by Dissenters, perhaps all through the fear of the Court that they sympathised with the Fifth Monarchy fanatics. In Bristol a party of sixty-five, caught whilst holding a prayer-meeting at the house of Dennis Hollister, were carried off to Newgate, their number being subsequently increased to 190 by captures in Temple Street and other localities. The only charge against the majority of the prisoners was their refusal to be sworn. Eventually they were liberated, in common with their co-religionists elsewhere, through the unaccountable influence exercised over the King by a Quakeress named Margaret Fell, the widow of a judge, and afterwards wife of George Fox. It may be added that on the recovery by Mr. Towgood, Mr. Standfast and other clergymen of their parish churches the original Nonconformist congregation were allowed for some time to hold meetings at the house formerly occupied by Colonel Scrope, in Castle Precincts; but being straitened for room they hired a building "in the Friars" (meaning probably the old Dominican convent), where Mr. Ewens, who still remained with his flock, officiated until July, 1661, when he was committed to prison for preaching in defiance of the interdiction of the magistrates. The story of the other Dissenting bodies at this period is not recorded.

Although many presentments had been made by grand juries at quarter sessions, pointing out the inconvenience and peril arising from the total absence of street lighting, the civic authorities showed great reluctance to promote improvement in that direction. At length, in December, the Court of Aldermen issued a warrant to their officers, ordering them to give notice to about 530 of the principal householders to hang out at their respective doors during the winter months a lantern and a lighted candle from 6 to 9 o'clock every night; a penalty of 3s. 4d. being threatened for every default. The persons on whom this duty was imposed were classified in parishes, and it appears that the largest numbers lived in the parishes of St. Nicholas (61), St. Thomas (52), St. Peter (47), and St. Stephen (43). Christ Church parish had to provide thirty-one lanterns, the inhabitants of Wine Street including three Aldermen, Colston, Cale and Yate. The fashionable parish of St. Werburgh contained the residences of the Mayor (Henry Creswick), Aldermen Gonning and M. Jackson, and Messrs. Long, Cann, Langton and Yeamans,

but the total number of lights was only thirteen. Five Aldermen, Tyson, White, Sandy, J. Jackson and James, lived in St. Nicholas' parish. Having imposed this duty on the inhabitants, the Corporation seem to have thought that some effort of a public character could not be omitted without discredit. The Chamberlain accordingly expended 20s. "for a great lanthorn for the Tolzey," which was followed, a year later, by the outlay of the same amount for lanterns at the Blind Gate and Small Street Gate, completing the civic display.

The first public coach from Bristol to London for the conveyance of passengers is believed to have been established in 1660. It was certainly running in 1661, and was one of the six then plying between leading provincial towns and the capital. The "machine" succeeded in completing each journey in three days, by dint of starting early each morning, and struggling onward until late at night, the accomplishment of forty miles a day being then considered a Herculean task. The feat was practicable only in the summer half-year, and traffic was suspended during the winter. In some papers of the family of the Gores of Flax Bourton, now in the Museum and Library, is a note of the cost of a coach expedition in 1663. "Paid Jerrat Gore's coach higher from London to Bristol, £1 5s.; his expenses by the way, 15s." The same sums were laid out on the return journey.

Amongst the grants by the King in February, 1661, was one to Colonel Humphrey Hooke (grandson of the gentleman of the same name referred to in previous pages) of the Keepership of Kingswood and Fillwood forests, with a fee, according to the minute in the Record Office, of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ "yearly." The last word is an error, $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day being the sum payable for several centuries to the Keepers of Kingswood out of the royal fee-farm of Bristol. The tergiversations of the elder Hooke, who, like the famous Vicar of Bray, was always ready to cheer the winning side, have been noted at page 215. Having died on the eve of the Restoration, his wealth, and apparently his principles, descended to his grandson, who became, of course, a vehement Royalist, and was speedily rewarded with the honour of knighthood. The Keepership of the two Chases must have been practically valueless, the deer which once swarmed in Kingswood having been extirpated during the Civil War by the colliers and labourers, who invaded the woods and worked havoc uncontrolled, while Fillwood, as

was shown in page 61, had been appropriated by the neighbouring landlords at least as early as the reign of Elizabeth, and existed only in name. Soon after Hooke's appointment, the state of Kingswood appears to have been represented to the Government by Sir Gilbert Gerard and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, two distinguished Royalists during the Civil War; and in October, 1661, Lord-Treasurer Southampton issued a warrant to them and others, constituting them Commissioners to negotiate with the persons claiming ownership over the Chase. According to their report, the grasping pretenders speedily found it prudent to offer terms. Sir John Newton, the Widow Player, and Philip Langley, three of the largest "lords," undertook to set out one-third part of the area claimed by them, as well as a tenth part of the coal, as the King's share, and to give up the same proportions for the use of the commoners and the poor. John Tooke, who held the royalty belonging for life to Lady Berkeley, had subscribed to the same conditions, but as the estate was entailed, and no good title could be made without an Act of Parliament, he wished to become a leasehold tenant under the King for His Majesty's share. The guardians of the infant heiress of John Mallet were willing to set out the two third shares, but sought to become tenants as in the last case. Thomas Chester, lord of the manor of Barton Regis, consented to set out two third parts of the land to the King and the commoners, but refused to part with any of the coal; he also was desirous to become tenant of the King's share, provided that all the very numerous cottages erected by him and his predecessors, with plots of land attached to them, might be allotted to himself. Most of the inhabitants of Bitton, Mangotsfield and Stapleton holding common rights had subscribed for an enclosure of the Chase, but those living on Chester's liberty had mostly objected, owing to Chester's nonconformity as to coaling. The Commissioners concluded by recommending that a Commission of Oyer and Terminer should be issued to settle the matter, and there seems to be little question that if this advice had been followed, the rights both of the Crown and the public would have been secured. Nothing, however, was done, and on the death of Sir John Newton, before the inquiry had terminated, he was succeeded by a stranger of the same name, who at first undertook to confirm what his predecessor had agreed to, but afterwards repudiated the arrangement, and induced the other landlords to follow his example.

Sir Humphrey Hooke having introduced no deer into the Chase, as he had undertaken to do, the King, in March, 1663, was pleased to grant, out of consideration for their loyal sufferings, to Sir Gilbert Gerard £1,500, and to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton £1,000, out of compositions to be made for the royal rights; but the opportunity for a compromise had passed away, and Throckmorton died in great poverty in 1664, having incurred heavy debts in vainly prosecuting his claim. On the petition of Sir Baynham, his son, Charles II. granted him the royal franchises in the Chase in May, 1666, for a term of sixty years, at a rent of £20, in lieu of the former grant. Sir Humphrey Hooke afterwards surrendered the office of Ranger on receiving £100, and the new lessee then obtained commissions out of the Court of Exchequer offering the landlords and commoners the royal pardon for past offences and a grant of the King's rights, provided a third of the soil were surrendered in compensation (nothing being now said of the third due to the poor). According to Throckmorton's petition to the King in 1667, some of the lords and many of the commoners would have agreed to this proposal providing that the consent was unanimous, but, as one lord (Newton) and some commoners were refractory, the large sums of money spent by the lessee and his predecessors were likely to be lost—as was in fact the case. After some consideration of Throckmorton's case, the King in Council, in June, 1668, came to the absurd resolution that the Chase should be again stocked with deer, and constituted Sir Baynham Ranger; and two years later a new lease of the Chase was granted to him for sixty years, rent free, on his covenanting to replenish the woods with 500 deer. As Sir Charles Harbord, a royal official, reported in 1672 that the place contained a "multitude of coal pits, and was stuffed with cottagers and alehouses, and overlaid with horses used for carrying coal" to Bristol, some idea may be formed of the lessee's hopeless task.

The Court of Aldermen, on March 5th, laid a heavy hand on some "foreigners" described in the minutes as "translators." Griffen Brown, translator on St. James's Back, being a stranger, was ordered to leave the city within six days, or in default to be punished according to law. Four other translators were also warned to depart, one within a fortnight, the others in a month. Similar cases occur in the records from time to time. Lord Macaulay, who was once questioned as to the occupation of these men,

replied that they were doubtless employed by merchants and others to translate foreign documents. As a matter of fact, they were cobblers, who converted old boots into shoes.

The revival of compulsory fasting in Lent was another outcome of the Restoration. Butchers were forbidden to expose meat for sale from Ash Wednesday to Good Friday, but for the sake of aged and infirm people the magistrates granted licenses to three butchers to sell flesh during the first three weeks in Lent, while five others were permitted to sell during the following three weeks.

At the general election in April, three candidates offered themselves before the electors of Bristol—namely the Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond, Sir Humphrey Hooke, and John Knight (senior). All being Royalists, the voting must have hinged upon personal considerations, but the contest was nevertheless severe, and in the result there was a double return, Lord Ossory and Knight being declared elected in one indenture, and Hooke with Knight in the other. On the case coming before the House of Commons in May, the fact that Hooke had subscribed his name to Ossory's return (probably through some private arrangement between the parties) was held to bar his election, and Lord Ossory was ordered to sit until the merits of the case were investigated. His lordship, in fact, held the seat until September, 1666, when he was raised to the peerage. Sir Humphrey then put in a renewed claim to the seat, contending that he had had a majority of votes, and the House, on a report from the Committee of Elections confirming his assertion, not only declared him duly elected, but ordered Thomas Langton, one of the Sheriffs in 1661, to be summoned to the bar for making a false return! Langton, who was Mayor when this extraordinary resolution was arrived at, was thereupon carried in custody to Westminster, and actually committed for the alleged offence, but was liberated on the following day. Barrett's History (p. 158) is more than usually inaccurate in reference to this election.

At a meeting of the Council on April 9th a proposal was drawn up for the consideration of the Merchants' Society. The existing quays being insufficient to accommodate the increasing commerce of the port, the Corporation offered to grant the Society a new lease for eighty years of the dues for anchorage, cannage and plankage, at the old rent of £3 6s. 8d. (see page 17), provided the lessees would construct

a new quay from the Lower Slip to Aldsworth's Dock (that is, from about the middle of the present Broad Quay to a point a little beyond the end of Thunderbolt Street), and also make the road from Rownham to the Hot Well passable for coaches, towards which the Chamber offered to contribute £100. The Society seem to have asked for more liberal terms. At all events, the new lease, executed in September, not only demised the above dues, but also the wharfage dues created by the Council in 1606, the receipts from which had been up to this time received by the Chamberlain. It is somewhat strange that this important concession, involving a large loss of income to the Corporation, was never approved by a vote of the Council until the lease was actually sealed and in operation.

Another important matter was discussed at the above meeting, when the Mayor produced a writ of *Quo Warranto*, procured by the Attorney-General, requiring the Corporation to show by what authority they exercised the rights and liberties claimed by them. The threatened attack on the charters was apparently based on the action of the Council during the Commonwealth in ejecting Royalist members, replacing them by persons of the opposite party, and generally supporting the Republican cause. After much deliberation, two petitions were drawn up for presentation to the King, praying for the suspension of the writ, and the grant of a new charter. The first supplication, after setting forth the joy of the Chamber at His Majesty's return, expressed ignorance of having committed any offence, but, fearing through indiscretion they might have fallen under the King's displeasure, they fled to him for sanctuary and relief. The other petition was of a totally different character. It alleged that the government of the city had been divested of its ancient lustre through the refusal of able persons to accept public offices, whilst the city itself was much decayed through losses at sea, deadness of trade, and the interloping of artificers and others, who traded as merchants without having served apprenticeship, to the loss of the Customs and the discouragement of those best able to serve the Crown. It was therefore prayed that the King would confirm, not merely the city charters, but those of the Society of Merchants, who were desirous of further powers for the regulation of trade. It is clear that this second petition was adopted at the instance of the Merchants' Company, who were once more attempting to secure a monopoly of commercial business, and that the

Council were only half-hearted in supporting their efforts, for the two documents were confided to the Mayor, who was empowered to omit the clause relating to the merchants, if he were advised to do so by the Recorder, the Town Clerk, and the members of Parliament, all then in London. He was, however, especially requested to ask that the new charter should empower the Chamber to impose a fine of £400 on any one refusing to serve as Councillor, Alderman, Sheriff, or Mayor (unless such person could swear that he was not worth £1,500), and to imprison him until he made payment. Finally, his worship was to press, for insertion in the charter, that the election of members of Parliament should be vested "as formerly" in the Council and local freeholders exclusively. Even these requests were considered too modest, for the Court of Aldermen held three independent meetings to draw up further demands, and the Mayor was directed to ask for powers for the better preservation of the Avon, for preventing the erection of houses outside Lawford's Gate, for placing the government of the militia in the hands of the Corporation, and lastly for compelling capable persons to take up the freedom, so that they might be made amenable to the above fines on being elected as Councillors. It being well understood that new privileges could be obtained only by liberal expenditure, the Council resolved to borrow £300 by way of mortgage, to defray "all manner of charges" incident to the furtherance of their desires. On May 18th the Mayor presented himself at Whitehall with some parade, his retinue of civic officials being furnished with new robes and liveries for the occasion. A Privy Council meeting was summoned to receive his petition, and the King condescended to preside. After hearing his worship, their lordships ordered that the petition should be remitted to the Attorney-General, who was directed to send in a report. No record was kept of the negotiations, but the judicious disposition of the funds entrusted to the Mayor may be divined by the fact that the *Quo Warranto* proceedings were stopped, and that, although the grant of a new charter was delayed, the Common Council were encouraged by the apparent good humour of the Government to enhance their demands. In June, 1662, when the Mayor was again sent up to Court to renew the application, the Chamber desired that the fine for refusing to take office should be increased to £500, that all fines for breach of ordinances should be leviable by distraint, and that persons of good condition who lived outside the city to

avoid election should be compelled to dwell in the town; while the previous request for the disfranchisement of the freemen was urgently repeated. On August 5th the Mayor reported to the Council that he had been graciously received at Whitehall—a circumstance by no means surprising when one discovers that his worship had found it needful to expend no less than £584 during his mission—and that a new charter was certainly in preparation. In the meantime he had been furnished with a warrant signed by the King, commanding every burgess elected to a civic office to accept the same on pain of being summoned before the Privy Council to answer for his contempt. The charter was not forthcoming until 1664.

Whether the corporate recommendation, in one of the petitions recited above, of the Merchant Society's desire for additional powers to regulate trade was laid before the King or "omitted," it is impossible to decide. In any case, the Society took measures to obtain such powers by independent action. The minutes of the Privy Council show that when the Mayor presented the corporate petition for a new charter on May 18th, 1661, he was accompanied by representatives of the Merchants' Company, who tendered a similar supplication on their own account, and that this document was also remitted to the Attorney-General. But probably despairing of such a royal rescript as would suffice to establish the monopoly for which they had been striving for a century, the Society determined to resort to the more powerful help of Parliament. The result is briefly but satisfactorily reported in the Journals of the House of Commons. Towards the close of the year, a measure bearing the innocent-looking title of "A Bill for confirming letters patent incorporating the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol"—in plain words, a scheme for giving the force of law to the monopoly of trade conceded to the Society by the charter of Edward VI.—was introduced into the Lower House. But its real intention was detected and exposed by some sharp-witted member; and on January 7th, 1662, when the Bill was read a second time, a motion was immediately put that it should be "laid aside," and this was carried without a division. Subsequent attempts of a similar character having proved equally unsuccessful, the application to the King was renewed in 1668, when His Majesty granted the Society a new charter. But it was simply a confirmation of the charter granted by Charles I. in 1638, and was practically valueless.

A curious but obscurely reported dispute between one John Pester, a Bristol draper, and the Dean and Chapter came before the Privy Council in April, 1661, upon a report from the Commissioners appointed to inquire into "pretended" alienations of church lands; the matter in difference being a lease claimed by Pester of "33 acres of meadow commonly called Canons' Marsh." In order to clear up the case, the Council ordered the respective parties to appear before them, and at another meeting, May 18th, the question was further considered. On examination of the facts, say the minutes, it appeared that the Dean and Chapter, contrary to the request of the above Commissioners, who ordered them to grant a lease of the Marsh to Pester, had granted one to John Knight (doubtless the senior). The Dean (Glemham) now failing to give the King and Council any satisfactory explanation of this proceeding, His Majesty ordered him and the Chapter to revoke the lease to Knight, and make a new one to Pester, and to pay the latter, who had been at great charge in improving the land, the full sum they had received from Knight. All parties were then ordered to appear again on June 7th, but on that day, when the Council reassembled, five of the prebendaries absented themselves, and it was found that nothing had been done. "The King, highly offended with their obstinate disobedience, ordered that until they complied neither the Dean nor any of the prebends should presume to appear at Court." No further reference to the matter has been found, but as the Dean continued to be a sedulous courtier, and was preferred to the bishopric of St. Asaph in 1667, it is probable that the Chapter obeyed the royal commands.

At a meeting of the Council on August 23rd, the office of Lord High Steward was conferred upon the Duke of Ormond, who had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the city and of Somerset in the previous year. The civic dignity was not really vacant, but the Council, desirous of pleasing the Government, ignored the existence of Sir Henry Vane, who was then in prison, and was tried and executed in June, 1662.

Notwithstanding its obsequiousness, the composition of the Common Council was by no means satisfactory to the ultra-Royalists, still intoxicated with success, and thirsting to enjoy the double pleasure of recovering predominance in local affairs and humiliating their detested opponents. Having represented their desires to the Court, the King, on September 29th, addressed a mandate to the new Mayor,

Nathaniel Cale, one of the most vindictive of the party. His Majesty, after stating that many loyal subjects in the city were removed from places of trust during the late disturbances, and persons of contrary principles settled in their offices, ordered that all the men so unduly brought in, as well as others notoriously disaffected, should be displaced, in order that those ejected during the evil times should be restored, and that the latter, in conjunction with such persons of integrity as remained, should fill up vacancies by a free election, whereby the Corporation might enjoy the benefit of their charters. As sixteen years had elapsed since the government of the city had fallen into the hands of the Parliamentarians, the practical effect of the mandate was to sweep away the existing Council. In fact, at a meeting on October 4th, when the above mandate was read, the Recorder, two Aldermen and twenty-nine Councillors were removed; while at another meeting, on October 30th, only three persons out of the forty-three that formed the Council two years before put in an appearance—Aldermen Sandy and Ballman, and Councillor Stephens. These were joined by Aldermen Locke and Sherman, whose recovery of their seats has been already noticed, and by five others, some of whom had been elected since the Restoration. This select gathering then proceeded to “elect and choose” sixteen Councillors; but what it really did was to re-elect sixteen gentlemen out of the Council as it had been constituted under the Commonwealth, the most prominent being John Knight (senior), John Lawford, William Yeamans, Robert Cann, John Pope, Robert Vickris, John Willoughby, Thomas Langton and Andrew Hooke. On November 2nd, when twenty-one of the new body attended (including William Colston, who resumed his seat), ten more Councillors were elected, none of whom had previously held office, the most notable being John Knight (junior)—who refused to serve—Richard Streamer and Ralph Olliffe. And five days later another batch of nine were appointed, including Robert Yeamans, Richard Hart (who refused to serve) and Richard Crump. The Mayor and five or six Aldermen next held a Court, and filled up vacancies in that body, five Commonwealth dignitaries—John Gonning, Miles Jackson, Joseph Jackson, Walter Sandy and Arthur Farmer—being reinstated. Finally, on November 28th, the Council elected five more Councillors, one of them being Thomas Day. It will be seen that the number of persons chosen was by this time greatly in excess of the forty-three prescribed by the char-

ters ; but several had not come forward to be sworn, while some had positively refused to serve, and only thirty-eight were on the roll on November 28th. An incident soon after occurred that, in less excited times, would have caused a lively sensation. An Act of Parliament was passed for the purpose of expelling Puritans out of every municipal Corporation, and on April 4th a royal warrant was laid before the Council, constituting the Mayor and a few kindred spirits commissioners for carrying out the provisions of the statute. Cale, however, had so vigorously fulfilled his previous instructions that the commissioners' task was almost confined to tendering the newly invented test oaths to those present. Aldermen Vickris and Gibbs appear to have been the only members who refused to be sworn, thereby losing their seats. The only other victims were the Chamberlain, James Powell, whom the commissioners curtly dismissed, appointing the King's nominee, John Thruston, in his place, and John Haggett, the Steward (judge) of the Tolzey Court, the King requesting that office for another unqualified stranger, named John Robins. Rycaut, His Majesty's former nominee for the Town Clerkship, made another pertinacious effort to get Aldworth ejected, but his malignity in fabricating false charges at Court as to the disloyalty of the Corporation had made him detestable even to the commissioners, who refused to listen to him. On August 21st, the Council elected nine more members, of whom five were immediately sworn in. The recusants had now become so numerous that the Chamber determined to take action. It was resolved that as John Knight (junior), Richard Hart and ten others had refused to take the oaths, warrants of imprisonment should be issued against them for their contempt. Knight had been previously fined £400, and Hart £300, for refusing to take office, but there is no evidence that the money was recovered, and nothing seems to have resulted from menacing them with the gaol. The Council was doubtless perplexed by the fact that, if any of the recusants had offered to submit, the number in the Chamber would have been in excess of the legal limits, the acting members in August, 1663, being forty-three, the maximum fixed by the charters. The subject will be resumed under 1664.

Having provided the city with a new ducking apparatus, much to the delight of the juvenile lower classes, the magistrates seem to have been unwilling that the machine should grow rusty from disuse. In October, 1661, Goodwife Orchard,

of St. Michael's, was ordered, being a disorderly scold, to be ducked in the Froom, and sent to the House of Correction. In July and August, 1664, two women were ordered to be ducked three times each. John Willoughby, Mayor in 1665-6, was an especial admirer of this form of punishment, and sent seven vixens to be ducked during the summer. Three women suffered in 1667, three in 1669 and two in 1670, after which the instrument fell somewhat into disfavour. Another spectacle, dear to the youthful population, and often exhibited at this period, was the carting of incontinent women through all the principal streets, preceded by the bellman proclaiming their offence.

Mention of another local sugar refinery occurs in the Council minutes of January, 1662. The parishioners of St. Thomas's having complained that the sugar-house of John Hind, grocer (afterwards Mayor), was very dangerous owing to its liability to take fire, Hind was ordered to remove his works within two months.

A great storm of wind in March caused much damage to city property. Amongst numerous items referring to it in the audit book is the following :—"The Chamberlain asks allowance for the trees blown down in the Marsh, belonging to him by custom time out of mind as a perquisite of his office; they being worth above £30, but sold underhand, £22." The claim was allowed.

Robert Cann, a wealthy Bristol merchant, son of the Mayor who proclaimed the abolition of the monarchy in 1649, received the honour of knighthood in April for his services to the royal cause. Sir Robert, as Roger North, his relative by marriage, has stated with his customary spitefulness, was a somewhat arrogant and pompous personage, fond of parading his riches, and prone to speak his mind with little regard for the feelings of others. No member of the Corporation had previously been knighted, and the honour having somewhat turned the heads of himself and family, he took occasion, at some corporate function shortly after receiving the King's accolade, to claim precedence, although but a Common Councillor, over all the Aldermen by virtue of his title. His pretensions were so indignantly resisted that at a meeting of the Council on May 27th—when Sir Robert Atkyns, K.B., was elected Recorder, *vice* Mr. John Stephens, resigned, or rather expelled—he absented himself from the Chamber. Being forthwith summoned, he made his appearance, but only to request his being excused from further service, without offering any reason for the demand, and

then unceremoniously departed. The Council thereupon resolved that his conduct was contrary to his oath, tended to the dissolution of corporate government, and was wholly "dissatisfactory"; but when this resolution was read to him at the next meeting, a week later, his answer gave no more satisfaction than the previous one. The offended Aldermen thereupon thought it desirable to seek the advice of the Heralds' College on the question, and the Mayor, who carried up their application when despatched to negotiate for a charter, also brought back the result, which was read to the Council in August. The College stated that a similar dispute had arisen in 1611, amongst the members of the London Corporation, when, after a three days' hearing, the knights had withdrawn their claim to precedence over their untitled seniors, and that the practice then established had since been always followed. Sir Robert Cann seems to have treated the Heralds' certificate with contempt, and his pretensions were put forward with still greater obstinacy in the following month, when—probably through the purchase of one of the "blank warrants" that were being freely offered for sale—he was created a baronet. With a view, perhaps, of tiding over the difficulty, the Council immediately elected him Mayor; so that, for a time, there could be no question as to his pre-eminence, and a few months later he was chosen an Alderman. But when he quitted the civic chair his claims were revived, and the dispute grew hotter than ever. In October, 1663, hoping to bring the fuming baronet to reason, the Council applied for the opinions of Sir Robert Atkyns, the Recorder, and of Sir John Frederic, an ex-Lord Mayor of London, both of whom approved of the decision of the Heralds' College, the Recorder adding that a similar rule was followed in the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall, where his own Order of the Bath gave him no precedence over his professional seniors. If, continued the learned gentleman, Cann was so ill advised as to carry his claim before the Privy Council, "it will expose us to the merriment and contempt of those who hear it." But Cann remained impenetrable to argument, and unluckily he had by this time found a sympathiser and supporter in Robert Yeamans, who had been knighted in the previous month, and was even more petulant and impracticable than his colleague. On January 5th, 1664, the Common Council passed a lengthy ordinance, founded on the decision of the College of Heralds, declaring that precedency was regulated exclusively by seniority, "any dignity of knighthood or

baronetcy to the contrary notwithstanding." Nevertheless, on February 9th, Sir Robert Yeamans, a man of a most irascible temper, scouted the Chamber's decree, and for contempt and incivility to the Mayor, refusing to wear his gown, and insulting the Aldermen, was ordered to be committed to Newgate, but escaped from the city before the sentence could be carried out. Cann, about the same date, raised a disturbance in church during service, in trying to maintain his claim. The two rebellious worthies had already resolved on carrying their complaints to the Crown, and now concocted a petition in which they insinuated that contempt had been shown to the King, by giving untitled Aldermen "and their wives"—a notable expression—precedency over the petitioners and their titled helpmates. (A suspicion that feminine vanity lurked at the bottom of the dispute has perhaps suggested itself to the experienced reader.) Furnished with this document, and having gained the co-operation of Sir Humphrey Hooke, who alleged in a petition that the King's honour would be eclipsed and his prerogative encroached upon if commoners were allowed to usurp the places due to men of title, the two knights made their way to Court, where they pressed their case so earnestly that, for a brief season, the thoughtless and easy-going King was inclined to decide in their favour, and sent down a mandate requiring the ordinance of the previous January to be remitted to the Privy Council "for rectification." The Corporation, however, had also friends in high places, and finally the case came on for a solemn hearing before His Majesty in Council on February 24th. The issue was communicated to the Mayor by Secretary Bennet on the following day. The Privy Council ruled that, in all meetings of the civic body, knighthood was in no case to avail against seniority; and the same regulation was to apply to ladies when they assembled for a corporate function, such as occurred in London when the Lady Mayoress went to the Spittle—wives there taking their places according to the seniority of their husbands. On the other hand, in all indifferent places, where the Corporation were not solemnly represented, the knights and their wives were to have their rightful precedence. Being informed during the hearing that the two petitioners had absented themselves from their duties and countenanced disaffection, the Privy Council severely reprehended them, commanding them presently to return home and submit themselves to the Mayor for their disrespect to him and his office. The mortified gentlemen

thereupon departed, and at a meeting of the Chamber in March, Sir Robert Yeamans, after manifesting some refractoriness, took his place as fixed by seniority. In the following month, however, one of the mutineers contested the precedence of a sheriff when in the execution of his office, leading to a fresh complaint of the Mayor to the Government, and an irritated repetition by the Secretary of State of the royal decision. Discord nevertheless continued to rage for a year and a half. In a letter to Sir Robert Atkyns, dated "Sept. 10" (1665), Lord Clarendon, by the King's direction, desired him to examine earnestly into the disorders still going on, so that His Majesty might apply a remedy. "It is a very sad thing," wrote the Lord Chancellor, "that from so ridiculous contention between women for place there should such furious animosities arise as threaten the very peace of the city." The character of the incorrigible knights receives further illustration from an order of the Privy Council of October 25th, 1665, showing that the Mayor had again complained of their persistent misbehaviour in claiming illegal precedence, that Sir John Knight on behalf of the Corporation, together with Cann and Yeamans, had been summoned before the King in Council, that the whole case was heard over again, and that His Majesty gave peremptory orders that the custom of London should be followed in Bristol as well by the knights as by their wives. This seems to have terminated the protracted quarrel. A number of documents relating to the case are preserved amongst the State Papers. Sir Robert Yeamans, styled "of Redland," was created a baronet in 1666. As he had rendered no services to the Government, but, on the contrary, given much trouble by his mutinous behaviour, it is probable that he had purchased one of the "blank warrants" already referred to. The lengthy squabble, and especially the masterful attitude of the ladies interested in it, appear to have afforded amusement to the West of England generally. In 1668, when Mr. Pepys was on the tour so graphically recorded in his Diary, he noted that the landlord of his inn at Salisbury "made us mighty merry at supper about manning the new ship at Bristol with none but men whose wives do master them; and it seems it is in reproach to some men of estate that this is become common talk."

Robert Taunton, an organ builder, petitioned the Council for the freedom in May, 1662, and on the ground that there was no similar "artist" in the city, he was admitted at the

low fine of £5. Taunton, in the same year, made a contract with the Dean and Chapter of Wells to build "a well-tuned, useful and beautiful double organ" in their cathedral for the sum of £800. The Corporation were very capricious in fixing the fine for the freedom. In 1663, Richard Barlow, "gentleman," paid no less than £100 on being admitted a free burgess.

The earliest evidence of the existence of a local Post Office is afforded by a letter preserved at the Museum and Library. It was despatched in August from Oxford and is addressed:—"This to be left at the Post-house in Bristol for my honoured landlord, Thomas Gore, Esquire, living at Barrow in Somerset. Post paid to London." There being no direct post from Oxford to Bristol, a further postage of sixpence was demanded here. Evans mentions, in his Chronological History under 1663, a letter addressed:—"To Mr. John Hellier, at his house in Corn Street, in Bristol Citty," from which it may be inferred that a postman was then employed for deliveries in the principal streets. This supposition is confirmed by a letter of 1670, now in the Baptist College, with the address:—"To . . . Mr. Terrill, at his house in Bristol. To be left with Mr. Mitchell, near the Post office."

The Government were much disturbed during the summer by reports of alleged revolutionary designs by disaffected people in Bristol and Somerset. Instructions were sent down to the Deputy-Lieutenants to take precautions for the maintenance of law and order, but the early papers on the subject are missing at the Record Office. On July 12th, Sir Hugh Smyth, of Long Ashton, and Mr. Edward Phelipps informed Secretary Nicholas that they had discovered further disorders, and feared a great design to distract the nation. They had secured some suspicious persons, and desired orders to draw part of the militia into Taunton, as the discontented refused to pay all rates and taxes. On July 21st, Henry Creswick and William Colston, Deputy-Lieutenants of Bristol, addressing the same Minister, said they had deferred the muster of the militia until after the great fair, but in the meantime had ordered the trained bands to keep guard. On August 6th, Sir John Sydenham and Phelipps informed Nicholas that they had failed to make discoveries in Bristol owing to their agent being suspected, but many men had been committed till the assizes for talking of a coming change. On the same day a resident at Tormarton reported that every day there was rumour of rebellion, and that although men would buy land in the late

troubled times they would not do so now. He added that the militia were being called out to destroy "the tobacco planted here, which many are interested in." The Secretary of State in the following month sent down the Duke of Ormond's deputation to the Mayor and others, with orders to settle the militia forthwith, and to prevent the designs of the disaffected, "of whom there are not a few in the city." The Deputy-Lieutenants repeatedly expressed their determination to prevent wicked designs, and on December 17th they informed Secretary Bennet that they had discovered a dangerous plot for a general rising on January 1st, but hoped to apprehend the local conspirators. They feared mischief, however, from some officers of Customs who were engaged in the former rebellion. Two prisoners in Ilchester gaol next alleged that a fellow-prisoner, a suspected plotter, had assured them that 2,000 men would rise in Somerset, and that fifty old army officers were lurking about Bristol and enlisting men for a revolt. Then an apothecary's servant in the city told a Government spy that 700 Bristolians had engaged to rise on January 1st; they met at Stapleton inn, and had money and arms enough. Similar information was received from the wife of one of the conspirators, the man having absconded when she threatened to betray the plot. Other letters report numerous arrests of suspected persons, some of whom were kept long in prison, but no satisfactory evidence could be obtained as to the ringleaders, whose designs were doubtless frustrated by the above disclosures.

The Council, in March, 1663, resolved that a new street should be laid out in the Marsh "from Weare's house to the Marsh Gate," of which the almshouse of St. Nicholas's parish, already mentioned, formed an original feature. The thoroughfare soon received the name of King Street, probably by an unrecorded order of the Council. The ground was let on leases for five lives, or for 41 years certain, at a reserved yearly rent of from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per foot of frontage. The lessees were placed under a covenant to erect uniform buildings, but they appear to have paid little regard to the engagement. A few fine examples of the original houses still remain.

The King, on March 24th, granted a charter to a number of noblemen and gentlemen, constituting them a corporation under the name of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, for the settlement and government of that region of North America. Amongst the patentees were John Lord Berkeley and Sir

William Berkeley. By another charter of June, 1665, the Lords Proprietors were empowered to confer titles, build forts, and levy soldiers. Many changes subsequently took place in the body of patentees, and though no Bristolians took part in the government of the colony, a considerable local trade sprang up with the settlement. In 1728, when seven out of the eight existing lords surrendered their rights to the Crown on receiving £17,500, the only persons concerned in the assignment connected with this district were the executors of the Duke of Beaufort.

In the State Papers of July is a singular document entitled a "Statement and certificate," which sets forth that its author, Captain Fawns Urrey, had, in November, 1661, laid an information before the Mayor and Sir Hugh Smyth (Deputy-Lieutenants), averring that John Casbeard, of Bristol, had called the King an arrant tyrant, and declared that he would venture his blood against kingly rule. Whereupon, the information having been forwarded to the Government, Casbeard was arrested, carried up to Westminster and imprisoned, but was afterwards released without trial; when he came back to Bristol, caused Urrey to be arrested on an action for £10,000 damages, and kept him in Newgate for nearly twenty weeks. This document, which was doubtless a sort of begging letter addressed to the Government, indicates the perilous state of society at that period, when no one, however innocent, was safe against the malignity of an informer or of a private enemy. It is clear that Urrey could produce no evidence in support of his charge against Casbeard, and that the latter must have shown grounds for his action satisfactory to the authorities of the Tolzey Court.

In August, when it was announced that the King and Queen were about to visit Bath for the purpose of drinking the waters, the ultra-royal Corporation of Bristol became immediately solicitous to offer an entertainment to their Majesties. On August 24th, it was resolved to send a deputation to Bath to greet the royal visitors on their arrival, and invite them to this city; and, as a favourable response was anticipated, a committee was appointed to make fitting preparations for their reception. A serious difficulty, however, at once presented itself. The civic treasury was empty, the Corporation were struggling with financial embarrassments, and they do not appear to have ventured on applying to tradesmen for credit. Another meeting was therefore convened for the 28th, when loans

were solicited from individual members, with a promise of repayment and 5 per cent. interest. The Mayor headed the list with £180, and his son, William Cann, followed with £100. Alderman Knight subscribed £110, Aldermen Creswick, Lawford and Yeamans £60 each, and some twenty others various sums, from £50 to £25, the total reaching £1,150. Subsequently, another loan subscription was started for the special purpose of furnishing provisions for the intended banquet, when Thomas Speed and George Bishop, on behalf of the Quakers, offered £100, and Thomas Langton £50, other contributions bringing up the fund to £450. (This fund received additional help from the generosity of the Gloucestershire Society, who had laid in a large store of delicacies for their annual feast, but handed over the whole for the entertainment of the royal visitors.) The first outlay was for a present of wine and sugar, carried to their Majesties at Bath by the Mayor, when he went there with the civic invitation, and which appears to have cost £160. The liberality of the gift was calculated to smooth over difficulties, if any existed, and the King promised a visit on September 5th. Accordingly, on that day their Majesties, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and Prince Rupert, and followed by a glittering crowd of courtiers, were received at Lawford's Gate by the Mayor and members of the Common Council, arrayed in scarlet, when the ancient ceremonies of surrendering and returning the Sword of State were gone through by the respective parties with the usual solemnity. The Recorder having next delivered an address breathing loyal congratulation and welcome, the royal procession started for the city, preceded on horseback by the Mayor, bareheaded, carrying the State Sword. With judicious forethought, the Corporation had concealed all defects in the roadway by a plentiful covering of sand, and the cortège successfully made its way to the Great House at the south end of the Bridge, where a magnificent dinner was in readiness. After the banquet (it may be presumed, though the time of the incident is not recorded), the Mayor presented the Queen with a handsome purse containing 100 guineas of 22s. each, and was graciously thanked. A generous potation followed, an enormous quantity of wine, to the value of £120, having been provided with a thoughtful regard for the capacity of courtly revellers. The King showed his gratification by dubbing four knights, Aldermen Knight and Creswick, William

Cann, son of the Mayor, and Robert Atkyns, son of the Recorder. (Robert Yeamans, one of the Sheriffs, on being sent to Bath in the following week with a complimentary letter, received the same honour.) The Corporation had hoped that their Majesties would spend a night in the city. But neither the King nor Prince Rupert had any desire to revisit the scenes of their youth. The royal party, indeed, had no sooner done justice to the famous "Bristol milk" than they showed a manifest anxiety to depart, and left for Bath within four hours of their arrival, being saluted, as at their coming, by 150 great guns planted in the Marsh. The Corporation hired nine cooks to dress the dinner, and paid them £50 3s. for their services. Pewter dishes and platters were borrowed from seven tradesmen, who received £18 for the accommodation. Perhaps the item most characteristic of Stewart days is:—"Paid Francis Brown, one of the King's servants, *for his fees*, £36 6s."

A letter from William Colston to Secretary Williamson, referring to the above visit, is in the Record Office. Writing on September 19th, the Alderman states that, having been injured by the overthrow of a coach—the first local mention of such a vehicle—he rode with much pain to Lawford's Gate to meet the King. He had prepared his own house for the reception of his correspondent, expecting that His Majesty would have made a longer stay. He had since been to Bath, where Mr. Godolphin reproved him for not offering expected civilities, but he gave the Secretary a horse-load of wines, as the King was to dine with him that day. The real object of the letter, as of several from the same hand amongst the State Papers, was to procure Williamson's help in removing difficulties encountered by Colston's youthful son, Richard, in securing the Consulship at Marseilles, the previous Consul refusing to quit his office. Richard got into possession soon afterwards, and held the post for many years, being eventually knighted for his services.

On September 9th, the local Commissioners for Subsidies, appointed by an Act of that year, consisting of the Mayor, the Sheriffs, four Aldermen and three Councillors, held a meeting to set about the duties confided to them. The Mayor opened the proceedings by producing a letter from the Privy Council, which is of some interest as well in a historical as in a local point of view. Addressing the Commissioners as "our very loving friends," their lordships stated that, the supply for the King having been restored

to the ancient way of subsidies, with which, through long disuse, the public were unacquainted, it was thought proper to let them know that, though the tax was four shillings in the pound on land, and 2s. 8d. on goods, yet that men had not paid ordinarily above the twentieth part of these rates. The tax could not therefore press hardly on any one, but if it were not duly assessed it would not answer the required end. The Commissioners were therefore urged to order a just assessment and a faithful collection. No Commissioner or magistrate, who by law must have land of £20 yearly value, should be assessed for a less sum, as when such persons fairly rated themselves others would cheerfully bear their part. Such proceedings would also give the best proof of good affection, and deserve the King's thanks. Thus exhorted, the meeting appointed assessors for the several wards, who brought in their assessments in the following week, and the Commissioners then proceeded to the delicate task of assessing themselves and the ward assessors. Their decisions were truly remarkable. All the assessments were on goods, and two subsidies—nominally 5s. 4d. in the pound—were to be collected. The goods of the Mayor, Sir Robert Cann, a merchant of great wealth, were adjudged to be worth £10, and he was required to pay £2 13s. 4d. The goods of Sir Henry Creswick, Alderman Lawford and John Knight, three of the most prosperous men in the city, were assessed to be each of the value of £8; those of Sir Robert Yeamans and Sir John Knight were valued at £7; those of Sir Humphrey Hooke at £13, and those of Thomas Langton at £9. These were the plums in the dish. The other Commissioners modestly valued their entire wealth in goods at from £6 to £3 each. William Colston was assessed as being worth only £4. The assessors were, of course, treated with equal leniency; nearly all were assessed at £3 or £4, Andrew Hooke alone being rated on £8. The leading merchants and traders were also tenderly dealt with. Arthur Farmer was the only person assessed to pay on £10, and Richard Vickris was alone in paying on £9; the goods of all the rest were valued at from £8 downwards. It may be regarded as certain that the stocks of many of the above persons were valued at much less than a hundredth part of their value. In February 1664, when assessments had to be made for two more subsidies, the Privy Council sent down a letter expressing great surprise at the pitiful amount collected, which was below what had been returned in times

when the city was far less prosperous; and after plainly expressing their opinion that the Commissioners had acted with partiality, not merely to themselves, but to the chief inhabitants generally, their lordships asked for an improvement in the forthcoming collection. The missive, however, was quietly ignored, and the new assessments were almost invariably the same as before, though some half-dozen householders, assessed on £5 each, were added to the list. This farcical manner of dealing with the tax prevailed in every part of the Kingdom, with the result that each of the above subsidies produced only about a fourth of the amount raised by a subsidy a century earlier. This ancient form of taxation was thenceforth abandoned.

An incident apparently unprecedented at the time, and causing much excitement, occurred in September. Alderman John Pope was elected Mayor, but instead of accepting the honourable post, "he contemptuously and obstinately withdrew himself," says the minute-book, "into secret places," and could by no means be laid hold of. (The offender was a convert from Republicanism, and it is not impossible that the Royalists maliciously sought to force him into an office involving a heavy demand on his purse.) At a subsequent meeting the Council, professing much indignation, fined him £1,000, failing payment of which he was to be imprisoned in Newgate. He was also expelled from the aldermanic bench and from the Chamber, disfranchised as a free burgess, and ordered to be reputed thenceforth as a "foreigner." Sir John Knight was elected chief magistrate. Pope, still in concealment, afterwards petitioned for a hearing, and a committee was appointed to confer with him, assuring him liberty to appear and return without molestation. In the result the culprit signed a bond for £2,000 as security for payment of the fine, but prayed an abatement, and the penalty was reduced to £100, which he paid. He was also re-admitted as a burgess, and later on the Chamberlain was ordered to refund £30 of the fine.

Renewed reports of disaffection and intended revolt in Bristol and the district alarmed the Government in October. In the State Papers is a document endorsed:—"Information concerning the Plot, sent from the Duke of Buckingham to His Majesty," alleging that a rising was being prepared for October 13th, when 7,000 or 8,000 men were to surprise Bristol, with arms and ammunition for ten or twelve days, when they hoped to be masters of the country. Warning.

was forthwith despatched to the deputy-lieutenants by Secretary Bennet (his letter is in the possession of the Rev. J. H. Way, of Henbury), and Bennet was informed by Sir Hugh Smyth on the 14th that two companies of foot would mount guard that night to secure the city, and that next day the regiment would be summoned, though it was imperfect. He and other deputy-lieutenants had been "much slighted by some of Bristol." Sir Humphrey Hooke and his colleagues in the city despatched information as to their precautions on the same day, adding that they had arrested divers persons of ill principles, and asked for instructions for dealing with them, and power to levy contributions for the payment of soldiers. Further intelligence was sent up by Sir Thomas Bridges, of Keynsham, and Sir John Knight, whilst Alderman Cale, the ex-Mayor, seized the opportunity to forward some worthless papers respecting the plot of the previous year, which he had the effrontery to assert was defeated by his vigilance. The panic subsided soon afterwards.

There is some reason to believe that the alleged conspiracy had little other basis than the bitter complaints of injustice wrung from the Nonconformists by the oppression under which they were suffering. In despite of the King's pledges before his restoration, dissenting ministers were forbidden to preach, and their flocks were systematically persecuted by order of the Government. Sir John Knight, just become Mayor, assured Secretary Bennet in October that he would do his utmost to execute the King's pleasure against the sectaries, and had already committed Evans, an ejected minister, who, he wrote, was "the most dangerous Anabaptist that ever lived." He might have added that he had sent another preacher to gaol to keep Evans company. At the following quarter sessions the two prisoners were charged with rioting,—that is, with having gathered more than five persons together, contrary to law,—and they were fined £50 each, and committed to Newgate in default of payment. After remaining in the loathsome prison for nine months, the Sheriffs liberated them on their friends paying 40s. for each. In emulation of the Mayor, Sir Hugh Smyth and Sir Thomas Bridges were harrying the numerous Quakers in North Somerset. Their usual course was to summon prominent Quakers, and command them to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. As the principles of the victims compelled them to refuse, they were forthwith committed to Ilchester gaol. The day after

the King's visit to Bristol, thirty-three of these sufferers petitioned His Majesty for relief, declaring that they were ruined by fines and imprisonment, and that the gaoler's cruelty exposed them to famish; while another Quaker, lying in Bristol gaol, gave the King a candid piece of his mind respecting royal excesses and wantonness, and reproached him with the blood of innocent men who had died, and were dying, in nasty dungeons. It will presently be seen that these cases were but a slight foreshadowing of the persecutions yet to come.

The efforts of the Common Council to procure a confirmation of the old city charters and the concession of additional privileges were recorded at page 306. After much delay, the chief purpose of which seems to have been to wring more money out of the applicants, a royal warrant for the coveted document was signed on December 26th, "for the satisfaction given by the late entertainment of the King and Queen." The instrument, which did not receive the Great Seal until April 22nd, 1664, is of prodigious dimensions, and its cost was enormous. The Town Clerk, who appears to have stayed several months in London attending to its progress, had £400 remitted to him to keep greedy officials in good humour. There is also an item of £50 "remitted to London to be made use of"; and Sir John Knight, in addition to his "wages" as member of Parliament, was paid £426 6s. 8d., "disbursed for the city." The Corporation would probably not have begrudged this outlay had it succeeded in its aims. But the new charter neither disfranchised the freemen nor conferred any of the additional privileges that had been solicited. It was, in fact, simply an unnecessary confirmation of existing rights, the only new feature being a clause levelled at Dissenters, requiring persons elected as Councillors to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

Sir John Knight had entered upon his mayoralty at Michaelmas with a determination to make it long memorable to Nonconformists. Raids on dissenting places of worship began in October, and his worship was able to inform the Privy Council on November 11th that he had dealt effectually with all the conventicles, and committed some of their leading supporters to prison; for which their lordships, on the 16th, returned him "hearty thanks," praying him to continue his vigilance until he had secured all the principal heads of the faction, and made them give heavy bail to answer for their offences at the assizes. The

Mayor soon found a zealous coadjutor in Richard Streamer, one of the Sheriffs. The latter, on December 27th, received the Mayor's instructions to proceed to the Quakers' meeting-house, put a stop to the service, and apprehend some of the members. The directions were promptly obeyed, and the obnoxious oaths having been tendered to three leading Quakers, which they, of course, declined to take, Streamer ordered them off to prison. At this point, John Knight, the sugar refiner, commonly called "junior" to distinguish him from his cousin, the Mayor, offered himself as bail for those in custody, and, being rebuked by the Sheriff for his tenderness to sectaries, retorted upon the official, declaring that he valued him no more than his dog, boxed the ears of some one else, and ultimately drew his sword—a weapon still ordinarily worn by the upper classes. The Sheriff, greatly incensed, soon after complained to the deputy-lieutenants, asking that the Mayor might be rebuked for not treating his namesake with severity, and that the latter should be arrested; whereupon the deputy-lieutenants wrote to Secretary Bennet for instructions, observing that the sugar refiner was a man of full fortune but violent passions. Streamer also besought the Government to punish Knight, and the choleric gentleman was haled before the King in Council in the following February, where, according to a letter of Secretary Bennet, "he had very severe reproof for his misbehaviour," and matters would have "yet passed worse for him" if the Duke of Albemarle had not interposed, and represented his good services at the time of the Restoration. The Minister, in narrating these facts to the Mayor, added:—"His Majesty bade me tell you how much satisfied he is of your care of the good government of his city, and to thank you in his name for it." Elated with this approval, the Mayor made preparations for a grand battue. It was well known that the Quakers held services in a large upstairs apartment in Broadmead (on the site of the present Broadmead Chapel) in the house of one Samuel Tovey. On Sunday, February 28th, 1664, his worship, accompanied by Sir Henry Creswick and others, repaired to this place, where about 300 Quakers were assembled, and commanded them to disperse. Several showing unwillingness to obey, fourteen of the more obstinate were arrested and sent to Newgate. On subsequent Sundays similar scenes took place at the chapels of the Baptists and Independents, after which the pastime was suspended for a while owing to the Mayor's departure

for London to fulfil his duties in Parliament. He there energetically supported the Conventicle Bill brought in by the Government, under which a person thrice convicted of attending a dissenting place of worship was subjected to transportation for seven years, with the confiscation of his property to defray the charge of his removal. Sir John, in expressing his delight at this provision, informed the House of Commons that he hoped to send 400 Quakers out of the land before the end of his mayoralty. The Bill having become law the jubilant knight returned to Bristol to carry out his intended policy, in which he had the assistance of a troop of cavalry, despatched by the Government on that especial service. Early in July, 200 Quakers, caught in their room in Broadmead, were arrested. The man found preaching was sent to gaol for three months; all the rest were ordered to pay fines, and on the refusal of all except nine to produce the money, they were severally committed to prison for a month. A fortnight later the raid was repeated, but owing to the number lying in Newgate only 100 Quakers were assembled. An old acquaintance, Dennis Hollister, was captured on this occasion. Refusing to pay a fine of £4, he was sent to Newgate for six weeks; five others were condemned to a month's incarceration, and all the rest were convicted, but had their sentences respited *in terrorem*. On the three Sundays ending August 14th, the Mayor pursued his prey relentlessly, and committed about thirty, chiefly women, for a week, about forty for three weeks, and a great number for a month. In consequence of the multitude of victims, the condition of the prisons was appalling. Fifty-five women consigned to Bridewell, whose piety was their only offence, had but five beds to lie upon, and two died from the effects of the stench. A renewed onslaught was next made on the other conventicles, and the original Nonconformist body was so persistently harried that it was forced to abandon its meeting-place in the Friars, and assemble in the garrets or cellars of private houses. On one occasion the Mayor captured thirty-one gathered in this way, and consigned all of them to Bridewell for a month. Before the end of his mayoralty Sir John was entitled to boast that he had driven into filthy dungeons about 900 sufferers for conscience sake, who were forced to hoard with criminals of the vilest character. He was succeeded in the civic chair by Alderman John Lawford, who continued to break up the unlawful services, but generally committed only the persons

in whose houses the meetings took place. The outbreak of the Plague in 1665-6, and the moderation of Alderman Willoughby, then Mayor, put a temporary stop to the persecutions.

Evidence has been adduced from the State records that Sir John Knight, in pursuing the course just briefly described, was acting with the express encouragement of the Government, whose ostensible pretext for its policy was its anxiety for the promotion of religion and morality. Nothing need be said here respecting the dissoluteness of the Court, or of the "profane swearing fellows," as Pepys terms them, who composed the bulk of the House of Commons and passed the intolerant Acts against Dissenters. But it is edifying to examine the character of the letters which a Secretary of State was addressing to the magistrates of Bristol whilst applauding their treatment of Quakers and others. Amongst the iniquities that arose after the Restoration was the introduction of fraudulent gambling establishments licensed by the Government. Gangs of knaves were empowered to prowl about the kingdom, setting up what they styled lotteries, and reaping enormous profits out of the credulous public, a portion of the spoil being handed over to high officials at Court to secure a continuance of the privilege. Secretary Williamson seems to have been deeply interested in those secret transactions, for letters in the Record Office show that he sent repeated requests to Bristol for magisterial sanction of the lotteries at the great local fairs. In reply to one of these missives, Alderman Cale promised to forward any of the lotteries except that called the Royal Oak, which he said "broke half the cashiers [people with cash] in Bristol" at its previous visit. But the Royal Oak swindle was one under Williamson's protection, and after being again pressed, Cale wrote a few days later that he had prevailed on the Mayor to sanction the Royal Oak lottery during Paul's fair, and that the leave might be extended, though when it was last in the city many young men ruined themselves, and his own son lost £50. In the following month Cale stated that the Mayor was anxious to comply with the Secretary's desire to have the lottery prolonged, but some of the Aldermen had opposed him. Rarely losing an opportunity to calumniate his colleagues, Cale, as he had done in the previous letter, prayed for the prosecution of John Knight (junior), who, he said, had gone to London, to join Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans, men of

similar bad principles, and enemies of the late King! The libeller sent up another dispatch to the same effect three days later. The Mayor next sought to curry favour with the Minister by acknowledging Williamson's letters on behalf of the lottery men, who had been permitted to practise for three weeks, and would, he said, be allowed to continue for some time longer. They were, he added, five months in the city in the previous year, though the cry of the poorer sort was great against them, and they were clearly against law. Williamson next requested still further license for the sharpers, and the Mayor, on February 24th, promised to "obey his commands."

The predominance of the Royalists in local affairs was so complete that they found it necessary to seek excitement in hurling offensive charges against each other. Worthless as was the character of Alderman Cale, he was outrivalled as a calumniator by Richard Ellsworth, of apprentice fame. Writing to Secretary Bennet on February 15th, the Customer forwarded some papers alleged to have been obtained from one of the ruined Quakers, whom he had bribed, he said, to tell what passed at their meetings. He went on to assert, in defiance of facts already recorded, that owing to magisterial lack of vigilance, the sect was able to meet thrice a week in a house opposite to the Mayor's (in Temple Street), thus insinuating that Knight was not doing his duty. Some Quakers and Baptists had, he admitted, been sent to prison; but one of the Sheriffs had been so weak as to order the gaoler to let the chief culprits go abroad to take the air. This lenity he attributed to the prisoners being cherished by Sir Robert Cann, Sir Robert Yeamans and others. John Knight (junior) and Yeamans had moreover been active against the King, and were still abetting factions in the city. No doubt they would pretend that they were entitled to the credit of raising the apprentices in 1660, but "they had no hand in it," the writer claiming all the glory of the riot as exclusively his own. In the following month, whilst the Mayor was harrying the Dissenters every Sunday, Ellsworth wrote again to the Secretary—obviously in the interest of a congenial libeller, the office-seeker Rycaut—denouncing his worship and the Town Clerk for disaffection. The cream of this correspondence, however, is to be found in Cale's petition to the King for the reversion of a Tellership of the Exchequer, one of the richest offices in the gift of the Crown. The application was founded on alleged losses

during the war, and on exertions to drive suspected persons out of the Corporation, by which the petitioner had "contracted much envy and malice"—which was true in a sense that the writer did not mean to convey. In 1669 the Common Council pardoned a debt due from Cale, owing to his poverty, and granted him a yearly pension of £40 for life. After his death, in 1672, a pension of £30 was voted to his widow.

Unexpected information respecting the ancient hospital of St. Catherine, near Bedminster, has been found in the State Papers for April, 1664. One John Borcel petitioned the King to have the government of the hospital, with power to bring to account Francis Nevil, who, being Master of the place thirty years previously, had illegally demolished it, and converted the lands and goods to his own use. Annexed to the document is a report from the Archbishop of Canterbury in favour of the applicant. The King accordingly granted the Mastership to Borcel, together with all arrears due to the hospital. The petition was probably drawn up under false information, and its success can have been of little avail. The Nevil family held a grant of the estate from the Crown, and disposed of the site of the hospital to Sir Hugh Smyth so early as 1605. A glass-house and afterwards a saw-yard occupied the ground in the eighteenth century. Some of the ruined buildings were afterwards divided into miserable hovels, and eventually, in 1887, the site was entirely cleared previous to the construction of a vast tobacco manufactory.

Two ordinances passed by the Council in April raise a suspicion that grave irregularities had arisen in the local administration of justice. It was decreed that the Town Clerk and Under-Sheriff, under pain of forfeiting £100 each, should make arrangements for the regular holding of autumn assizes. Under the same penalty every Mayor for the time being was required to provide for the sitting of the court of quarter sessions, as "being of great concernment to good government."

As has been remarked, the King's concession of a new charter had proved a bitter disappointment. The Corporation, in applying for it, had sought for power to compel wealthy inhabitants to become freemen, in order that they might be qualified for election as Councillors, and also to fine them heavily if they refused to serve; but these powers had not been conceded. Appeals for royal help were consequently made through private channels, and at a

meeting of the Privy Council on September 8th, their lordships drew up a letter to the Corporation, which was produced at a special meeting of the Chamber, held in the Guildhall, preliminary to the annual elections. Evading the corporate desire to persecute non-freemen, the Government's language in reference to burgesses was satisfactory enough. Their lordships stated they had been informed that several persons of quality and ability, nominated Aldermen and Councillors, had refused to do His Majesty service in their places, to the great prejudice of good government, and that it was surmised they intended to again absent themselves at the approaching elections, to avoid being chosen to the chief offices. The King felt very sensible of such neglect and contempt, which might lead to the subversion of the civic body, and now expressly commanded that no one should presume to absent himself at the approaching elections, when more than ordinary care should be taken to choose men of integrity and ability, or refuse to take office if elected. The names of any wilfully disobeying this mandate were ordered to be sent up to the Government. Probably through dread as to the consequences of further resistance, nearly all those who had been elected Councillors, but had refused to take their seats, attended this meeting, and six of them, including John Knight (junior), Richard Hart, Alexander Jackson and John Aldworth, submitted, and took the oaths. Thomas Moore and Shershaw Cary prayed to be excused; and, on their appeal being rejected, flatly refused to swallow the test oaths. Joseph Creswick pleaded that he was not qualified, being a non-freeman, and declined to accept the freedom when offered to him. One more, Thomas Cale, was dismissed on his own petition. Alexander James, who had been elected an Alderman, did not appear, and was afterwards dismissed. The result of these proceedings was testified three days later, at the annual elections, the members on the roll having swollen to forty-eight, or five in excess of the legal number, and forty-five were actually present. It will be seen later on that the unreasoning perversity of the civic leaders on this point afforded the Government an unanswerable pretext for demanding the surrender of the city's liberties.

The Admiralty gave orders about this time for the building, at Bristol, of a royal frigate of fifty-two guns, to be named the *St. Patrick*. The first mention of this ship of war occurs in the State Papers of January, 1665, when one Adams, the naval agent, acquainted his employers of a diffi-

culty respecting anchors. Good iron from the Forest of Dean, he said, was procurable at £16 per ton,—equivalent in modern currency to about £50,—but the local blacksmiths would not contract for the great anchors, having no workshops fitted to make them. Perhaps the smiths had another reason for holding aloof, for Adams adds that they had asked how they would be paid if they undertook the work. Evidence will be produced hereafter as to the scandalous treatment of local shipbuilders by the Government of Charles II. A frigate was also being constructed at Lydney in 1665, and the naval agent there applied to the authorities for power to impress shipwrights at Bristol. In March, Sir William Coventry sent a letter to Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, eminently characteristic of the age. Sir John Knight, he wrote, had taken up the *George*, of Bristol, for the service of the Board, and as the ship would carry twenty guns she would need a good complement of men. "It will be a way to get volunteers in that sea, and being thus trepanned they can be used other ways." Sir John Knight was then, and for several subsequent years, an active agent of the Admiralty, and was nearly always begging for money to carry out his instructions. On April 19th, he informed the Navy Board that the *George* had departed, with 226 able seamen; so that the trepanning had been successful. A week later, he reported that he had impressed many more sailors, but was afraid they would run away, as he had no place for their detention. A warrant to press four hundred additional seamen was sent to him in the following month.

The Corporation, in March, having been informed that the Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward, would soon arrive in the city on his way to Dublin as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, arranged that his grace should be suitably entertained in Sir Henry Creswick's mansion at the city's expense, and a committee was appointed to prepare for his reception. The Duke did not reach Bristol, however, until the end of August. After receiving a royal salute, his grace descended at the Council House, where the city fathers, arrayed in scarlet, were assembled to do him honour. A mighty entertainment followed, the outlay on which exceeded £150. Westphalian hams and tongues, specially sent for from London, were novel and costly items of the banquet, while as regards liquor, including a separate provision for the ducal retinue, about two hundred gallons of wine were purchased and doubtless consumed. From references to the state of the Corporation to be found in pre-

ceding pages, it is not surprising to learn from Ormond's biographer that the Duke discovered the city to be "divided into factions, and ready to break out into tumults." He consequently prolonged his visit for four days with the object of conciliating the hostile cliques—probably with little success. He then departed, *via* Gloucester, for Milford Haven.

Owing to the scarcity and high price of corn, the exportation of grain was temporarily prohibited, but licenses to evade the royal order could generally be obtained "for a consideration." William Colston, writing to Secretary Williamson in February, prayed for a permit for his small ship, *The Angel Gabriel*, which he wished to despatch with a grain cargo to Portugal; and bluntly offered the Minister £10 to have the license quickly. Some delay occurring—perhaps Williamson was looking for a larger gratification—Colston fired off a second letter, hoping that he would not be denied the favour of sending a ship of eight men, when others had been granted leave to despatch vessels of thirty men. The Secretary's reply is missing. It will be noticed that Mr. Colston had named his little bark after the famous Bristol vessel of the then popular ballad (see p. 99).

Some interesting facts respecting a renewed dispute between the Levant Company of London and the Merchant Venturers' Society of Bristol occur about this time in the minutes of the Privy Council. As is mentioned in page 65, the Levant Company claimed a monopoly of trade in Eastern Europe, but were required by the Government in 1618 to permit Bristolians "on trial for three years" to import a small quantity of dried fruit, on paying a royalty of 6s. 8d. per ton. For some unknown reason, the London confederacy took no further steps in the matter, permitting the Bristol merchants to continue their traffic, without any restriction as to its dimensions, and even neglecting to demand the royalty reserved to them. Suddenly, in the spring of 1665, when local commerce with the fruit islands had largely developed, the Levant Company made vehement complaints to the Privy Council against those invasions on the monopoly, and their lordships ordered the Mayor of Bristol, on April 28th, to give notice to those concerned to appear before them in the following month. The Merchants' Society, apparently in much alarm, petitioned for further time to defend themselves, and from various causes, especially from the interruption of Council meetings during the Great Plague, the matter was not brought to a hearing until

May 23rd, 1666, by which time the Merchant Venturers had recovered their courage, and stoutly pleaded their chartered privileges. The case of the respective parties was heard before the King himself, and, after a deliberation, the Council pronounced a formal order that no impositions should thenceforth be demanded by the Levant Company from any Bristol merchants trading to Venice or Zante, for the goods of those places only. Although this decree debarred Bristolians from Turkey, they hailed it with intense satisfaction as a signal triumph over their grasping rivals.

The terrible pestilence known as the Great Plague broke out in London in December, 1664, but does not appear to have excited much local apprehension until the following June, when, in view of the approaching St. James's fair, the Corporation appealed to the Privy Council for a proclamation prohibiting its being held during the current year, and by dint of spending £24 in gratuities at Court the required order was secured. On the 19th the Chamber passed a series of resolutions in the hope of barring out the disease. All the householders in turn were to keep watch and ward at the entrances to the city, armed with halberts. No Londoner was to be admitted unless he brought a certificate of health, and goods sent from the capital were to be aired thirty days before passing through the Gates. But there is no evidence that anything was attempted of a sanitary character. Towards the close of the year the scourge was fatally prevalent in Bedminster and in the suburb outside Lawford's Gate; and the Council, in great alarm, ordered that a Pest House should be constructed near Baptist Mills on some land known by the strange name of Forlorn Hope. The "filthiness of the streets" is now admitted in the minute-book, which contains an order for the removal of vast heaps of noisome refuse in eight different parishes. Isolated cases of plague occurred in Horse Street, Pile Street, Tucker Street, Redcliff Street, and St. Philip's parish, the infected families being severally shut up in their houses, or removed to the Pest House, and supplied with food. A rate was levied monthly on the citizens for these purposes, and a considerable sum was also contributed by the Chamber. A Privy Council order was afterwards issued forbidding the holding of St. Paul's fair. The epidemic lingered on until the following summer. In April, 1666, the Corporation ordered the levying of £450 by a rate for relieving necessitous families suffering from the infec-

tion, and another rate for the same purpose was ordered in August. The total mortality due to the pestilence is not recorded. In reference to the Plague in London, an account has been preserved of the funds subscribed in provincial towns and sent up for the relief of poor families. The total amount was £1,258, of which Bristol contributed £205, Exeter £222, and Taunton £155.

Owing to the decay of the Navy under the restored monarchy, ruinous losses were sustained by Bristol merchants during the war with Holland. There are many papers on the subject in the Record Office. Sir John Knight, writing to the Navy Board in July, reported that five more ships belonging to the port had been captured, at a loss to the citizens of £30,000. Hardly a ship, he added, escaped the enemy. On the other hand, the almost total suspension of business in London, caused by the long-continued pestilence, gave a marked impetus to local commerce. In September, a fleet of twenty-four Bristol ships was expected home from Virginia, and in November a letter sent to London reported that thirty merchantmen had just sailed from the Avon for the West Indies, and that half as many more would follow in a few days. In July, 1666, letters to Secretary Williamson announced the safe arrival of the Bristol fleets from Virginia and Barbadoes, the former embracing nineteen ships laden with tobacco and four with sugar and cotton, while the latter comprised thirteen vessels, chiefly laden with sugar. The writer added that they were in time for the fair, and rejoiced the town, which had lately sustained so heavy a loss in the capture of the Nevis ships, worth £50,000. (No other record of this disaster has been found, but there is a note that six Barbadoes ships were lost about the same time.) The Customs duties derived from the above arrivals amounted to what was then regarded as the stupendous sum of £30,000. In October the Secretary was informed by a Bridgwater correspondent that the Bristol merchants were making vast profits on their imports, having taken advantage of the destruction of London stocks by the great fire to demand exorbitant prices. A Bristol letter of the same month stated that thirty ships were preparing to return to Virginia and Barbadoes, but would carry slender cargoes, Bristol goods being bought so cheap and selling so dear that a small quantity brought in a large return.

Notwithstanding the purification of the Common Council from Puritan elements, the Government seem to have put

little trust in the test oaths that had been imposed on the members, and, probably with the help of Ellsworth, kept a vigilant eye on local affairs. A few days before the annual elections, the King, through Lord Arlington, sent down a mandate expressing his displeasure at the contrivances of disaffected persons to disturb the good government of the city, and requested that men of fidelity might be chosen as officers, and especially that the Mayor should be selected from the aldermanic body, and not from the councillors. The Chamber, of course, obeyed, and placed Alderman Willoughby in the civic chair on September 15th.

On the following day, at quarter sessions, seven of the Aldermen, Messrs. Lawford, Willoughby, Creswick, Locke, Sandy and Morgan, and Sir John Knight, were able to manifest the "good affection, prudence and fidelity" so much esteemed by the King. Six men and three women were indicted for having taken part in Nonconformist services, after having been twice before convicted of the same crime. After being found guilty, the Recorder, as chairman of the Court, condemned them to be transported to Barbadoes for the term of seven years, with a warning that, if they escaped and returned to England, and did not pay down £100 each for such offence, they would be hanged as felons, with confiscation of goods. A warrant, ordering the proper officer to embark the prisoners forthwith on board ship, was then signed by the justices. A copy of this order is preserved at the Council House. There is reason to believe that some of these victims escaped the tender mercies of the law. In the Colonial State Papers is a singular document, dated January 7th, 1665 (the new year then began in March), entitled a "certificate," signed by eight of the crew of the ship *Mary Fortune*, of Bristol. It states that in December three Quakers were brought to their ship for transportation, but that the writers durst not carry away innocent persons, and were persuaded the King did not wish to make void the Act that Englishmen should not be carried abroad without their own consent. Moreover, there was a law in Barbadoes forbidding persons to be brought there against their wills, and requiring them to be carried home again. They had, therefore, put these men ashore. How the tars were treated for this honourable insubordination does not appear.

By an order of the Common Council, the ancient Court Leet of the city, which had been discontinued for many years, was revived in October. A sitting took place in each

ward, and complaints were made in the form of presentments. One of the juries bestowed practical approval on the ducking-stool, for the Chamberlain was presented for not keeping it in repair. The same official was also censured for neglecting the two "washing slips" near the Weir—that is, the places where women gathered to wash clothes by the river-side, a practice still common in French country towns. A man living in or near Castle Street was presented for roofing his house with thatch. At the Court held in 1666 two men were presented for having made haystacks at the back of their houses—one in Hallier Lane (Nelson Street), and the other in the Old Market. In All Saints' ward, four men were presented for selling "coffey" and ale without a license—the first mention of coffee-houses, afterwards very common. The churchwardens of All Saints' were complained of "for not mending the place where the play is in Christmas Street, being very much decayed"—the only explanation of which seems to be that some building for theatrical purposes had been erected there. The roadway in Castle Street was pronounced to be ruinous and deep in filth through the neglect of the Chamberlain, while Sir John Knight and Mr. Colston were presented for defective pitching in front of their property.

Excepting only the poll-tax, the impost known as hearth money was the most unpopular ever sanctioned by Parliament. The duty was leviable upon every dwelling that had more than two chimneys, and the rapacious men who "farmed" it were entitled to enter houses whenever they had a suspicion that fire-places were concealed, and to seize even the bed of a labourer if he refused, or was unable, to pay the tax on demand. In spite of the notorious brutality of the collectors, the Government invariably supported the farmers in their efforts to increase their profits. In November, 1665, the Privy Council addressed a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen, complaining that some of the justices (who had power to grant certificates of exemption in certain cases) made undue use of this privilege to favour people liable to the duty, wherewith His Majesty was much dissatisfied, and required amendment for the future. The answer of the magistrates is not recorded; but at a later period their worships sent a long letter to the Privy Council, stating that they had given the utmost assistance in securing payment of the tax, but that the farmer and his officers had exacted it from persons clearly exempt, seizing even the miserable chattels of people begging from door to door, and

the working tools of poor labourers. They had proposed to the farmer that a return should be drawn up of all houses liable to pay, and of those free from the duty, but this was not complied with; lists were brought in by the officers that included many exempt dwellings, and the Clerk of the Peace had been menaced for refusing to return them to the Exchequer. "The cry of the poor is so great that we are inforced to lay their complaints before your honours." The justices concluded by hoping that the compassion shown to the poor of some other places would be extended to those of this city; but there is no evidence that relief was afforded. In September, 1667, a local agent of the Government informed Secretary Williamson that the collectors caused much murmuring by purposely going to demand the tax when they knew persons were from home, breaking into their houses, seizing goods, and then making the owners pay double duty to redeem them. They had, he added, so served the Dean of Bristol (Dr. Glemham), when he was dining with the Mayor. In 1671 one of the civic sergeants—a miserably paid class of men—had his furniture seized for nonpayment of the tax, and happening to have the Sword-bearer's state apparel in his custody, the Chamberlain was forced to come to the rescue.

The Lord's Day being much profaned by barbers shaving their customers, an ordinance was passed in November prohibiting the practice, a penalty of £10 being imposed on every master, and one of £5 on every journeyman, detected in the commission of this profanity. Any master allowing his apprentice to shave on Sunday was to be fined £5 for each offence.

About 120 Dutchmen, doubtless captured in the victory over the Dutch fleet in June, were brought here towards the close of the year, and were lodged in the crypt under Redcliff church, or possibly in a portion of the great caverns still existing in that locality. The Corporation was thrifty in providing for their accommodation, a load of straw and fifty bed mats, costing £4 7s. 8d., being all that was furnished. No charge for food is recorded. The men were immured in this dungeon until the following April, when £18 were disbursed for conveying them to Chepstow Castle.

On Christmas Day, a number of Quaker tradesmen thought proper to manifest their principles, or, as Secretary Williamson's correspondent put it, "to shew their contempt of authority," by keeping open their places of

business. Some soldiers of Lord Oxford's regiment, however, were stationed in the city, and dealt with them so brutally that they lost no time in bringing their manifestation to a close. The news was forwarded to the Minister as an excellent joke. The real character of the pleasantries is revealed in a record of the persecuted sect, which states that three of the tradesmen were tied neck and heels, with heavy weights laid on their backs, and were not released until the punishment threatened to end in their murder.

During the year, Mr. Marmaduke Rawdon, a York merchant, made a tour in the West of England—then a very unusual enterprise—and kept an interesting diary of his experiences, which was reproduced by the late Camden Society. Of Bristol he wrote:—"In this city are many proper men, but very few handsome women, and most of them ill-bred; being generally, men and women, very proud, not affable to strangers, but rather much admiring themselves; so that an ordinary fellow who is but a freeman of Bristol, conceits himself to be as grave as a senator of Rome, and very sparing of his hat, insomuch that their preachers have told them of it in the pulpit. They use in the city most sleds to carry their goods, and the drivers such rude people that they will have their horses upon a stranger's back before he be aware." Mr. Rawdon stayed about five weeks in the district owing to the Plague raging in London, and must have been a person of some reputation, as he was entertained by the Sheriffs, the Collector of Customs, and several "gentlemen and merchants of quality." Before leaving, he gave a parting feast to all his friends at the then noted Star tavern.

A letter from the Privy Council to the Mayor and Aldermen, dated February 8th, 1666, announced that, in consequence of the outbreak of war with France, the Government required powerful and speedy supplies of seamen. The justices were therefore directed to procure the names and addresses of every sailor, and of every able man that had formerly gone to sea, and to deliver such lists to the Press Masters, to the end that on those officers leaving a shilling at the house of an absent seaman, the man should be deemed impressed, and compelled to serve. Any one absenting himself on his return home was to be sent to prison. Another royal mandate was issued on February 14th, setting forth that the Parliament in voting a supply had permitted the raising of part of the money by way of loans, a course which the King now recommended

to the Mayor, asking him to promote subscriptions, which should be repaid. The Council appointed a committee to further this service. Its proceedings are not recorded, but references to the matter in the corporate books show that the bulk, if not the whole, of the money collected was not raised by voluntary subscriptions, but was levied by forced rates upon all the householders. The sum demanded was £200 monthly, and was exacted for three years. Of this amount, omitting shillings and pence, St. Nicholas's parish contributed £30; St. Thomas' £26, St. Stephen's and St. James' £14 each, and the other parishes smaller amounts, the least being St. Ewen's and St. Philip's which each paid £3 a month. The burden, coming as an addition to the rates for relieving the poor and the Plague-stricken, was so onerous that many inhabitants sought to evade it by removing into the country; but the Council promptly announced, through the bellman, that no one should be allowed to depart without giving security for the payment of the imposts.

The yearly proclamations of the Protectorate Government prohibiting the culture of tobacco in the West of England continued to be issued after the Restoration, but as before were ineffectual. In March the Privy Council, in a letter to the Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, stated that, from information received, the quantity of the root then growing in the county was greater than in any previous year, and that some of the cultivators, in resisting the King's officers, had declared they would rather lose their lives than obey the law. The Lord-Lieutenant was ordered to make use of the militia to reduce the mutineers, and was promised the assistance of a troop of cavalry. A despatch was sent on the same day to the judges of assize at Gloucester, urging them to see the law put in execution, and to censure the local magistrates for their remissness. As the Council issued similar orders in the following year, it is clear that the cultivation was still unchecked, to the great annoyance of Bristol merchants interested in the American trade, who naturally disliked home competition. In the State Papers of August, 1667, is a representation to the Government from local firms respecting this grievance, pointing out imperfections in the Act prohibiting domestic culture. The plant, it was alleged, was grown throughout Gloucestershire, even on the estates of magistrates, whose interest forbade them to interfere, as they received half the profits in the shape of rent. Probably in response to this

appeal for more vigorous measures, a considerable body of the King's guards was sent down to assist in the destruction of the plantations.

On April 3rd, the Common Council, on the petition of John Harvy, stone-cutter, who offered to present the city with a statue of the King, admitted him as a freeman, provided he gave a bond "not to paynt any work but his own proper work," from which it might be inferred that he was really a painter. The Chamberlain subsequently paid £1 for erecting the figure in the Tolzey, and £2 5s. for "work done about it." In course of time, Mr. Harvy repented of his generosity, for in June, 1668, upon his petition, the Council ordered £15 to be paid to him "for the King's effigies." This poor piece of statuary, which one of the King's mistresses is said to have condemned as "more like a great clumsy porter" than His Majesty, is still preserved in the Guildhall.

Amongst the State Papers in May is an account of the time spent in carrying the mails on the chief routes throughout the country. Although the speed fixed by the Government for the post-boys was seven miles an hour in the summer months, the actual rate attained on the Bristol, Chester and York roads was only four miles, and was half a mile less on the Gloucester and Plymouth routes. An appended note states that a man spent seventeen or eighteen hours in riding from Winchester to Southampton! In December, Lord Arlington complained to the postal authorities that the King's letters from Bristol and other towns were delayed from ten to fourteen hours beyond the proper time, and ordered that the postmasters should be threatened with dismissal unless they reformed. No improvement, however, was effected for more than half a century.

Francis Baylie, the builder of the frigate *St. Patrick*, succeeded in launching the ship from the Marsh early in May. Some rejoicing took place on the occasion, the Corporation inviting many of the country gentry to witness the spectacle, and liberally entertained them. (The frigate was taken in the following January by two Dutch privateers.) The *St. David* frigate, of 64 guns, built at Lydney, ought to have been finished about the same time, but the builder could obtain neither money nor materials from the Government, and complained that the keel would be rotten before the ship was completed. She was, however, launched in the following year, and was brought:

down to Kingroad to be fitted, but lay long unfinished, the workmen vainly clamouring for wages. The builder informed the Admiralty in July that he was unable to relieve the distress of his family, whilst the poor shipwrights were being daily thrown into prison for debt, and everyone was upon him for money. Upwards of 500 sailors were impressed in Bristol to man this and other vessels.

A piece of sharp practice on the part of the Corporation of Bath came to the ears of the Bristol authorities in June, although, singularly enough, the only reference to the matter has been found in the minutes of the Privy Council. On June 27th their lordships received a petition from the Corporation, stating that they had received information that the civic body at Bath had secretly instigated "some few clothiers" to memorialise the King, praying for the removal for the present year of St. James's fair from Bristol to Bath, alleging the prevalence of Plague in the former city. This assertion was stigmatised as false, no fresh case of the disease having occurred for ten days, while none were suffering from it except those immured in a remote Pest House. A number of other reasons were adduced against any interference with ancient privileges, and the Privy Council at once gave orders that the fair should be held at the usual place.

After an interval of inactivity, the Common Council in September began a new crusade against the "foreigners" carrying on trade within the city. A stranger who had ventured to open a shop in Castle Street was ordered to pay £5 "for his contempt," but the money was never recovered. An ordinance was also fulminated against all interloping persons carrying on arts and trades, setting forth that divers persons by subtle and sinister means were "defrauding the charters," to the great hurt of the freemen, and ordaining that after Michaelmas Day no such intruders should offer or sell any wares whatsoever, or use any art, trade or handicraft in any house or shop, on pain of forfeiting £20 for each offence, one third of which was to be given to the informer. Persons bringing in victuals, or selling fire-wood in St. Thomas's Market, were alone exempted from the decree. In February, 1667, the magistrates, acting upon an older ordinance, which the Merchants' Society had urgently prayed the Council to put in execution, took vigorous action. A ship belonging to strangers (probably London men) had brought in a cargo of sugar and molasses, some of which, instead of being carried to the

Back Hall, according to local law, had been sold by a Londoner and put on board a Swansea vessel. The justices, deciding that these goods were "foreign bought and foreign sold," ordered the Sheriffs to seize them forthwith, and to defend any action brought for their recovery at the expense of the city.

A great panic occurred at the Council House in September, through the outbreak of a fire in the adjoining house, standing at the corner of Broad and Corn Streets. The Chamberlain munificently distributed half a crown amongst "those that did help me down with the books and boxes out of my office," and bestowed twenty shillings' worth of liquor upon some "that took extraordinary pains to quench the fire," which fortunately did little damage.

At a meeting of the Council in November, it was announced that Sir Henry Creswick, who had sued the Corporation, and obtained judgment, for money advanced by him, apparently many years before, had distrained upon several citizens to recover his claim. The Chamber, which seems to have made no defence to the action, now proposed that the matter should be settled by arbitration, to which Creswick consented, and William Colston and Isaac Morgan were appointed arbitrators. From some unexplained cause this arrangement broke down, and three months later Creswick obtained a decree in Chancery for the payment of £134 and costs. A new reference to umpires followed, and the Corporation finally paid £160 in full of all demands.

Disaffection was still very prevalent in the West of England, and the state of public feeling in Bristol and Somerset was especially disquieting to the Court. In the State Papers is a letter written by Richard Dutton, an old Cavalier, to Colonel Pigott, reporting that on December 4th a party of horse had marched towards Bristol, through the town where he lived, two miles from the city, and that on the Mayor and deputy-lieutenants being apprised, the inns were searched for suspicious persons. He added that the city was so disaffected that there were not sufficient active honest persons to make the search effectual. He knew only of himself and three others out of 20,000 in the town who had served the late King as general officers. The inhabitants, he added, should not be left to do as they pleased, without a good guard of soldiers.

On January 23rd, 1667, the Privy Council considered a petition of "Thomas Thomas and all other booksellers and paper sellers in Bristol," stating that the stoppage of the

importation of paper from France, owing to the war, had caused great hindrance to trade, and praying that they might have a license for two small vessels to bring paper from Normandy. Their lordships thought the request reasonable, and authorized the Duke of York to issue the license. Except coarse material for packing purposes, no paper was then made in England; and in 1688 the expedition of the Prince of Orange brought with it the Dutch paper upon which the Deliverer's proclamations were printed at Exeter. Thanks to Huguenot emigrants, paper mills were opened in this country in 1690.

An unexampled humiliation to England—the triumphant entrance of the Dutch fleet into the Medway—was little calculated to increase the popularity of the Government. On June 17th, 1677, the Mayor (Sir Thomas Langton), Sir Henry Creswick and William Colston, addressing Secretary Williamson, narrated the steps they had taken on learning of the disaster. The militia had been put in a good posture, and all letters coming by post addressed to persons suspected of disloyalty had been opened, in the hope of making discoveries. One of these missives was enclosed. It was from a man named Mansell, in London, to Hugh Parry, merchant, Bristol Castle, and stated that at present “the great business must lie dormant. There is such a general exclamation against two great men that it is not safe for them to go about the streets.” Parry was examined by the magistrates, but nothing could be extracted from him.

As it was notorious that the calamitous state of the Navy was due to the profligate extravagance of the King, the moment was not a favourable one for placing money unreservedly in his hands. On July 9th, however, a royal letter was laid before the Common Council, in which the danger of the country and the necessity of defensive measures were adduced as reasons which should inspire all loyal subjects to make a voluntary liberal offer of what they could afford, by way of loan. A subscription was opened, but the Council displayed little enthusiasm. The Mayor and Sir Henry Creswick gave £50 each, Sir John Knight £100, and five others contributed £100 amongst them. The rest held aloof. How the appeal was received by the citizens does not appear.

Several fires having occurred since the alarm at the Tolzey, and the appalling devastation of London having struck general terror, the Council were moved to renew the often revived and always neglected ordinance for the provision of

a plentiful supply of water buckets. In August, for better preservation from fire, and for the apprehension of disorderly persons, it was resolved that the night watchmen should be discharged, and their duties imposed upon the householders personally, by turns. The resolution had hardly been passed before it was found to be unworkable. Early in September the old system was re-established, and able-bodied householders were offered the alternative of watching in person or providing a substitute as their turn of duty came round. A few months later, it was discovered that many members of the Council had ignored the order for fire buckets, whereupon the Swordbearer was ordered to make a general visitation, and to inform against defaulters. In November, 1668, the Chamber resolved on the purchase of another fire engine, and gave orders for a profuse supply of buckets, it being determined that the Corporation should provide 70, the Parochial Vestries 208, the Dean and Chapter 24, and the Trading Companies 146, whilst requisitions for several hundreds more were made on the principal inhabitants. As soon as the alarm subsided, the resolution was treated as so much waste paper.

A curious example of the practice of kidnapping human beings for transportation to America is recorded in the minutes of the Court of Aldermen in July. The justices note that one Dinah Black had lived for five years as servant to Dorothy Smith, and had been baptised, and wished to live under the teaching of the Gospel; yet her mistress had recently caused her to be put aboard a ship, to be conveyed to the plantations. Complaint having been made, Black had been rescued, but her mistress (who had doubtless sold her) refused to take her back; and it was therefore ordered that she should be free to earn her living until the case was heard at the next quarter sessions. The Sessions Book has perished. From the peculiar manner in which she is described, it may be assumed that Dinah was a negro woman captured on the African coast, and had lived as a slave in Bristol.

The malicious disposition of Richard Ellsworth has been noticed in previous pages. At this period his evil nature induced him to cast insinuations against the honesty of Sir John Knight, who, whatever might be thought of his treatment of Dissenters, enjoyed a high reputation for probity and capacity as a man of business, and was frequently employed as an agent of the Admiralty. Ellsworth's earlier calumnies against Sir John have been lost,

but on July 31st he informed Secretary Williamson that he was enabled to confirm his previous hints. If, he adds, Sir John holds shares with the buyers of the King's prizes, which he will not deny that he does, there is great suspicion that his appraisements will be too low. This is all he is able to adduce in support of his charges, and he concludes by praying that he be not named as the informer, as that would render him incapable of doing further service. The Navy Board appear to have disregarded the libeller, for Knight continued to act as their agent both at Bristol and Plymouth.

Intelligence of a serious disaster arrived from Virginia in August. Nine Bristol ships and nine other English vessels, together with a royal frigate, had been attacked in the James River by a large Dutch man-of-war, and completely destroyed, inflicting a heavy loss on local merchants and shipowners. A richly laden fleet from Barbadoes arrived safely in Kingroad a few months later; but one of the ships, the Royal Charles, belonging to Bristolians, capsized in Broad Pill, and all the cargo, save some cotton and wool, was practically lost.

The possession of a unique statue of Charles II. being insufficient to satisfy the Council's admiration of his most religious Majesty, an order was given to William Starre, arms painter, for a suitable portrait to adorn the Council Chamber. Mr. Starre received £4 10s. in November for his production. After this art treasure had been enjoyed for seven years, a house-painter was paid £8 "for gilding his Majesty's picture," meaning presumably the frame. The work is still in the Council House.

The important character of Bristol trade with Newfoundland and the Peninsula is shown by a petition presented to the Privy Council on December 6th on behalf of the Merchants' Society and several local shipowners. The petitioners, in praying for the better protection of Newfoundland against the French and Dutch cruisers, who threatened to destroy their trade, asserted that the Customs duties paid at Bristol on the wine, oil, and fruit brought in from Spain, Portugal and Italy, in exchange for the fish they carried to those countries, amounted to £40,000 yearly.

A few days later, the Privy Council were called on to consider the griefs of another party of Bristol merchants. These applicants stated that during the late war with the Dutch the enemy had captured six of their ships laden with 3,300 hogsheads of tobacco in 1665 and 1666, while in 1667

nine ships, with 6,000 hogsheads, had been taken and burnt in the James River disaster. On all this tobacco an impost of 2s. 3d. per hhd. had been levied by the Governor of Virginia,—professedly for the erection of fortifications, though no such works had been built,—and the petitioners prayed that the money might be refunded. The Council promised an inquiry, but there is no evidence that relief was afforded. In November, 1670, Sir John Knight asserted in the House of Commons that of the 6,000 tons of shipping possessed by Bristol, one half was employed in the importation of tobacco.

During the year, the members of the Quaker congregation worshipping in the upstairs room in Broadmead, mentioned in previous notes, resolved on building a large meeting-house “on the ground.” A difference of opinion having arisen as to the most eligible site, the matter was decided by the casting of lots, and the choice fell upon Dennis Hollister’s property—the remains of the old Dominican Friary. Whilst the chapel was under construction, the society made an agreement with the porter of Newgate, whereby he was paid 5s. quarterly “for his pains and love in opening the Gate to Friends” attending service on Sundays. This payment continued until 1703. A school for the children of poor members was established in 1668, the master’s yearly salary being fixed at £10. The new chapel was opened in 1670, when the house in Broadmead was abandoned; but it was purchased and occupied in 1671 by the Baptists, who subsequently erected Broadmead Chapel on the site. Another Quaker meeting-house was built about 1670 in Temple Street.

The crusade against “foreigners” was still being pursued. In December, the Council was informed that one Walter, a cook and freeman, had been “colouring” (buying or selling) strangers’ goods, alleging them to be his own, whereon he was at once disfranchised; the Chamberlain was ordered to shut down his shop windows; and the bellman was instructed to proclaim his offence up and down the streets, especially at his shop door. On humbly petitioning for pardon, he was re-admitted a freeman on paying a fine of £15. A similar case occurred in the following year, when the offended escaped banishment by paying £5.

An amended ordinance for the regulation of the Carpenters’ Company, passed during the year, shows that a marked improvement had taken place in wages since the

middle of the century, when a workman never received more than 1s. per day. It was now ordered that a master carpenter should have 2s., a journeyman or oldest apprentice 1s. 8d., and a younger apprentice 1s. 4d. daily. No one was "to presume to give any greater wages than as aforesaid, upon pain to be proceeded against according to law," which excites a suspicion that wages were still advancing. The hours of labour were fixed at from 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning until 7 at night, with intervals for breakfast and dinner. Any joiner presuming to undertake carpenter's work was to be fined 10s.

Another trade ordinance was issued by the justices in January, 1668. It set forth that the Company of Innholders, existing time out of mind, obtained from the Crown in 1605 a confirmation of their privileges, whereby certain houses were declared to be inns and ostrys, and no others were permitted. But there being a house outside Temple Gate called the George, commodious for men and horses, and trade to and from the city having increased, it was ordered, at the request of the Company, that the house should be allowed as an inn or ostry, provided the occupier were a freeman, and the Company gave sureties for his payment of the customary duties.

It has been already stated that a pair of stocks was maintained in every parish for the punishment of drunkards and others. In consequence of complaints, the magistrates, in March, issued peremptory orders to the vestries of St. Stephen's and St. Peter's for the reparation of these terrors to evil-doers.

The Council, in April, dealt sharply with one John Wathers, apothecary, who, although entitled to the freedom, had never taken the oath of a burgess, and had unlawfully kept open shop for twelve years. For this enormity he was fined £20, and his shop was ordered to be shut up until he paid the money. A man who had served eight years' apprenticeship to Wathers, and was ignorant of his irregularity, was denied the freedom until he paid a fine of £5. At the same meeting, a Councillor named Haynes was released from the Chamber and freed from holding any office, on payment of £100.

In the State Papers of April is a proposal made to the Government by Richard Ellsworth, offering to prosecute a Bill in Parliament for suppressing deceits in the making of cloth, as petitioned for, he alleged, by the merchants of Bristol. In compensation for this service, in promoting,

which, he asserted, he had travelled 600 miles and spent a year's labour, he modestly requested the gift of three blank warrants for the creation of baronetcies, to be sold at his discretion. His proposal was not entertained. As a matter of fact, his repeated journeys to London were due to his being engaged as agent by the Merchant Venturers in their suit for a new charter, for which he was no doubt bountifully rewarded by his employers. He renewed his application to the Ministry in 1670, but was again rebuffed. Perhaps to silence him, he received the honour of knighthood.

An interesting item occurs in the Chamberlain's accounts in May:—"Paid Thomas Chatterton, mason, for work done about Redcliff horse-pool [in the moat, near Redcliff Gate], £5 5s. 8d. William and John, sons of Thomas, were admitted freemen in 1681. Both of them were masons, and William was occasionally employed by the Corporation. John is probably the man who was sexton of Redcliff Church in 1734, and if so was grandfather of the poet.

On June 13th, the quaint diarist, Samuel Pepys, then on a tour in the West of England with his wife and retinue, paid a brief visit to the city, hiring a coach for the purpose at Bath to save his horses. He was set down at the Horse Shoe, a posting house, where he was "trimmed" by a handsome barber for 2s. and then repaired to the Sun inn. "The city," he notes, "is in every respect another London, that one can hardly know it to stand in the country. No carts, it standing generally on vaults, only dog carts"—at which he marvelled. From the quay, which he described as "a most large and noble place," he proceeded to inspect the fine man-of-war then being built by Baylie in the Marsh. Before his return, Mrs. Pepys' too pretty maid, Willett, otherwise "Deb," a Bristol girl, had sought out her uncle Butt, whom Pepys found to be "a sober merchant, very good company, and so like one of our sober, wealthy London merchants as pleased me mightily." Mr. Butt took the visitors to his "substantial good house, well furnished," and after Deb had been joyfully welcomed by her family, the host "gave us good entertainment of strawberries, a whole venison pasty, and plenty of brave wine and above all Bristol milk." After a little more sight-seeing, the party returned to Bath by moonlight, the badness of the road being noted both in coming and going.

It will be remembered that in the early years of the century the Corporation were accustomed to bestow

gratuities on travelling companies of players for the entertainments they afforded. The position had become singularly inverted in 1668, when the authorities, instead of rewarding the visitors, demanded money for allowing them to perform. In July, a man named Devottee was "permitted to show his play at the fair on paying 50s.," and one Cosley had leave "to dance upon the ropes, paying 40s."

On learning that Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, was about to visit Bath, the Council resolved, in July, to make him a present "in acknowledgment of his services to the city." The gift consisted of three hogsheads of wine—sack, claret, and French white wine—the cost of which was £39. The Chamberlain and two others escorted the consignment to Bath, laying out 6s. for the hire of three horses, and 23s. for the use of a waggon.

The ship of war Edgar, of nearly 1,100 tons burden, and pierced for 70 guns, was launched on July 29th, from Baylie's yard in the Marsh. The size of the vessel greatly exceeded that of any previously built in Bristol, and the ceremony, which took place in the presence of the members of the Corporation, is said to have attracted upwards of 20,000 spectators, many of whom were attending the great fair.

Early in September, the civic magnates were thrown into some consternation by the unforeseen arrival, from Bath, of the Duchess of Monmouth, one of the most distinguished personages at Court. Being unprepared to give her a fitting reception, the authorities hurriedly provided her grace with a "banquet of sweetmeats" and about 80 gallons of wine, the former costing £9 13s. 8d., and the latter £20. Part of this feast was laid out at the house of Mr. Hurne, vintner, on St. Michael's Hill, where the Mayor offered his respects; and a second entertainment took place at Mr. Streamer's residence in Corn Street, where the Mayoress was in attendance. The Duchess having had her frolic, the civic dignitaries gravely escorted her as far as Castle Street, and thankfully bade her farewell.

Two remarkable funerals took place during the autumn. On October 6th, the body of Sir Henry Creswick was interred in St. Werburgh's Church with great ceremony, the pall being supported by six knights—an unexampled occurrence. Pompous funerals were at this period always held at night. A month later, Captain George Bishop, one of the local Puritan leaders during the Civil War, and afterwards a prominent Quaker, was buried in the Friends' Cemetery

at Redcliff Pit. A correspondent acquainted Secretary Williamson that the attendance was greater than he had ever seen at a funeral, and it is probable that the occasion was seized by Nonconformists to demonstrate their strength in despite of persecution.

How imperfectly the civic minute-book was often kept is illustrated by an entry in March, 1669. Orders must have been given at some previous meeting for the recovery of fines due from members for non-attendance, for the minute states that distraints were then proceeding against "many" gentlemen, and that further fines had been incurred, and a few paid. It was resolved that, "in hopes of better conformity for the future," the distresses should be withdrawn, the fines forgiven, and those paid refunded. The only mention of such fines for several previous years is a record of 6s. 8d. imposed on, and paid by, Alderman Hicks, who once left the Chamber in a passion without leave, and came back again in a cloak instead of his gown.

The Government, in July, granted a license to Sir Robert Cann to transport fifty horses for service on his plantations in Barbadoes. Few negroes having been shipped to the West Indies at this period, horses, and still oftener mules, were largely employed in cultivation, and exports of these animals are frequently recorded.

In 1544, just three years after the suppression of St. James's Priory, the estates and monastic buildings of that convent were granted by Henry VIII. to Henry Brayne, a London tailor, for the pitiful consideration of £667. Brayne, who was one of a busy gang of church-plunder brokers, established himself in Bristol, and converted the refectory, dormitory, and other apartments of the monks into what was styled a "capital mansion or manor house," with extensive gardens and outbuildings, the premises extending from the great gateway nearly fronting the east end of Lewin's Mead to a pound and smaller gate at the east end of what is now St. James's Barton. In 1579, after the deaths of Brayne and his son, the property, with the other priory estates, was divided by agreement between the husbands of his two daughters, Sir Charles Somerset and Mr. George Winter; and as both those gentlemen had country seats the vast mansion house was soon abandoned, afterwards alienated, and greatly altered to fit it for trading purposes. From a deed in the Council House it would appear that the eastern half of the premises, apportioned to Somerset, had come into the possession of Henry Hobson, a wealthy inn-

keeper (Mayor in 1632), previous to 1637, when the "barton" was still really a farmyard, and Stokes Croft was a pasture. At what date Winter disposed of the western moiety, comprising the state rooms of the mansion, has not been discovered; but in 1666 it belonged to William Davis, a Bristol merchant, and John Teague, of London, who then sold it to Thomas Ellis, another local merchant. Like two other imposing dwellings in the city—the Great House in St. Augustine's and the mansion behind St. Peter's Church—Brayne's place had already been converted into a sugar refinery, and was let on lease at £90 per annum. A deed of September, 1669, when £800 were borrowed by Ellis on mortgage, gives a description of the estate, which shows its great extent and the transformations that had been effected. Mention is made of a messuage, three gardens, an orchard, a sugar refinery and warehouses, all held under the above lease; a tenement and court at the western gate, then called Whitsun Court; two plots called the Cherry Garden and the Liquorice Garden, and a number of other buildings, with two gardens, occupied by various tenants; "all or most of which premises," says the deed, "are built upon part of the ground whereon the mansion house of St. James formerly stood." In 1660, Hobson's grandson raised a mortgage on that part of Brayne's dwelling once possessed by Somerset, and this deed speaks of the great parlour, the little parlour, and a number of chambers and galleries. It may be added that in 1898, when the Tramways Company constructed extensive stabling on part of the site, relics of what were supposed to have been the great cloisters, and some fragments of ancient effigies, were disinterred by the workmen.

A royal proclamation commanding magistrates to strictly put in force the penal laws against Dissenters was issued during the autumn of 1669, but a Bristol letter sent to Secretary Williamson laments that it had produced little effect. One of the obnoxious preachers, indeed, had been sent to gaol, but he preached through the grating at Newgate, and large crowds flocked to hear him. George Fox was again in Bristol at this time, and was married at the Quakers' meeting-house on October 18th to the remarkable woman, Margaret Fell, already referred to as exercising a strange influence over Charles II.

A victory of the Bristol merchants over the Levant Company, in reference to the dried fruit trade, was recorded at page 332. The Privy Council books show, however, that the decision was not accepted by the Company, who entered

a caveat against it, and threatened further legal action. In the State Papers for October, 1669, is a report of a Government committee on the renewed dispute between the two parties, the Londoners having complained that Bristolians were violating the exclusive rights of trading conferred on the Levant Company by charter. No doubt through a secret understanding, another London confederacy, the Hamburg Company, raised a simultaneous lament over the intrusions of Bristol merchants into the trade with northern Germany—a happy hunting-ground which the complainants alleged to be exclusively their own. As was usual in those days, both bodies of monopolists asserted that they would be ruined if their rights were ignored. Oddly enough, however, both the corporations offered to admit Bristolians into their companies, the Hamburg clique on payment of 20 marks and those of the Levant on the receipt of £25 a head. The Privy Council held numerous meetings to consider the subject, and probably there was much secret negotiating at Court. At length the Merchant Venturers insisted on the right of freedom of trade conferred on them by Edward VI., and the Levant Company were compelled to withdraw their pretensions, a course which was doubtless followed by the Hamburg Company, for their claims were never revived.

An interesting ceremony took place in September. Down to this date the thoroughfare now known as Christmas Steps was merely a break-neck footpath, very perilous to passengers in winter weather and dark nights. The improvement of the track had been undertaken early in the year by the directions and at the expense of Jonathan Blackwell, a wealthy vintner, who, as already noted, had removed to the city of London, of which he was now an Alderman. A calendar in the Council House describes the alterations made by his orders:—"Going up, there is steps, on the last of which there is a turned style, or whirligig, over which there is a lantern; then about 100 feet pitched; and then steps, with a court with six seats on each side; and then steps and a turnstyle like the former": a statement which disposes of the fable about the "sedilia" having been constructed as begging stations for the mendicant Friars. The new thoroughfare was opened by the Mayor and the members of the Corporation, who went in solemn procession for the purpose, and the place was called Queen Street, perhaps at Blackwell's request. The position of the "sedilia" has been twice greatly altered during the present century.

At the quarter sessions in October, the grand jury drew up a very lengthy presentment on local grievances, throwing some light on the then existing state of society. Amongst the diversified evils demanding a remedy, much was said of the "horrid impiety" of Sabbath profanation, of the prevailing gross immorality, of the frauds of traders in using unjust weights and measures, of the extortions of the Mayor's and Sheriffs' officers, of the unruliness and recklessness of hauliers, of the filth that many householders allowed to accumulate at their doors, of the darkness and dangers of the streets by night, of the Corporation's shortcomings in dealing with charity funds and neglectful treatment of nuisances both in the city and the harbour, of the rudeness and exactions of porters, of the excessive number of alehouses, and of the abuses committed in many inns and victualling houses. But the jury were especially eloquent on the loss and injury suffered by freemen from the dealings of "one foreigner with another" in the city, in defiance of law. The only action taken by the authorities on any of these subjects appears in a minute of the Court of Aldermen in December, forbidding a man from exercising the art of a worsted comber, and from employing non-freemen in that trade. The Council soon afterwards forbade porters and hauliers from moving the goods of foreigners except to or from the Back Hall, and the shops of one or two strangers were peremptorily ordered to be "shut down."

The Shrove-tide gambols of the youths of the city have not been mentioned since they were turned to account by the Royalists in 1660. Public opinion had somewhat changed in the meantime, and juvenile disorders were no longer applauded. A Government agent, writing to Secretary Williamson on February 19th, 1670, says:—"The apprentices of Bristol took more than ordinary liberty on Tuesday last, and at night met together with staves and clubs, intending to fight, but were prevented by the Mayor, who persuaded them to depart. He prevailed with most, but some, being abusive, were sent to gaol, which aroused some resentment; and about 50 or 60 were up on Wednesday and Thursday nights, threatening to force the others' freedom; but Sir Robert [Yeamans] and some officers dispersed them. Had it not been for his great vigilance, mischief would have been done." More serious symptoms of discontent will be mentioned presently.

The first foreshadowing of what was to be eventually known as Queen Square appears in the following minute of

a Council meeting in March:—"Towards discharging the heavy debts of the Corporation, ordered that the Mayor and Surveyors view the void ground in the Marsh, and consider how it may be leased in plots for the uniform building of houses by persons willing to accept leases of the same for five lives. Reserved rent, 12*d.* per foot at the least for the frontage." For some unexplained cause, the project was suffered to sleep for more than a quarter of a century.

The office of Haven Master was created at the above meeting, "for the better preservation of the harbour and the prevention of abuses daily committed there." John Jones was elected to the post, with a salary of £20 a year.

The Government, dissatisfied with the working of the Conventicle Acts, procured the passing, in 1670, of a still more drastic measure for crushing the Dissenters, who, to the exceeding wrath of their enemies, had visibly increased under persecution. On May 21st, the Mayor, addressing Lord Arlington in a letter now in the Record Office, encloses a copy of an anonymous pamphlet "of dangerous consequences," and narrates what he had done under the new statute:—"I have committed some, and imposed fines, &c., and shall use my utmost skill to prosecute the Act; but the numerous criminals of the several sects seem obstinate to tire out the magistracy, as well as affront them by threats, so that the face of things has a bad aspect. The factious party are more numerous than the loyal, and unite, though of different persuasions, and seem so discontented that little less than rebellion is to be read in their faces." Truly a remarkable contrast to the outburst of enthusiasm ten years previously, on the revival of the monarchy. In the opinion of the Mayor even the Aldermen of the purified Corporation were no longer trustworthy. Some of them had absented themselves that day from the Tolzey (whilst his worship was dealing with a large troop of the sectaries), "so that I fear they retain some of the leaven of the bad old times." A letter to Secretary Williamson from his local agent is to much the same effect. The face of things, he wrote, looked scurvily; the factions were united and spoke treason in parables; they scoffed at the justices' efforts to put the Acts in operation, and uttered veiled threats as to the danger of disobliging them. Subsequent letters assert that the parish constables refused to perform the duties imposed on them by the Act (a statement confirmed by the Mayor), and that the conventicles were still being held as usual. Informers,

it was added, were much needed, so many stratagems being used by the sectaries in making trap-doors and back outlets to their meeting-houses that they often escaped before the officers could find an entrance. Bishop Ironside, however, supplied this want by hiring a gang of spies, who attended the services in order to identify those present. A London newsletter of June 14th states that the King in Council had just given orders for the pulling down of the seats and pulpits in all the meeting-houses in London, Bristol, and other places. This process not sufficing to drive away the worshippers, the buildings were systematically broken into and the hearers carried to prison. Finally the magistrates locked up the chapels, and surrounded them by the trained bands, forcing the congregations to gather in suburban lanes and fields. Williamson's informant wrote in September that many distresses had been levied on the furniture of the fanatics, but nobody would buy the goods distrained. On September 14th the King in Council was informed that on Sunday, the 4th, the Quakers, who had met in the street since their meeting-house was seized for the King, had boldly gone to the building and broken open the doors four times, for which sixteen of them had been sent to gaol by the magistrates. The justices, however, stated that they were unable to suppress the sect owing to their tricks and rural gatherings. The Privy Council desired the Recorder to inquire and report, apparently without result.

It is evident that these proceedings, however they might be applauded by extreme partisans, gave great offence to moderate-minded citizens. As if to show disapproval of Sir Robert Yeamans' conduct as chief magistrate, the Council, in September, passing over an Alderman who in the ordinary course would have succeeded to the civic chair, and also two of his colleagues next in seniority, elected as Mayor Mr. John Knight, the sugar-refiner, whose sympathy with the persecuted sects has been already recorded. The choice of the Chamber threw Sir John Knight into transports of indignation. In a letter to Secretary Williamson, he angrily urged that the King should order the election to be annulled, and begged that a mandate to that effect should be sent down before Michaelmas Day, otherwise "the person" elected would be sworn in. This letter, which is among the State Papers, is a mild affair compared with a furious tirade which was addressed to the Privy Council, in which Sir John denounced his cousin, the Mayor, and the majority of the Common

Council as "fanatics"—that is, Dissenters. Even Sir Robert Yeamans was included in the wrathful indictment. The latter had been requested, before the voting took place, to read the King's former directions for the selection of an Alderman as Mayor, but he had refused to do so, and thus the sugar-refiner had been chosen by a majority of two. The Privy Council on September 20th lent a ready ear to these allegations. Lord Arlington was directed to send a demand in the King's name for an immediate convocation of the civic body and the election to the chair of one of the Aldermen. The Common Council, however, showed unexampled spirit by ignoring the royal behests. No second election took place, and Mr. Knight was duly sworn in as Mayor on September 29th. Moreover, on October 4th, at a special meeting, the Chamber directed the Mayor and Aldermen to draw up a memorial to the King, setting forth the facts, and praying for a gracious interpretation of what had been done. Their worships were further instructed to select fit persons to present the petition, and to "make answer in defence of the privileges of the city"—a covert protest against regal dictation which must have increased the irritation of the courtly minority. The firmness of the Council was applauded by the public, and at the following quarter sessions the grand jury formally thanked the bench for the choice, as chief magistrate, of a "worthy person," whose good services to both the King and the city were referred to in laudatory terms. Sir John Knight was not, however, discouraged. Having gone up to London, he laid fresh charges against Sir Robert Yeamans and the Mayor, and both the alleged offenders were summoned before the Privy Council, and, it is said, were detained in custody. At this point the records of the Privy Council and the statements of local writers become hopelessly irreconcilable. According to the former, Yeamans and his accuser were confronted before His Majesty on February 10th, when, after a full hearing, His Majesty, "having regard to the good character he had received of Mr. John Knight, was pleased to overlook the fault committed at his election, but ordered that his instructions should be faithfully obeyed in future," whilst Yeamans was curtly dismissed; whereby the whole affair would seem to have come to an end. But this was certainly not the case, for nearly a month later (March 6th), the Mayor being still unreleased, the Common Council drew up a "Remonstrance," in modern language a declaration, as to his

unexceptionable qualifications and deportment as well before as since his election, especially eulogising his sober life, peaceable disposition, sterling loyalty, devotion to the Church, and general ability and wisdom in public affairs. In despite of this certificate, which was presented to the King, the unfortunate Mayor, did not obtain liberty to depart from London until the middle of April. The affair naturally caused much local excitement, and gave rise to two significant demonstrations. Sir Robert Yeamans, who returned to Bristol soon after his discharge, was met outside Lawford's Gate by 220 gentlemen on horseback, who cordially welcomed him, and conducted him to his house amidst the cheering of the citizens. The long detention of the Mayor evoked still more general sympathy, and on April 20th he was met in a similar manner by 235 horsemen, and had a joyful public reception. It was now the turn of the accuser to make a reappearance. He had not been forced, as a chronicler avers, to beg the King's pardon on his knees for his wrongful accusations, but though he still had many influential partisans, neither he nor they were prepared to invite a popular manifestation. Sir John accordingly arrived in a private manner at Lawford's Gate, avoided the main streets by taking the ferry at Temple Back, and so slunk to his neighbouring mansion to digest his discomfiture.

A singular revival of ecclesiastical pretensions occurred at this time. In a petition to the Common Council, the Master and Company of Barber Chirurgeons complained of the proceedings taken against them by the Chancellor of the diocese, Henry Jones, for practising chirurgery without having obtained his license, although, say the petitioners, they were one of the ancientest sub-incorporations in the city, and had never taken licenses from any Chancellor. The Council in September, 1670, ordered that any action taken by the meddlesome official should be defended by the Corporation. Mr Jones, who had raised an obsolete claim in the hope of extorting fees, then beat a judicious retreat.

The state of Kingswood Chase had not improved in the hands of Sir Baynham Throckmorton. Secretary Williamson's local agent reported in September that several of the cottagers had been indicted "for their tricks" at Gloucester sessions, but that, when the sheriff's officers came to arrest them, 300 or 400 met riotously at the call of a trumpet and drum, and beat the officers severely. Two days later he announced that the cottagers had driven out Sir Baynham

and all his staff, so that the tumult was over. He then narrated the story of the Chase, much as it is given in a previous page. The cottages and coal works, he said, had been increased by the self-styled proprietors, and 800 families were living there without any means of subsistence. On the same day, Sir John Newton, of Barrs Court, whose repudiation of his predecessor's undertaking to surrender two-thirds of his "liberty" has been already noted, and whose personal unscrupulousness comes out in many documents, wrote to the Secretary in defence of the cottagers, impudently asserting that the violence had been all on the side of the ranger and sheriff's officers, some of whom, he characteristically added, "were formerly in the rebellion." The Government directed Sir Robert Atkyns, Recorder, to inquire into and report upon the subject, but the issue of his labours cannot be found.

Sir William Penn, perhaps the most distinguished Bristolian of the century, died on September 16th at his seat in Essex, in his fiftieth year. His body, by his own directions, was brought to his native city for interment by the side of his mother in St. Mary Redcliff. His remains lay in state in the Guildhall until October 3rd, when they were conveyed to the grave with much heraldic pomp, the trained bands being mustered to guard the route. The Corporation, having a long-standing grudge against the gallant admiral, forebore from taking any part in the proceedings.

After having suspended the issue of small tokens for several years, the Corporation about this time put in circulation a number of "Bristol farthings," struck from two dies showing slight variations, but both bearing the date 1670. No reference to these coins is to be found in the civic accounts, and it is clear that they were circulated without the sanction of the Government, for at a Council meeting on October 3rd, the Chamberlain announced the receipt of information that a *Quo Warranto* was suspected to be preparing against the Corporation for unlawfully stamping and issuing the farthings. As the matter does not turn up again, the Corporation apparently succeeded in obtaining forgiveness from the Ministry.

Notwithstanding the elaborate ordinance of 1668 for maintaining adequate protection against fires, the grand jury at the October sessions emphatically protested that the provisions were illusory. A sugar-refinery in Redcliff Street had recently burst into flame, threatening wide

destruction owing to the force of the wind, but no buckets were forthcoming until after a long delay, and "scarce one was sound." The jury offered various suggestions on the subject, one of which was that the Corporation should keep a stock of torches for such emergencies, as "candles could not be kept lighted" during the late calamity.

The minutes of the annual Court Leet for St. Stephen's parish are somewhat puzzling, and do not say much for the qualifications of the scribe. The jury "present John Keemis, cooper, not fit to sell ale, having no child; he keeps a tapster which is no freeman that have a wife and child." "We present Richard Rooke, shipwright, not fit to sell ale, having no child, and brews themselves." A barber surgeon was also pronounced disqualified to keep a pot-house, having no child, "and also for entertaining a strange maid which is sick."

A "charity school"—the first parochial institution of that kind in the city—was founded in St. Nicholas's parish in or about 1670. Very little is known of its subsequent history. In 1835 it was held in the upper room of a house in Nicholas' Street, where the master lodged free of charge, with a salary of £20, the pupils then numbering only ten boys and ten girls.

M. Jorevin de Rochefort, Treasurer of France, made a European tour in the reign of Charles II., and published his experiences in a work of seven volumes, the first of which appeared in 1672. The sixth contains an account of this city, which he visited in or about 1670. Bristol, he stated, was the third city in England, and the best port after London, and was situated in a mountainous country. The Bridge was covered with houses and shops, kept by the richest merchants. Much puzzled by the churches standing on the old city walls, the traveller described St. Nicholas's Gate as a grand arcade sustaining a little church, and forming the entrance to several fine streets. He lodged with a Fleming, and was well treated, man and horse, for two shillings a day, living being cheap in England, provided little wine were drunk. Like Mr. Rawdon, already mentioned, he was taken to Hungroad to see the great ships lying there, and to the Marsh, well shaded with trees, and the favourite promenade of the citizens. His Flemish host had formerly entertained a priest, who said Mass secretly, but this had been discovered and forbidden, so that a Mass could not be heard in the city, though many Catholics, Flemish, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, fre-

quented the port. The traveller left on his way to "Glochester," managing "to enter into the mountains" before he passed "Stableton" and "Embrok." A little later in his tour, whilst at Worcester, M. Jorevin noted the prevalence of tobacco smoking. "Supper being finished," he says, "they set on the table half a dozen pipes, and a packet of tobacco for smoking, which is a general custom amongst women as well as men, who think that without tobacco one cannot live in England, because they say it dissipates the humours of the brain." He goes on to allege that smoking was common amongst schoolboys in that neighbourhood. A Swiss gentleman named Muralt, who wrote a description of English manners towards the end of the century, seems to have seen nothing in London that surprised him more than the spectacle of clergymen seated in all the inns and coffee-houses, with long pipes in their mouths.

The purchase by the Corporation of certain fee-farm rents from the Government of the Commonwealth, and the precipitate surrender of them to the King in 1660, have been noted in previous pages. The Council, in June, 1671, resolved upon another transaction in these securities. Two Acts of Parliament having been passed empowering the Government to dispose of a multitude of Crown rents of this character, it was resolved that the fee-farms issuing out of the corporate estates and from the lands of various city charities should be forthwith secured. It was easier to pass such a resolution than to carry it into effect, for the purchase money amounted to nearly £3,000, and the Corporation were already deeply in debt. However, it was further ordered that certain chief rents, payable to the city, should be sold at not less than 18 years' purchase, and that the remainder of the required sum should be raised by loans, to which the members of the Council were requested to contribute, and nearly £1,000 were subscribed in the Chamber. The sales to tenants were insignificant, and practically the whole of the purchase money—£2,989—was raised by borrowing. The bargain was a profitable one to the Corporation, who obtained a number of small fee-farm rents, amounting to £29 14s. 6½d., at 16½ years' purchase; others, amounting to £72 8s. 11d., at 16 years' purchase, and the fee-farms of the borough and Castle, together £182 10s. (subject to the life interest of Queen Catherine), at 8 years' purchase.

The King, in November, nominated Guy Carleton, D.D.,

Dean of Carlisle, to the bishopric of Bristol, in succession to Dr. Gilbert Ironside, who died in the previous September, and was one of the few Bishops interred in the cathedral. At the beginning of the Civil War, Carleton, though already in middle age, quitted his clerical preferments for the camp, adopted the language and habits of the royster-ing Cavaliers, and took an active part in the field, being once captured in an engagement. His promotion to the episcopate was due, partly to his military services, partly to his ability to sustain the dignity independent of the income of the see, which did not exceed £300, but mainly, it was alleged, because an iron-fisted prelate was needed to deal with the Bristol "fanatics." In the last respect, though 76 years of age, he must have satisfied his patrons, for the whips of Ironside were endurable compared with Carleton's scorpions. The new Bishop was allowed to retain one of the "golden prebends" in Durham Cathedral, and a well-endowed rectory in the same county.

As existing houses in King Street and other localities bear witness, the dwellings constructed at this period were chiefly composed of wood and plaster, worked stone being considered too expensive for ordinary use, and bricks being reserved for fire-places and chimneys. In an ordinance for the Tilers' and Plasterers' Company, passed by the Council this year, it was decreed that if a member should cause any gentleman's house to be lathed outside, or in the front, with "sappy laths," he should be fined 6s. 8d. The same penalty was imposed on any member who lent a ladder to a carpenter or a mason, to the prejudice of the Company.

In 1671, James Millerd, mercer, published what he styled "An exact delineation of the famous Cittie of Bristoll and suburbs thereof. Composed by a Scale, and Ichnographically described by I. M., 1671." The engraving, which measures 9 inches by 10, was "printed for y^e author and sold by Mr. Tho. Wall, Bookseller, in Bristoll." The success of the publication was so great that Mr. Millerd was induced to venture upon what was, for the age, a truly remarkable production, unexampled in the provinces. This was a plan of the city extending over four sheets, adorned with views of many of the public buildings, and professing to show "all the highways, thoroughfares, streets, lanes, and publick passages. . . . Described, Engraved, and Published by In. Millerd, Citizen and Inhabitant." A copy having been presented to the Corporation, to whom the engraving was dedicated, the Council, in May, 1673, after eulogising

the plan as "the largest, exactest, and handsomest that ever was drawn," ordered that the author be thanked, and presented with a piece of plate value £10. A similar gift of the value of £5 was voted to Millerd by the Merchants' Society. The enterprising mercer subsequently published a third engraving—now extremely rare—a perspective view of the city, taken from the southern heights. This print is supposed to have been also dedicated to the Corporation, but the Council showed no appreciation of the compliment, and in the extant impressions the place reserved for an inscription is veiled by curtains.

About the time that Millerd was publishing his first plan, certain local commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for assessing and collecting a new tax upon the citizens were engaged in estimating the yearly value of the real and personal property of the inhabitants. (The statute terms the tax a "subsidy," but it was in fact a charge of one shilling in the pound on rentals and stocks, levied, not upon individuals, but upon parishes.) The assessments preserved at the Council House are not complete, the returns for St. James's, Redcliff, St. Stephen's, and St. Peter's being omitted; but, so far as can be made out, the annual value of real property within the city was estimated at about £18,500. The twentieth assessed on St. Nicholas's parish amounted to £159 5s. St. Thomas's paid £129 12s.; Christ Church, £76 16s.; Castle Precincts, £63 12s.; St. John's, £62 13s.; Temple, £61 18s.; and St. Augustine's, £59 6s. All the rest paid under £45 each, and the fashionable parish of St. Werburgh was assessed at only £28 18s. According to the commissioners' extraordinary calculations, the gross value of the citizens' personal effects (excluding the four omitted parishes) was under £3,000. The twentieth assessed on St. Nicholas'—more than double the charge on any other parish—was fixed at £40 18s., whilst only £4 2s. was demanded from St. John's, and £3 12s. from St. Philip's!

The deliberation with which the Council not infrequently dealt with matters of apparent urgency is again illustrated by some of its proceedings in 1672. Early in January the Chamber is stated to have been "informed"—though the facts must have been notorious—that a bark belonging to "foreigners" had been lying sunk for several years in the From branch of the harbour, to the great prejudice of navigation. A committee was thereupon appointed, but it had taken no action six months later, when the Court of

quarter sessions, observing that the great bank of mud gathered around the wreck threatened to choke up the river, ordered the ship to be ripped to pieces and the mud bank removed. Nothing, however, had been done in the following November, when the Council, after a discussion, appointed a fresh committee to inquire whether the hulk's position was really prejudicial, and, if so, to report as to what further steps should be taken! The minutes contain no further reference to the matter, and no expense was incurred by the Chamberlain.

The Court of quarter sessions, in January, displayed a well-balanced appreciation of official dignity and of judicial frugality. The justices ordered that the ward constables should provide themselves with "staffs of distinction, in accordance with the custom used in London"; in pursuance whereof, Mr. Tilly, chief constable of All Saints' ward, provided his subordinates with "decent and handsome staffs," and applied to the Court for repayment of his outlay, 46s. 6d. Upon due consideration of which claim, the magistrates calmly brushed it aside, ordering the churchwardens of All Saints' to reimburse Tilly out of the church stock. Their worships then directed the constables, with their new staves, to perambulate the city every Sunday, and prevent loitering in the streets, unlawful recreations, and the making of uproars.

An alarming fire occurred in March, when the Bell tavern in Broad Street was burned to the ground. The accident led to the customary discussion at the next meeting of the Council upon the proved inadequacy of the provision against such calamities. As the fire-engine ordered in 1668 had never been purchased, a committee was appointed to consider how many small engines should be procured—with as little result as on the previous occasion.

The Privy Council, on March 29th, sent a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen stating that the King had been appealed to by the Quakers lying in many gaols for his merciful consideration, but that, before any step was taken, it was desirable to have further information. The justices were therefore requested to forward a list of the Quakers in Bristol gaol, with the causes of their commitment. The return has unfortunately perished. The persecution of Dissenters was suspended at this time, and from documents in the Record Office it appears that the Government was for a short period disposed towards a partial toleration. In April, in response to the petition of a few Bristolians, the

King granted a license to John Weeks, a well-known Presbyterian, to preach—not, however, in his former chapel, but at a private house on St. James's Back. A similar license was granted in the following month to Jeremy Holway, an Independent, who was allowed to preach in his own house in Corn Street. The lull was but the prelude to another and more vindictive explosion.

It was resolved by the Council in May that, as the salary of £5 a year, due to the Duke of Ormond as Lord High Steward, was several years in arrear, he should be presented with a butt of sherry and two hogsheads of French wine. Instead of forwarding the liquor from Bristol, however, an order was given to a wine merchant in London, who supplied the required quantity for £50, and the gift was duly made by Mr. Aldworth, Town Clerk. But the Duke was much displeased by the substitution of London sherry for what he knew by experience to be a superior article. His autograph letter of acknowledgment, undated, and a remarkable specimen of noble caligraphy, is preserved at the Council House. Modernising the spelling, it reads:—"Mr. Mayor and Aldermen,—It pains me that anything untoward should interrupt the good amity which for eleven years have existed between us, but touching my salary I did expect your excellent sherries, for which your fair city are so famed that none like can be had elsewhere, selected with such discriminative tact by the worshipful aldermen. I have no wish to reprimise, and trust that the attempt to impose on my judgment will not be repeated." The abashed Council obeyed his Grace's request on subsequent occasions, and the minutes once record that the Duke "highly approved of the sherry." His Grace resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy of Somerset and Bristol in September, 1672, and was succeeded by his relative, Henry, Marquis of Worcester, who had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire at the Restoration. From this time the City Lieutenancy, always previously annexed to that of Somerset, has been invariably held with that of Gloucestershire.

The annual muster of the trained bands seems to have become a mere formality after the Government had established a small standing army. Each parish kept one musket in stock, and paid a man one day's wages for appearing at the inspection in the Marsh. The contingent furnished by the Corporation is shown in the audit book:—"Paid at a general muster to six soldiers, and for powder, cleaning arms, and muster master, £1 0s. 10d. Wine,

sugar, tobacco, pipes, &c., £2 4s." The festive accessories were provided for the civic dignitaries, who honoured the review with their presence. Tobacco and pipes had by this time become indispensable adjuncts of a corporate feast. It may be added that although the Council paid for six men, the stock of arms is distinctly stated to consist of only three muskets and six swords.

An example of the brutal punishments of the age may be taken from the quarter sessions book in August:—"Evan Thomas, felon; ordered that he be stripped naked in the cart and severely whipped till the blood comes, next market day." As all felonies of a serious character were punishable with death, the man's crime was probably a trivial one. In 1679, the justices ordered a woman, whose offence is not stated, to be stripped and lashed till the blood came, at the High Cross whipping-post—an established institution.

Abuses in the markets gave rise to a lengthy corporate ordinance in September. The previous Clerk of the Markets was stated to have neglected his duties to the prejudice of the public, and the person appointed to succeed him was ordered to attend every market with his gown upon his back, see to the weight of butter, prevent hucksters from forestalling and regrating, weigh the bread in the bakers' shops, carefully examine grain measures, and bring up all offenders. He was also to make a weekly report to the justices as to the price of corn, in order to enable the bench to fix the rate at which bread was to be sold by the bakers.

During the year, a purchase was made by the Sheriffs of two handsome silver trumpets for use at the reception of the judges of assize and on other occasions of state. The instruments cost £32. Having obtained them, it became necessary to furnish the musicians with gay liveries, for which £6 more were expended.

The Council, in March, 1673, revived an Ordinance passed 101 years previously, which had long become obsolete and forgotten, and was doomed a second time to the same fate. It was enacted that any freeman abiding out of the city or its liberties for a year and a day, except on the royal service or trading beyond seas, should be disfranchised until he paid a fine to be fixed by the Mayor and Aldermen. The Council next proceeded to consider a complaint made by the Chandlers' and Soapmakers' Company against a member named Cadwallader. This man, working as a journeyman, had taken an apprentice, but the youth continued to live in his father's house, for which illegality the Court of quarter

sessions had ordered the enrolment of the indenture to be erased. Cadwallader had thereupon taken the boy into his house, claiming to continue the apprenticeship, which was the grievance complained of. The Council ordered that the offender should be discommoned, that his shop windows should be shut down, and that the bellman should proclaim his disfranchisement before his shop and in all the streets.

The Marquis of Worcester, Lord-Lieutenant, having given notice of his intention to visit the city for the purpose of "settling" the militia, the Council, in August, resolved on entertaining him during his stay. This is the earliest reference to the house of Badminton to be found in the city archives. Sir Robert Cann and Sir John Knight were directed to ride to "Babington" to proffer the compliment, for which purpose, at a cost of 30s., those worthies engaged a coach, a vehicle hitherto only once mentioned in local annals. The Marquis arrived in September, when he was presented with a congratulatory address, in which a hope was expressed that the deputy-lieutenants for Bristol would be selected from the citizens, and not from the rural gentry. A French cook, imported to prepare the civic feast, received £121 for his catering and services, and £122 were disbursed by the Mayor for wine and sundry delicacies.

After a long period of plenty, the harvest of 1673 proved seriously deficient, and great distress prevailed during the winter. The magistrates, in January, 1674, ordered the poor-rate to be doubled, and the Council, having taken up £1,000 on loan, purchased a stock of corn for distribution amongst the poor at cost-price, a small loss on the transaction being borne by the Chamber.

The Corporation, in January, 1674, were again compelled to deal with the eternal difficulties attending the maintenance of an efficient nightly watch. The often-repeated attempt to force personal service on householders was now abandoned. A return had been procured of the persons liable to be charged for maintaining the force, from which it appeared that they numbered 2,000. The Council thereupon resolved that each of those persons should contribute, once every seven weeks, a night's pay of a watchman, namely 5*d.* during the summer and 7*d.* during the winter half-year. The yearly charge on the ratepayers was thus to be about £370. The force was to consist of two head constables, twenty-six watchmen, and two bellmen, the duty of the last-named officials being to perambulate the streets at midnight, according to custom. In 1675, the number of

watchmen was increased to thirty, one head constable being dispensed with, and the pay was raised one penny per night. Ratepayers willing to watch in person were exempted from the tax.

A book of 105 pages, entitled "Bristol Drollery : Poems and Songs, by Mr. C.," was printed in London this year "for Charles Allen, Bookseller in Bristol." Some prefatory verses "To the Young Gallants" are signed "N.C., Jany., 1674." The book contains about fifty amatory songs and other trifles, one of which is entitled "A mock Poem on the waters of the Hot Well," but all the rhymes are utterly devoid of merit. A copy of this very rare volume is in the British Museum.

There are many indications in the corporate records that the old walls of the original borough had long ceased to be regarded as of any practical utility, and that many breaches had been made in them where they stood in the way of improvements. The strong line of ramparts extending from Redcliff to Temple Gates was still, however, considered a necessary bulwark. The grand jury, in May, made a presentment that several doorways had been illicitly cut there for the convenience of persons going to their fields and gardens in the suburbs, whereupon the Court indignantly denounced such acts as not only contemptuous but dangerous, inasmuch as rogues might thereby get in and out at night, when the gates were shut, and ordered the city mason to "dam" them up forthwith. An exception was nevertheless made in favour of a breach leading out of Thomas Street, and it may be suspected that the judicial decree had little permanent effect.

Owing to the financial embarrassment of the Corporation, the proper maintenance of civic buildings seems to have been much neglected. The Council were informed in May that the foundations of Bridewell, Newgate, From Gate, the tower by Bridewell holding the magazine of gunpowder (!), the arches of Bristol Bridge, and several other public places were out of repair and likely to fall, whereupon the Court of Aldermen were instructed to superintend the needful restorations. The house of the porter of Newgate had been destroyed during the war, and was still in ruins. To stave off the cost of rebuilding, the Council soon after voted the man 40s. a year, to enable him to rent a dwelling.

We are informed by a local annalist that on September 11th the Countess of Castlemaine, one of the King's dis-

reputable females, accompanied by Sir John Churchill, a legal hanger-on of the Duke of York, and Sir Thomas Bridges, the persecutor of Dissenters, paid a visit to the city, and after a pompous parade through the streets was entertained at the Three Tuns tavern, Corn Street, at Churchill's expense. The two knights brought their wives with them to do further honour to their discreditable guest; but the Mayor and Corporation significantly kept aloof.

The shameless indifference shown by the Government towards the marauding of Moorish pirates is illustrated by a petition presented to the Court of quarter sessions in October by a cooper named John Knight. The applicant stated that upwards of six years previously his brother Henry, sailing in a Bristol ship, was taken prisoner by Turks, and carried captive into Sallee, where he still remained a slave. He could now, it was believed, be ransomed for £130, and the petitioner, being unable to raise the money, prayed the Court to devise some expedient for the unhappy man's redemption. The justices made an urgent request to the citizens for contributions, and ordered the churchwardens to collect subscriptions. The result is unknown.

The State Papers for November contain the first document bearing on a new struggle between London monopolists and Bristol merchants, a conflict destined to continue almost uninterruptedly for some eighty years. On November 25th, a royal proclamation was issued, reciting the King's letters patent of 1673, granted to the African Company, and expressing His Majesty's displeasure on learning that divers private persons had nevertheless presumed to send out ships to trade with Africa, to the prejudice of the Company. The King now positively prohibited his subjects from trafficking in negroes or goods between the African coast and the American plantations, on pain of forfeiture of "such commodities." No evidence exists that local merchants made any protest against this unconstitutional act of the Crown, which was a flagrant violation of the rights of the Merchant Venturers. What is certain is that the proclamation was quietly ignored, and that the monopolists were unable to prevent a steady development of African trade in Bristol.

The Council amused themselves in December by harassing a few non-freemen, probably Quakers. "Whereas," runs the minute, "Peter Young, soap boiler, on the Bridge, and James Fry and Samuel Hollister, grocers, in Wine Street, having of late opened shops and sold goods though not

freemen, and not having taken the oath of allegiance, have had their shops shut down; yet nevertheless have contemptuously opened them again. Of which the House being informed, the parties were sent for, and their answers being in no way satisfactory, ordered that their shops be again shut down and kept down." The Chamberlain subsequently paid the large sum of £8 11s. 6d. "for watching four Quakers' shops when their windows was shut down and nailed down." The order being so persistently carried out, the offenders were compelled to seek admission as burgesses. In September, 1675, the Chamber adopted a lengthy ordinance setting forth that by ancient laws no man except a freeman could abide in the town more than forty days for selling wares, or keep shop, or dwell in the town, or buy goods of any but a burgess; notwithstanding which divers persons had of late contemptuously opened shops and openly used trades and handicrafts to the discouragement of freemen. For reformation whereof it was ordered that every such offender should be fined 20s. a day. Although individuals suffered much from time to time by legislation of this kind, it is clear that the Corporation were unable to prevent the constant intrusion of "foreigners."

About the close of the year, the toleration enjoyed for a while by the nonconformist bodies came to an end, and was followed by a persecution compared with which even Sir John Knight's former oppressions were merciful. At Michaelmas the civic chair was taken by Ralph Olliffe, the landlord of the Three Tuns tavern, and a copious consumer of his own liquors, but redeeming his vices in many eyes by an uncompromising hatred of Dissenters. Two men of kindred opinions were elected Sheriffs. Hearing, perhaps, of the fitness of the new Mayor to co-operate in an intended crusade, Bishop Carleton made his appearance a few weeks later, and frankly announced his intention to extirpate every conventicle in the city. Acting, it was believed, at his instigation, the Sheriffs, at the Epiphany quarter sessions, packed the grand jury with violent Churchmen, and this body delivered a lengthy presentment—probably prepared in advance—denouncing dissenting preachers as impostors and firebrands, and their adherents as seditious fanatics, lauding the energy of the Bishop in prosecuting those pests, and recommending the Aldermen to root them out by a vigorous execution of the Conventicle Acts. The Bishop, who had taken a seat on the bench to hear the reading of a document that was suspected by many to be

his own composition, expressed his cordial approval of its contents, and the whole scene appears to have been arranged in order to give ulterior proceedings the formal sanction of a court of justice. There were then eight sectarian congregations in the city: two of Quakers, with no regular minister; three of Baptists, with pastors named Hardcastle, Gifford, and Kitchen; two of Independents, led by Messrs. Thompson and Troughton; and one of Presbyterians, whose minister was John Weeks, already mentioned, whose popularity is proved by a contemporary statement that his flock numbered about 1,500. Bishop Carleton found an unscrupulous instrument in an attorney named Hellier, a churchwarden of St. James's, in which parish were four of the meeting-houses. This man, at the prelate's desire, laid informations under the Conventicle Acts, which the Mayor was proceeding to act upon, when, to the mortification of the prosecutors, it was shown that the King had granted licenses to hold services in three of the chapels. The Bishop, however, promptly repaired to Court for the purpose of urging the King to revoke the licenses, and Charles, with his usual callousness, having complied with the request, Carleton returned in triumph in the following February, and ordered Hellier to resume operations. The Mayor and some of the Aldermen lending zealous assistance, and the Bishop again seating himself amongst the justices and clamouring for severity, warrants were issued against four of the ministers. On February 10th, Carleton, four parsons, two Aldermen and some military officers, with a noisy rabble, surrounded Castle Green Chapel whilst service was proceeding, arrested the minister, John Thompson, a Master of Arts of Oxford, and carried him before the Mayor. The Bishop, acting as prosecutor, at once burst into virulent language, declaring that the seditious villain, the rebel dog, ought to stretch a halter, and demanded his immediate commitment to gaol for six months for having been found within the city after a previous conviction. His demand was complied with, and three other pastors, found guilty of the same offence, received similar sentences within a few days. Newgate was rarely free from epidemics, arising from the foulness of the cells, and Thompson was speedily prostrated by fever. A physician, called in to attend him, informed the justices that his life would be endangered if he were not imprisoned in a healthier place. The Sheriffs were asked to allow his removal to a decent chamber, security in £500 being offered that he should remain in

custody, but the officials refused to assent without the approval of the Bishop, and the latter, on hearing of the proposal, threatened them with his vengeance if they made the concession. The victim rapidly sank under his malady, and died on March 4th. The feeling of the citizens was significantly expressed at his interment, the most remarkable ever known, about 5,000 persons attending St. Philip's churchyard to manifest their regret and horror. On the evening of the funeral, a paper was thrown into the Mayor's house, threatening that if the persecution continued, many eminent men and numbers of apprentices and workmen would venture their lives for freedom, and Thomas Cale (appointed postmaster in 1679), in informing Secretary Williamson of the fact, expressed his belief that two-thirds of the inhabitants were "that way inclined." The death of Thompson, however, made no impression on the persecutors, who published a pamphlet, sanctioned by, and possibly written by, the Bishop, which, in defiance of the gaoler's affidavit that the victim perished of malignant fever, asserted that death was occasioned by "a surfeit." A few days after Thompson's demise, Hellier broke up some meetings for prayer and sent several of the persons found there to Newgate, where they were thrown by the keeper into the most loathsome den in the place, with a damp earthen floor and destitute of seats. But the persecution only strengthened the firmness and religious ardour of the sectaries. Worship was maintained in all the meeting-houses, and various devices were invented to conceal the preachers so as to prevent the Bishop's mercenaries from laying informations. In two chapels trap-doors were made in the floor, through which the ministers descended as soon as a signal was given of the approach of the Mayor or Hellier's gang, the entrance to the meeting being also purposely blocked with women. In other places, the preacher, with others, was concealed behind a curtain, so that informers in the body of the chapel were unable to identify the speaker. In all cases, when the Mayor or a justice forced an entrance, the congregation were found singing, which was not an indictable offence; and the more his worship threatened the louder resounded the psalm. When the magistrate went off in a rage, the service was resumed, and though he sometimes returned three times over in the hope of securing a conviction, he was generally routed by the persistency of the chorus. The Quakers, again, baffled the officers by sitting in silence at their

meetings for hours together, and thus defeating the provisions of the statute. Grossly brutal practices, however, were habitually resorted to by Hellier, Alderman Streamer, the Bishop's hirelings, and others, against the unresisting congregations, batches of whom, varying from half a dozen to fifty in number, were often hauled before the Mayor and committed to gaol on false charges of rioting. This persecution continued for many weeks, and the fact that each outrage, generally committed on Sunday, was preceded by a carouse in the bibulous Mayor's tavern was not calculated to excite public approval. The magistrates, it is recorded, became at length "much weary" of the endless work demanded from them by the Bishop, and upon his lordship going up to Parliament in a huff at their inaction, the harryings temporarily ceased. But the campaign was soon resumed by the Mayor and Hellier, who had a love for the sport, and great roughness was repeatedly used to disperse the congregations. On one occasion Robert Colston, soap-boiler (a brother of Edward), condescended to act as a spy, and informed against a quiet gathering, to the grieved surprise of those who had trusted him. Hellier was clearly proved to have committed perjury in one of his informations, but Chief Justice North ordered his discharge at the autumn assizes. By that time the term of imprisonment of the three surviving ministers had expired. On being released they recommenced preaching, and some of them were soon consigned to their former loathsome quarters. It is a melancholy fact that the aged Bishop accompanied the Mayor to one of the meeting-houses with the object of arresting one of the culprits. Hellier, who was on the alert every Sunday, on one occasion flung several chairs into the chapel fire, and nearly succeeded in burning down the building. As a final achievement, Olliffe, on the last Sunday in his Mayoralty, having secured the assistance of Sir John Knight, Sir Robert Yeamans, and Streamer, proposed a general attack on the congregations, but the results were disappointing; and a few days later the accession of Sir Robert Cann to the chair, and the entrance into office of two moderate-minded Sheriffs, promised a return to tranquillity. Hellier, though discountenanced by the new Mayor, who actually invited many leading Dissenters to dinner, nevertheless continued to disturb meetings, often using violence to effect his purpose, whilst Aldermen Streamer, Lawford, Yeamans, and Olliffe supported him by sending to Newgate those he informed against, or ordering

distrains upon their goods. The persecution raged with little interruption for fifteen months without having any deterring effect on the dissenting bodies. Early in 1676 Mr. Hardcastle, of Broadmead Chapel, was liberated after a second imprisonment of six months, and recommenced preaching on the day of his release.

Intelligence reached the city in December that the ship *Bristol Merchant*, with a crew of thirty men, nearly all of whom had wives living here, some with five and six children, had been captured by a Moorish pirate, which had carried all the men into slavery. Urgent appeals were made to the Government by Sir John Knight and others on behalf of the seamen's families, and some of the women were sent up to London to seek relief at Court, but the effort seems to have been fruitless. A local subscription was afterwards started for the redemption of the captives.

At the beginning of Sir Robert Cann's second mayoralty, the Council gave orders that a new set of robes should be provided for him, and also a new cap of maintenance for the Swordbearer. The articles, including two pairs of silver clasps for the robes, cost £30 9s. 8d. The purchase was not made to gratify the worthy baronet's known love of ostentation, but in consequence of the passing of an Act intended to put a new curb upon corporations, the chief magistrates being required to proceed to Westminster to be sworn in. The Council were naturally desirous that the appearance of the Mayor and his attendants should be creditable to the city. The journey entailed a further outlay of £30, and this item became an annual one for some years.

The office of Town Clerk became vacant in March, 1676, by the death of Robert Aldworth, and from letters amongst the State Papers it appears that a number of candidates for the post were speedily in the field. The Marquis of Worcester, who kept a vigilant eye upon the Corporation, is stated to have warned the Mayor that the place must be confided to a stanch King and Church man; whilst Ellsworth addressed a characteristic note to Secretary Williamson, alleging that the city was as factious as it was populous, that the authorities were grossly ignorant, and not thoroughly purged of the old leaven, and that the laws against sedition were laid asleep. He concluded by advising that the King should send down a proper command to the Council. The vacancy was filled in the following month by the election of John Romsey, who is not to be confounded with a Colonel John Romsey, or Rumsey, who

was at the same time local Collector of Customs, and was subsequently concerned in the Rye House Plot. Mr. Aldworth, in his later years, dwelt in a large mansion in the Marsh, on or near the spot where the Assembly Rooms were built in the following century. The house, erected early in the century by Humphrey Hooke, was the most pleasantly situated in the city, and was frequently made available for the reception of the judges and Recorder. Chief Justice North lodged there shortly before Aldworth's death, and will be found there again during the Popish Plot mania, being then the guest of Romsey, the new tenant, who also entertained Chief Justice Jeffreys during the Bloody Assizes. John Evans and his copyists have alleged that this historic mansion was situated in King Street, on no other evidence than the fact that a small and mean house there (removed a few years ago) had the initials J. R. inscribed over the door. The true site is minutely described in the Bargain Books of the Corporation.

The Society of Merchants purchased, in June, of one Isaac Morgan, three-fourths of the manor of Clifton, for some generations the property of the wealthy local family of Broke, but eventually divided amongst co-heiresses through failure of heirs male. The remaining fourth part is supposed to have been acquired in fragments. The Society believed they had become possessed of manorial rights over the entire parish. But it appears from a document in the Reference Library (from which the above facts are taken) that in 1683 they were disagreeably surprised by the discovery that certain persons were claiming portions of the "waste" by virtue of manorial rights derived from one of the ministers of Henry VIII.—Sir Ralph Sadleir. That famous grabber of church lands had, in fact, obtained a grant, soon after the dissolution of the monasteries, of a manor in Clifton previously belonging to the Dean and Canons of Westbury, and the estate had devolved by a later purchase on Gabriel Deane, of Bristol, merchant, and Abel Kelly. Mr. Knapp, in his "Handbook of Clifton," stated that the Society purchased the ecclesiastical manor from those owners, by which litigation was avoided.

The Duke of Ormond paid another visit to the city in 1676, and was sumptuously entertained in St. George's Chapel, in the Guildhall. The French cook already mentioned was again in request, an abundant supply of sweetmeats was provided, and Alderman Olliffe furnished a copious store of the Bristol sherry so much esteemed by the noble guest.

The Chamberlain, in August, records the disbursement of £145, "the charge of building a new bridge going out of the Castle into Castle Mead, *alias* the Queen's Orchard." This is doubtless the bridge which still spans the ancient moat in the rear of Castle Street. The Mead was at that time really a meadow, but was being prepared for building operations. This was a work which could not be satisfactorily accomplished without refreshments; so "we"—that is, the Chamberlain and his staff—repaired to the Three Tuns tavern after a morning's measurement, "for two quarts of sack and a bisket," for which Falstaffian regale he paid 3s. 5d.

The Mayor's annual fishing recreation in the Froom, which had been long discontinued, was revived in September, though on a humble scale as compared with former times. The outlay for the day amounted to only 15s. 6d.; but the wine bill may have been included in Olliffe's yearly account. In September, 1678, the Chamberlain paid £2 10s. for "a fishing net, 20 fathom of rope, and a barrel to put him in."

The Council, in September, had its dignity affronted in an unprecedented manner. At a previous meeting the Mayor, exercising an ancient privilege, nominated one Robert Bagnell for admittance to the freedom without the payment of a fine, and a confirmatory order was passed as a matter of course. But his worship now announced that this graceless individual, instead of feeling thankful for the honour conferred upon him, had in saucy and impertinent language contemned and despised the same. The House, much incensed, ordered the previous resolution to be expunged from the minute-book, and declared Bagnell to be for ever incapable of holding the freedom. A balm to the Chamber's wound was applied a few days later. It was intimated that Sir John Churchill, now become attorney-general to the Duke of York, was desirous of being useful to the city, and was anxious for an offer of the freedom. The disreputable incident in connection with Lady Castlemaine could not have been forgotten, but the wily lawyer had pushed his way at Court by this and other baseness, and the Council, "considering in what stead the having so worthy a member might be to the city," ordered the freedom to be presented to him.

The rector and churchwardens of St. Stephen's parish petitioned the Chamber in October, representing that the little burial-ground attached to the church was so full of

dead bodies that there was no place left for fresh interments, and that the place had become a great annoyance and grievance to the neighbourhood. The House ordered that a fitting piece of ground in the Marsh should be granted to the parish in fee-farm, a rent of 3s. 4d. being reserved. In the following century the new cemetery also became a pestiferous nuisance from the same cause, and the Corporation had to repurchase the ground at the price demanded by the vestry—£1,000.

The Council were requested in October to deal with a refractory member of the Feltmakers' Company. It was stated that the man had bought several parcels of felts, but had refused to allow the Company's officers to inspect them, and had resold the goods before they had been approved as marketable, being also contumacious and discourteous to the magistrates when they admonished him. The House gave the offender six months to consider the enormity of his conduct; but he reappeared in April as stiff-necked as before. It was therefore ordered that he be disfranchised and thenceforth treated as a foreigner.

The Corporation in November met with a serious discomfiture in the Court of Exchequer, a judgment being given against them, after a long and costly litigation, in a suit raised by Sir William Waller, the lessee under the Crown of the right of "prisage" of wines. It will be remembered that in the disputes respecting royal "purveyance" in the early years of the century, the citizens resisted those burdens on the ground that the Crown claimed a right—unknown in other ports—to take one tun of wine out of every cargo of from ten to twenty tuns, and two tuns out of every larger cargo, brought into Bristol; but no further information respecting this "prisage" was then obtainable. From the voluminous documents in the Record Office concerning the above suit, however, it is possible to give further details. It appears from depositions that the Waller family had enjoyed a lease of the prisage for several generations, the rent paid to the King by Sir William being £500 a year. Early in the reign of James I., one of his ancestors sub-leased the right for thirty-eight years to several prominent members of the Corporation, reserving a rent of £110, together with a tax of £6 for every tun of prisage. At the expiration of this sub-lease, during the Civil War, the right reverted to the Wallers, who obtained a fresh grant from Charles II. at the Restoration, and their claim to the profits does not appear to have been ever resisted. In the middle

ages the Crown right, for a brief space in every year, lapsed to the monks of St. James's Priory, who claimed to have the right of prisage on wines coming into port during the Whitsun week by virtue of a charter of William, Earl of Gloucester. This pretension was held to be valid at the suppression of the monastery, for the week's prisage was granted by Henry VIII. to Brayne, with the rest of the Priory estates. Brayne's two representatives, in 1579, divided the property between them, and it was arranged that the prisage should be taken by them in alternate years, "for ever." In 1627, the heir of one of these men, Sir Charles Gerard, sold this and other rights to the Corporation (see p. 97), but there is no evidence in the civic archives of any receipt from prisage for nearly half a century. But in May, 1673, when four ships reached the Avon during the Whitsun week, two belonging to Sir Robert Cann and one to William Colston, with an aggregate cargo of 240 tuns of wine, Waller's agent selected ten butts of Spanish liquor, worth £16 per butt, and two tuns of French, valued at £38 each, and put the "King's mark" upon them, when they were violently seized by one Jones, acting upon the orders of the Mayor, and removed to corporate cellars, the Customs duty, £72 4s., being paid by the Chamberlain. Sir William Waller thereupon commenced an action against both the Corporation and the importers, to which the former pleaded the privilege granted to the Priory. Two Commissions were issued by the Court to take local evidence as to the facts, and the above information is drawn from the depositions. It may be of importance to add that Waller's chief witness alleged that, although the ships reached the port in the Whitsun week, none of the wines were entered at the Custom House until the following Monday. The judgment delivered in the Court of Exchequer is appended to the last depositions. The judges determined that "no prisage was due within the time that the city claimed to have the same," and that "the prisage of the wines imported as aforesaid are not within the claim of the defendants." Cann, Colston, and the other importers were therefore ordered to pay Waller his prisage, deducting the duty. The Corporation, of course, bore this burden, £150, and also paid the plaintiff £50 for costs, to say nothing of their own, about three times greater. With the exception of a sum of £4 18s. 6d., received in April, 1680, "for duties of goods that came in last Whitsun week," and of two butts of sherry, taken at Whitsuntide, 1697, the city authorities

do not appear to have afterwards reaped any profit from their prisage rights.

For some years previous to this date, there had been occasional manifestations on the part of the Cathedral authorities of a desire to claim immunity from civic jurisdiction. In 1666, to give an example, Nicholas Pownell, Registrar of the Consistory Court, who had built himself a house in Lower College Green, together with three of his neighbours, asserting the place to be extra parochial, refused to pay the rate of twopence weekly then assessed on all respectable householders for the relief of the poor; but the Corporation ordered the rate to be recovered by distraint, and the resistance was for the time abandoned. The Dean and Chapter nevertheless continued to sigh for the independence enjoyed by the capitular bodies in some ancient cities, and they probably stirred up Bishop Carleton to demand a similar privilege for their own cathedral precincts. The bellicose prelate at all events sought to shake off corporate control in a characteristic fashion. The Council learnt in April, 1677, that his lordship was seeking to achieve his aim by foisting a clause for that purpose into a Bill then before Parliament for endowing poor vicarages. This manœuvre proving unsuccessful, the campaign was continued in another form by the Chapter. In May, the Mayor and Aldermen, appealing to the Recorder for his assistance, forwarded a demand made by the Dean and prebendaries, "the purport whereof," say the writers, "is to exempt themselves, not only from the jurisdiction of the city, but from all temporal jurisdiction whatever." Sir Robert Atkyns's reply has been lost, but in June he was apprised that the Dean and Chapter "persevere in the contest with the city with unseemly rigour and severity, as by arresting the Mayor"—an incident on which we have no further information, except that one of the prebendaries, in a letter to the Primate, alleged that the outrage was ordered by the Bishop. The Recorder appears to have advised the Corporation to apply for relief to the Lord Chancellor, for the next effort of the Court of Aldermen was an appeal to Lord Finch, setting forth the aggressive tactics of their opponents, who, with unbecoming heat and ardour, were claiming immunities in derogation of undoubted civic rights; "and not only so, but they have endeavoured to shorten the jurisdiction and extent of the city, by depriving us of almost a whole parish, claimed by them as a distinct and separate jurisdiction." These claims, continued the

applicants, had been prosecuted at the instigation of the Bishop; and not contented with this aggression, these confederates were labouring to obtain a Commission of charitable uses, to be worked by their own creatures, openly declaring that they were aiming at an inquisition "into the arcana of the city." Flattered, perhaps, by the eulogium of his wisdom and ability, with which the writers concluded, the Chancellor appears to have directed Mr. Justice Jones, who came down for the autumn assizes, to inquire into the case, for the judge certainly requested Sir John Churchill to endeavour to accommodate the controversy between the Corporation on the one hand and the Bishop and Chapter on the other. The Council, in September, assented to Churchill's intervention, but ordered their determination "to be kept secret," and prohibited any member from "presuming to discourse of it under severe penalties." It is clear from the total disappearance of the subject in later minutes that the Dean and Chapter eventually withdrew their pretensions as unsustainable. The Commission also proved a failure, and no further record remains of it in the civic books except a disbursement of £15 for expenses entailed on the Corporation.

A vague tradition existed in the city early in the present century that two brothers of Edward Colston were murdered in Spain during their residence in that country as agents of their father, William. The true facts respecting the matter have been unexpectedly discovered in the minutes of the Privy Council. On June 22nd, 1677, their lordships considered a petition from William Colston, Esq., of Bristol, setting forth that his son William was barbarously murdered at Lisbon, on December 16th, 1675, by a stab with a dagger knife, given by one Hutchinson, an Englishman, without provocation; that the petitioner, upon hearing that Hutchinson was coming to England, caused him to be apprehended by warrant and committed to Newgate; but that it was stated he could not be tried here without a special commission; and therefore prayed that such a commission might be granted by the King. The Council ordered that the Keeper of Newgate (presumably the gaol in London) should bring the prisoner, under a strong guard, before the King in Council, five days later, when Colston was to take care to have his witnesses present. The parties accordingly appeared on the 27th, when clear evidence was given that Hutchinson had perpetrated a barbarous murder; but it was also shown that he had been tried in Portugal, and

acquitted. The Council then ordered the Attorney-General to confer with the judges as to what should be done; but the law officer reported on July 20th that owing to the approaching assizes the judges had been unable to consider the matter. The Council thereupon directed that the Lord Chief Justice should take bail for the appearance of Hutchinson in the following Michaelmas term. As there is no further reference to the subject, it may be inferred that the miscreant escaped his deserts.

The Corporation had hitherto limited the operations of the scavenger to the central districts under their control, and left the outlying parishes to make provision for themselves. The Court of quarter sessions now suggesting that some assistance should be rendered to the neglected localities, the Council voted the munificent sum of £3 each to the authorities of St. Augustine's and St. James's "towards keeping the parishes clean" for the ensuing year. St. Michael's parish was considered to be equitably treated by a dole of 20s.

Queen Catherine being on a visit to Bath, the Corporation felt it obligatory to offer her the hospitality of the city, and, on the invitation being graciously accepted, due preparations were ordered for Her Majesty's reception on July 11th. The city treasury being in its chronic condition of emptiness, the first step was to borrow money, and Sir William Cann generously offered the loan of £300 for a month, free of interest. It was then resolved that the royal guest should be conducted by way of Castle Green, that all the streets should be thickly sanded from Castle Gate to Small Street, and that the members of the Council should parade in black furred robes. As the route of the procession involved the passing of Newgate, the keeper received instructions to prevent the prisoners—who clamorously begged for alms daily from inside the grated portal—from making a display of their wretchedness. The story of the Queen's arrival at Lawford's Gate, including the solemn oration of the Town Clerk, the bareheaded march of the Mayor before the royal coach, and the firing of salutes, is almost a stereotyped reproduction of the account of the King and Queen's arrival fourteen years earlier. The feast offered to Her Majesty was prepared in the mansion of the Creswick family in Small Street—one of the finest in the city, though probably uninhabited after the death of Sir Henry. The French cook always engaged on state occasions appears to have spared no expense in

producing a regal entertainment, for the note of charges showed a total of £446. After dinner the Queen proceeded to the Hot Well in her coach, attended by the gallant Earl of Ossory and a numerous Court, inspected the magnificent ravine, still almost unmutilated by quarrymen, and took a draught from the spring that was then fast becoming famous. Then, after a short repose in Small Street, Her Majesty started on her return journey, and reached Bath late in the evening. In the following year, the Chamberlain bought six yards of damask at 9s. a yard, to make a tablecloth for Alderman Crabb, the cloth that he had lent for the feast having been stained and spoiled; but the discarded article was retained at the Council House, being deemed good enough "for the city's use."

The amenities of Newgate are briefly sketched in a petition presented to the Council in July by the late Keeper of the gaol. The applicant set forth that for the better health of the prison, which was close, and had no rules (liberties) like some other gaols, and was made noisome by the unwholesome stench from the whitawers' (curriers') pits lying under the walls, he had built a small house, and made a walk, with benches, whence the prisoners could view the country, much to their health. Prayer was made for the repayment of the outlay, but the impecunious Council did not respond to the call.

About this time the Corporation seem to have been advised by the Town Clerk or some other legal authority that they were entitled to receive the rents for booths and other standings erected in St. James's churchyard during the annual summer fair—an income which, as stated in page 287, had been previously enjoyed by the parish. The first mention of the subject occurs in the Council minutes of September 25th, when it was ordered that the parishioners should produce their title to the profits, and that unless they paid over the money collected at the last fair, a suit should be raised for its recovery. As no reference to the dispute is to be found in any local history, it may be well to give a brief summary of the facts in a connected form. On receiving the above intimation, the churchwardens refused to distribute the money in their hands in the customary way, whereupon, in January, 1678, a petition from "sundry poor people" of the parish was presented to Bishop Carleton and others, the Commissioners for charitable uses under the commission already referred to, alleging that the profits of the fair in the churchyard, from time

immemorial, had been gathered by the churchwardens for the benefit of the poor, but that the existing officers withheld the money, pretending that the Corporation were entitled to it; wherefore the petitioners prayed that the wardens should be compelled to distribute it in the usual manner. The sitting Commissioners (Sir Francis Fane, Edward Gorges and others) ordered the summoning of a jury of twenty-four inhabitants, not being St. James's men or free burgesses; and this body, on January 19th, found that the churchwardens, for time out of mind, had let the standings in the churchyard and received the rents, as was proved by leases produced, dating from the 8th Henry IV. to the 30th Elizabeth; and that the money, about £30 yearly, had been distributed amongst the poor. Nothing further appears to have been done by the Commissioners, who were ignored by the Corporation; but a suit in Chancery was raised soon afterwards by the Mayor and Commonalty, against Thomas Horne (the incumbent) and the parishioners of St. James's. After pleadings in London, the Court ordered an inquiry into the facts upon the spot, and the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, Robert Henley and Francis Yeamans, sat at the White Lion inn on September 24th, 1680, to take evidence. The depositions made on behalf of the plaintiffs have not been preserved, but it is clear that the Corporation claimed to possess the freehold of the churchyard. On the other hand, the witnesses for the parish showed that the wardens were accustomed to receive 2s. yearly from the holders of every house having a door opening on the cemetery, and that seizures for this rent had been sometimes made. The minister and clerk had each a house rent free, opening upon the churchyard, the yearly value of which was estimated at £4 and £2 respectively. The herbage of the ground once brought in a rent to the parish of 40s., but had become valueless by reason of the numerous footpaths. The parish clerk deposed that the Corporation had never claimed the profits of the fair until within the last few years. The wardens, thirty years previous, threw down all the trees in the lower walk, and sold the timber to pay for the re-casting of the church bells; but the witness admitted that Sir Robert Yeamans, when Mayor, forbade a baker to shroud the trees, though the man had the consent of the wardens. After further proceedings, in the course of which "the vast expense of the suit" is noticed in the **Council minutes**, the Lord Chancellor ordered, in July,

1681, that a trial of the cause at common law should take place at the ensuing assizes. But on February 11th, 1682, his lordship was informed by the counsel for the parish that the plaintiffs had neglected to bring the case to trial, and that the wardens had quietly collected the profits of the last fair, and had handed them to Sir Robert Cann (doubtless appointed receiver by the Court). It was therefore asked that Sir Robert should be ordered to refund the money—about £36—so that it might be distributed amongst the poor. This the Chancellor thought reasonable, and ordered it to be done unless the plaintiffs showed cause to the contrary. The Corporation appealed, but the order for repayment was confirmed, and the Court again directed the case to be tried at the local assizes. But after five years' litigation, the Council abandoned their claim, and on October 19th, 1682, rescinded the authority given to Sir John Knight to prosecute the suit in London.

The early Bristol Volunteers (see p. 93) were revived and reorganized in 1677. On September 25th the Council gave orders that such gentlemen as might think fit to join an Association of an Artillery Yard, for their better instruction in military discipline, might have the use of the Bowling Green in the Marsh, on making an agreement with the tenant. In the following February, the Marquis of Worcester, Lord-Lieutenant, expressed his approval of the movement, when a committee of the Council was appointed, apparently at his suggestion, to make terms with the tenant of the Bowling Green, or to obtain some other piece of ground, for conversion into an Artillery Yard. Subsequently, the King's approbation was signified to the Marquis, who nominated his son, Lord Herbert, to be captain and leader of the Company, which had also a lieutenant and ensign. From the tenor of the rules drawn up for the regulation of the corps, it is evident that the members, who numbered more than a hundred, were all of ultra-royalist principles. The dress of the pikemen and musketeers was a grey cloth coat, scarlet breeches and stockings, and a white hat.

An official return to the Government of the amount of Customs duties received at the various ports for the twelve months ending Michaelmas, 1677, is amongst the State Papers of the year. The chief receipts were:—at London, £597,704; Bristol, £50,946; Hull, £21,480; Exeter, £17,921. In other ports the collections were insignificant, Liverpool producing £3,507.

Robert Lippyat, "distiller and metheglin maker," was admitted a freeman by the Council in October, on payment of £20. Metheglin—a beer made from honey—was then a popular beverage, especially favoured by Welshmen. At the same meeting, the Rev. Nicholas Penwarne, rector of St. Stephen's, petitioned for admittance as a burgess, pleading that he had many children, with a probability of having many more, to whom the freedom might be beneficial. His request having been acceded to, applications to the same effect were forthwith made by the vicar of St. Augustine's and the incumbent of St. Werburgh's and St. John's, both of whom were granted a similar favour gratis. A few months later, a labourer, who must have had an influential patron in the Chamber, was also admitted free, "to make him capable of an almshouse."

Sir Humphrey Hooke, M.P., died in October, causing a vacancy in the representation of the city. Never losing an opportunity of venting his malignity, Sir R. Ellsworth wrote at once to Secretary Williamson, stating that Sir Robert Cann would endeavour to get elected, though he had instigated his father to disloyalty in 1649, and had made grossly disloyal speeches himself, which the writer professed to quote, though he acknowledged he had gathered them from hearsay. Cann, he adds, will be elected by the Dissenters, who are two-thirds of the city, unless he is interdicted by the King's order. A new writ was issued in the following January, when Sir Robert was elected without opposition. Although Hooke had received great wealth from his grandfather, he died in embarrassed circumstances, and in 1680 his trustees disposed of his fine estate at Kingsweston to Sir Robert Southwell.

An innovation occurred at the beginning of winter. To this time, although all the little candles illuminating the streets were expected to burn out by nine o'clock in the evening, the watchmen who came on duty at that hour had patrolled throughout dark nights without having the means to distinguish an honest man from a rogue. In November, however, the Chamberlain expended £1 11s. 11d. in providing "candles for the watch." The outlay afterwards amounted to about £14 yearly. No provision of lanterns was made by the Chamber, but the outlay for that purpose was doubtless paid out of the watch rate.

Two somewhat puzzling items occur in the civic accounts of the year. On the debit side is the following:—"Paid the Lord Chief Justice's Receiver, two years' exhibition money

to the poor prisoners in the King's Bench and Marshalsea [two well-known London gaols], £4 4s." No such item appears in previous audit books, and no explanation of the liability is forthcoming. The charge must have been forthwith assessed upon householders, for the following entry is found on the credit side of the accounts:—"Collected from the churchwardens for one (*sic*) year's arrears due for relief of the prisoners in the King's Bench and Marshalsea, £9 15s." In the audit book for 1679, a payment of £4 4s. is again entered, but on this occasion the Chamberlain collected £19 10s. from the parishes, leaving a handsome profit on the transaction. The disbursement continued for several years, and then disappears as mysteriously as it arose.

The Recorder, Sir Robert Atkyns, having refused for three years to accept the customary fees of his office, the Corporation presented him in January, 1678, with some handsome plate, costing £59 18s. 6d. Sir Robert had been since 1672 one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and was often consulted by the Government on business connected with Bristol. In a letter from Sir John Knight to the Mayor, in the following June, it appears that Bishop Carleton had been "soliciting for another Commission of charitable uses, the better still to affront the magistrates and trample upon them," but that the Lord Chancellor had refused until he could consult "our Recorder," whose disapproval could be foreseen. The letter also refers to the Bishop's high-handed conduct in inducting one Horne into the incumbency of St. James's, "without our consent," although "our lay fee, and no parish church."

Either from disgust at Bishop Carleton's conduct, or discontent at the policy of the Government, a notable change took place about this time in Sir John Knight's political sentiments. In February, 1678, in consequence of the King's pretended desire for war with France, the House of Commons voted large supplies, which were coolly appropriated to other purposes, and soon afterwards Charles made a secret treaty of peace with Louis XIV., who granted him a pension of £300,000. The King then asked for further supplies for disbanding his forces, and for an addition to his revenue that would have made him independent of Parliament. Upon the announcement of these demands, Knight, hitherto a vigorous supporter of the Government, gave vent to his feelings with much vivacity. Laying his hand upon his heart, he declared that such large sums were demanded that the nation could not bear them, on which Mr. Pepys,

annoyed at this defection, asserted that if the member for Bristol laid one hand on his heart, he should lay the other on his face, for shame—a taunt for which he was incontinently forced to make a humble apology. Sir John Knight renewed his opposition a few days later, declaring that from the poverty of the people it was impossible to grant the demands. “At this rate we shall soon wear wooden shoes.” After calling for an abolition of pensions he concluded by moving a resolution requiring the revenue to be better managed, and though his motion was not put, the House refused to discuss the King’s requests. Sir John thenceforth became a sturdy opponent of the Ministry. In the following December he moved the impeachment of five Roman Catholic peers, and a fortnight later, overflowing with rage on the discovery of the King’s base treaty with France, he was one of the loudest in demanding the impeachment of Lord Danby, by whom it had been negotiated.

The year 1678 is memorable for having produced Titus Oates’s first villainous fictions respecting an alleged Popish Plot, which threw the nation for a time into a delirium of mingled fury and terror. The immense popularity of the arch-impostor naturally brought imitators and rivals into the field, and amongst those who took part in spilling innocent blood was a wretch named William Bedloe. This man, born at Chepstow, where in youth he worked as a cobbler, spent his early manhood as a menial servant to Englishmen travelling on the continent; but subsequently pretended that he was employed by the Jesuits as an emissary to Rome, Spain, and Flanders. When Oates became the popular idol, and a second witness was found needful to swear away the lives of peaceful Romanists, a reward was offered for an informer. Bedloe, then living in Bristol, at once made a communication to the Mayor, John Lloyd, a pompous and credulous Welshman, who, according to Roger North, loved to embroider his lofty talk with “tags of Latin.” His worship, a fervent believer in the “devilish design” proclaimed by Oates, lost no time in apprising the Government of the startling disclosures made by Bedloe, and received immediate instructions to send the informer to London, where he arrived, wrote Secretary Coventry, “on the 7th instant (November) very safely, by your prudent directions, for which I am to return you his Majesty’s thanks.” Lloyd was in fact knighted for his “eminent services.” Bedloe forthwith strove to outstrip Oates in the concoction of alarming fictions, and swore to the existence

of a vast plot for the landing of a Popish army and a general massacre of Protestants. His lying depositions respecting the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey so gratified the House of Commons that he was voted £500. By March, 1679, he was as popular as Oates, was feasted by the citizens of London, and received £10 a week from the Government, whilst he was living at the rate of £2,000 a year. He soon after married a woman of a small fortune, with whom he returned to the West of England. An early trace of him is to be found in the archives at Badminton. Writing on September 5th from Monmouth to the Marquis of Worcester (a Romanist), he asserts that he had made it his business, in passing through Reading, Bristol, Gloucester, and other towns, to contradict reports unfavourable to his lordship, and whenever he found accusations against the Marquis lying in the coffee-rooms, he had torn them up, and had sent some of the coffee men to prison. He soon after settled in Bristol, and lived on Stony Hill (Lower Park Row) for several months. In the summer of 1680 he went back to London, doubtless prepared with a fresh batch of forgeries and informations, but the national mania was subsiding, and his impudent assurance was so shaken by the brow-beating arrogance of Jeffreys that he again returned to Bristol, where he was stricken with fever. On August 16th, whilst Chief Justice North was being entertained to dinner by the Town Clerk, Sir John Knight hurried to the house to inform his lordship that the sick man, then lying with little hope of recovery, wished to make an important communication. North undertook to visit Bedloe in the course of the evening, but being strongly distrustful of the rogue, and dreading a snare "to put a sham plot upon him," he requested the two Sheriffs, his brother Roger, and others, to accompany him. On the arrival of the party, Bedloe made a lengthy speech, in which he declared, on the faith of a dying man, that all his evidence had been truthful; and then, having been sworn, he solemnly asserted that the Duke of York had been concerned in the plot, and that the Queen had promised to give money to introduce the Popish religion. The deposition was sent up to Secretary Jenkins, and the Chief Justice was subsequently summoned before the House of Commons to give a further account of the interview. The deposition was afterwards published, by order of the House. Bedloe, who was in extreme poverty, died on Friday, August 20th. On the following Sunday his body lay "in state" in the Tailors' Hall, and was buried

in the evening at the entrance to the Mayor's chapel in the presence of a great company, the Mayor attending the ceremony, and several members of the Council "bearing up the pall."

In despite of the unpopularity of the impost, a Poll Tax was sanctioned by Parliament at this time, and the local commissioners appointed to supervise its collection have left some imperfect records of their proceedings. Unfortunately, nothing is to be found respecting the amount extorted from the inhabitants. The tax was levied on a sliding scale, extending from dukes to common labourers, and the few details preserved relate to appeals for abatements, gentlemen who generally claimed the title of esquire showing remarkable eagerness to repudiate the rank when they were called upon to pay for it. The following are specimens of numerous minutes:—"Ordered, that the Sheriffs be eased from being Esquires, and reduced to the quality of gentlemen, and be assessed at £1 each for their titles, and £1 each for moneys, etc. Ordered, that Mr. Thomas Earle [a very wealthy man, knighted soon afterwards] be assessed only at £1 for his quality of gentleman, and £8 for moneys, etc. Ordered, that Mr. John Lloyd [another future knight, famed for pomposity] be eased of the title of Esquire, and be assessed at £1 for his quality of gentleman, and 20s. for moneys."

The Corporation, in September, 1678, granted to Ichabod Chauncy, a professor of physic and a prominent Dissenter, a lease for four lives of a piece of void ground in Castle Green at a rent of £2 6s. 8d. A new chapel for the congregation worshipping in that locality was soon afterwards erected on part of this site. Another lease of this year discloses the curious fact that the building called Redcliff Gate contained in fact two gates, having a dwelling betwixt them. From Gate was constructed in the same manner.

The first improvement scheme carried out by the Common Council, for facilitating traffic in the ancient streets, dates from this period. Between the end of Thomas Street and Bristol Bridge was a narrow and obstructive defile called Leaden Walls, the houses in which belonged to the Tailors' Company. The Corporation, having taken a lease of the property for seventy-five years, demolished some of the houses, including the Lamb tavern at the end of Tucker Street, widened the thoroughfare by eight feet, and finally relet the new and other dwellings, the improvement being effected

at little or no expense. Thomas Street was then extended to the Bridge, the old name of Leaden Walls being abolished. The new Lamb tavern let for £69 a year—a remarkable rent for the period.

A fresh and violent quarrel between the Corporation and the Dean and Chapter broke out in 1678, and continued for several years. Little information respecting it can be found in the corporate records, but some references to the squabble are preserved in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library and in the State Papers. It is not surprising to learn that the dispute was provoked by the insolence of Bishop Carleton. Down to 1677 it had always been the custom to pray for the Corporation in the Bidding Prayer before the dignitaries of the church. This the Bishop ordered to be altered, and as some of the Chapter refused to obey the instruction, he reviled them in his visitation address for giving precedence to a parcel of coopers and cobblers, and brought them into "much derision in the streets." He next fell upon Prebendary Crossman, as the leader of the refractory party, ordering him to show cause why he should not be suspended for disobedience, and publicly abused him as a perjured and saucy fellow, who ought to have his gown pulled off his back. Finally he went off to Newmarket races to complain to the King against both the Chapter and the Corporation, and doubtless to make fresh appeals for translation from what he called his "beggarly see." It seems probable that Crossman and his allies sought to win the Corporation back to the cathedral, which they had deserted, by continuing the ancient form of the Bidding Prayer. But the Council now set up, or possibly revived, a claim to have their State Sword carried erect into the choir before the Mayor and his brethren, and to have it maintained in that position throughout the service; whilst the Chapter insisted that the weapon should be lowered. To maintain their demand, the Chamber laid out £21 9s. for "a cushion and cloth of state, both fringed, and a unicorn, gilded, put up in the College to hold the Mayor's sword"; but the Chapter appears to have refused its assent to this arrangement, for an undated paper preserved by Dr. Tanner states that when the Corporation attended the cathedral, they remained in the nave (really the transepts), and during the sermon only. It is not difficult to imagine the joy with which Bishop Carleton would have plunged into a controversy of this character. But his pertinacious appeals to the Court for preferment resulted in his transla-

tion to Chichester, in January, 1679, and he was succeeded by a lover of peace, Dr. William Goulston, who kept aloof from the strife. In November, 1681, whilst the quarrel was still raging, the new Bishop, in a letter to the Primate, stated that all attempts to get the sword lowered during the service, as was done at York [where a similar contest had been settled by Charles I.], had proved futile. Nearly a year later, September, 1682, his lordship informed the Archbishop that on the previous Sunday the Mayor was about to enter the cathedral with the sword erect, accompanied by Lord Chief Justice North, when the writer pointed out to the judge the scandal that would be created by a conflict in the building between the civic and capitular officers. The Chief Justice assenting, the Bishop took him and the Mayor into the palace, where his worship remained whilst the judge and prelate went to prayers. (The sword could not be raised whilst the Mayor was absent.) The absurd controversy was at length settled by the intervention of the Bishop and the judges, it being arranged that the sword should be carried erect into the cathedral, and there laid down upon a cushion. What became of the costly gilded unicorn does not appear. Whilst this teapot storm was raging, the ecclesiastical authorities were by no means a happy family. In a petition to the King, Bishop Goulston stated that the Chapter, clearly in spite of his remonstrance, had let a piece of ground called the Canons' Little Marsh, immediately under the palace windows, for the building and repairing of ships (a use to which it continued to be applied until within living memory). "The noise and stench is so continually offensive, and is such an intolerable nuisance, that your petitioner is not able to live in any part of his house with any health or comfort." But the King was apathetic to the discomforts of other people. About the same time, the Dean and most of the Chapter revolted against their treasurer, Prebendary Crossman, on the ground that he conducted the capitular business without their privity and consent, and had put up on each side of the Communion Table "two concaves or noases of wood," which he intended to get carved into images of St. Peter and St. Paul. The Bishop put his foot down firmly against this innovation, and Crossman subsided. Dr. Goulston, whose net income from the bishopric was only about £210 a year, at length grew weary of his troubles, and retired to his rectory in Dorset, where he generally resided until his death, in 1684.

A general election, an event that had not occurred for nearly eighteen years, took place in February, 1679: The two previous members for Bristol, Sir John Knight and Sir Robert Cann were again returned without opposition. The former no sooner reached the House of Commons than he renewed his attacks on the royal policy, demanding the impeachment of Danby, and the exclusion from the throne of the Duke of York, who, he said, was amongst the thickest of the Jesuits. "If the Pope gets his great toe into England all his body will follow." The Parliament had a very brief duration, being angrily dissolved by the King in the following July. Writs were thereupon issued for a fresh election, which took place in this city on August 25th. On this occasion, to the wrath of the Corporation, which still attempted to impose its will upon the freemen, Mr. Robert Henley, merchant, offered himself as a candidate, and though all record of the poll has perished, some facts that will be given hereafter tend to show that the obnoxious presumer received a majority of votes. The Sheriffs, however, returned his competitors, Knight and Cann. The Council in the following month, still enraged at the opposition, resolved on prosecuting Henley for trading as a merchant in the city, being merely a "foreigner," but the minute books show that he was entitled to the freedom, and had applied for it, when the Mayor had arrogantly refused to swear him in. Undismayed by his angry opponents, Henley petitioned against the return in October, 1680, but the hearing of his case was deferred by an extraordinary incident, illustrating the abnormal excitement under which both the House of Commons and the local Corporation were labouring through Oates's villainous fabrications. On October 28th the Commons received information that John Roe, Swordbearer of Bristol, had stated on oath before a magistrate that Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans had, about a year previously, publicly asserted—no doubt with their habitual vehemence—that there was no Popish Plot at all, but a Presbyterian Plot. In support of this horrible charge, Roe's affidavit was read before the House, whereupon Cann's colleague, Sir John Knight, rising from his seat, corroborated Roe's assertions. Being called upon to answer his accusers, Sir Robert Cann arose in his turn, and declared that Sir John Knight's credit was such in Bristol that no jury of his neighbours would believe him upon oath, asseverating in a lower tone, but audibly to those near him, "God damn me

'tis true." (This is the account in the Commons' Journal. Roger North alleges that his choleric relative also called Roe "a damned rogue.") Knight having been chairman of the committee for inquiring into the Plot during the previous session, the House became greatly excited, and Cann was ordered to withdraw. It next transpired that the Swordbearer was conveniently attending in the lobby to give further information. Being at once brought to the bar, Roe stated that Yeamans and Cann had made the above assertion at the sessions dinner in October, 1679, Yeamans adding that the Dissenters had voted for Knight at the then recent election. The Swordbearer further alleged that the two culprits were mere tools of the Papist Marquis of Worcester, "who governed the city in all things," and had dragged Roe himself before the Privy Council on an unknown charge, which had cost him £60. Cann was now brought back, and though he repeatedly declared the charge to be false, he was ordered to receive the Speaker's reprehension on his knees, to which he submitted. He was then declared to have been guilty of denying the existence of the Popish Plot, for which unpardonable offence he was committed to the Tower. And finally he was expelled from the House, and received the judgment on his knees! A warrant for his commitment was at once issued, as was another for the arrest of Sir Robert Yeamans on the same charge. On November 8th the unhappy Cann petitioned the House, acknowledging his guilt, craving pardon, and praying for liberation; whereupon he was released. On the 13th Sir Robert Yeamans appeared at the bar to make a humble apology, and was discharged on payment of heavy fees. The Corporation were now in dread that Henley would be allowed to take his seat, and sent up a petition praying for a fresh election. On December 20th the Committee of the Commons that had inquired into Henley's petition reported that Cann had not been duly elected, and that Henley should have been returned, thus clearly imputing misconduct on the part of the Sheriffs. But the House, overflowing with faction, set aside the report, and resolved that neither of those candidates had been elected, inasmuch as the Mayor and Sheriffs had imposed an oath upon each voter, requiring him to swear that he had not already voted. If this proceeding vitiated the return of one member, it ought also to have upset the election of Sir John Knight, but the House immediately resolved that that worthy was duly elected,

and only one writ was ordered to issue. It was further resolved that the Mayor and Sheriffs should be brought up in custody to answer for their misdemeanour. There is no mention of their appearance in the Journals of the House, but the Common Council minutes state that the Sheriffs went to London, where they were put to great expense and trouble, and £90 were voted to them "to make good the honour of the city, and to encourage future Sheriffs to perform their duty." Sir Richard Hart, a busy agent of the predominant party, now first styled Tories, received £115 more. The election for the vacant seat took place about the close of the year, but there is no record of the proceedings except that Sir Walter Long, Bart., was returned. Parliament was dissolved in the following week.

Alderman Thomas Stevens (Mayor, 1668-9), died in April, 1679. By his will he bequeathed estates at Bridge Yate, Wick, and Abson, to Sir John Knight and others, trustees, with instructions to apply the rents to the purchase of a piece of ground in St. Philip's parish, and of a similar plot in Temple parish, and to erect thereon two almshouses for the reception and maintenance of twenty-four aged men or women. Sufficient funds having accumulated, the trustees, in September, 1686, bought some property fronting the Old Market, and erected a substantial stone building thereon, which is decorated with a bust of the founder. The Temple Street Almshouse was commenced in 1715, on ground acquired from the Corporation. Owing to the increased value of the estate, the trustees were subsequently enabled to support a number of out-pensioners.

The rigid exclusion from this country of every description of food produced in Ireland was a great obstacle to local commerce, and pressed heavily upon the labouring classes in times of scarcity. In April, 1679, a paper of instructions for the city representatives was drawn up by the Council, in which the members were urged to seek a revision of the statutes prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle. The laws "protecting" the English landed interest were, however, then unassailable. It must be added in fairness to the landlords that their narrow-sighted selfishness was rivalled by that of the manufacturing interest. About this period the Protestants in the north of Ireland began to produce a little fine woollen cloth, and owing to the low price of labour their factories rapidly developed, and they were at length found to be underselling the English clothiers in continental markets. A howl of in-

dignation was forthwith raised in the House of Commons by west-country members, who declared that their constituents were threatened with absolute ruin; whereupon Parliament, in 1692, imposed such enormous duties on exports of Irish drapery that the new industry was practically destroyed, with calamitous effects to the sister country.

The last Bristol farthings issued by the Corporation are dated 1679, according to Mr. Henfry's work on the coinage, and the author professes to have seen two specimens. No information respecting them, however, is to be found in the civic archives. In May, 1679, the Chamberlain paid £4 1s. "to an attorney about a former business touching the quining of farthings." The use of tokens was soon afterwards superseded by the issue of copper coins from the royal mint.

The Common Council, in 1679, proposed to make another of their many unsuccessful efforts to carry on a manufacturing business to provide employment for the poor. At a meeting on May 15th a committee previously appointed to consider a proposal made by James Holloway, a Bristol draper, "touching linen manufactory," brought in a report, the purport of which can be inferred only from the resolution adopted. It was ordered that, for the encouragement of the undertakers, the Corporation should advance them £2,000 without interest, one half for three years, and the remainder for ten years, and should give up to them part of Bridewell, for conversion into a workhouse at the cost of the city. The undertakers were to employ 500 spinners, nominated by the magistrates, and to pay them wages as they merited. Twelve strangers, and no more, were to be imported to teach spinning and weaving, whose wages were to be paid out of the earnings of the spinners. A sum of £600 was to be taken out of charity funds in the hands of the Chamber, and the citizens were to be applied to for loans on city bonds to complete the capital advanced. The Council were so thoroughly in earnest on the subject that nearly £1,000 was subscribed in the room. The rash scheme came to the ears of the city members, then at Westminster, and Sir John Knight, on behalf of himself and his colleague, Sir Robert Cann—apparently then on friendly terms—despatched an urgent protest against the speculation, pointing out that the finances of the Corporation were already in "a deplorable condition," and that the scheme must inevitably fail, since the Act excluding French linens would shortly

expire, when trade would be sure to return to its old channels. He especially requested that no further debt should be contracted until he and his fellow-member could be heard in the Chamber. The Council, however, persisted in their design, with the customary results. The following item appears in the audit book for 1684:—"Received of Walter Stephens & Co., the undertakers for the linen weaving; freely lent by the city towards its advancement; for the repayment of which the city have given seals to several gift money charities, £600." As there was no further repayment, the loss was apparently very great. The disappearance of Holloway's name as chief "undertaker" is explained by the tragical story to be narrated hereafter.

An odd item occurs in the Chamberlain's accounts for October, 1679:—"Paid R. Corsley for a new Chamberlain's seal, the old seal being not well done, for instead of a purse, which is the Chamberlain's seal, the old seal was a perfect bell, and not at all like a purse, 15s. 6d." Mr. Corsley, who is often styled a goldsmith, negotiated bills of exchange, and transacted other financial business, and was in fact a banker before that term came into use.

An incident that must have caused an intense sensation occurred during the summer. Our only information of it is derived from a very rare pamphlet in the British Museum, entitled "Strange and wonderful News from Bristol," the title-page further alleging that the acts recounted were done for promoting a horrid and damnable Popish Plot. The writer states that on July 24th four sheep were found dead near the city, with all the kidney fat taken out of them, the carcasses and skins being left. Three sheep having been treated in the same way in the previous week, the facts were reported to the magistrates, and the Mayor, several Aldermen and Captain William Bedloe took the matter into their serious consideration, when it was ordered that the watch should be doubled and that six substantial householders should personally serve every night. This was done, he adds, because similar villainies had been practised before the great fires in London and other places, "for the fat with other compounds made up into balls are of an extraordinary furious burning quality, and once kindled cannot be quenched, and stick so fast when thrown that they cannot be removed." The formal order of the Council for doubling the watch "in regard of the present apprehended danger" was not passed until November, but that Sir John Lloyd took upon himself to deal promptly with

the supposed emergency is only what might be expected from his fussiness and credulity.

A lease of the Bowling Green in the Marsh having nearly expired, the Council, in August, granted a new lease for three lives of the Green and its lodge, at a rent of £12 and two capons, or 5s., to the Mayor, in consideration of the lessee laying out £60 in improvements. The Corporation were to be at liberty to make an Artillery-ground there for the Volunteers already mentioned, and they also reserved a right to use the place "upon any extraordinary occasion, upon elections of burgesses in Parliament, or otherwise." This is the first mention of local open-air gatherings for electioneering purposes.

The nuisances arising from the unprotected state of the reservoir supplying the Quay Pipe were mentioned in page 289. The Chamber got rid of the dead cats this year by building a Conduit-house at the spring, at a cost of £154.

The churchwardens' books of St. James's parish note in January, 1680, an example of the working of the Sabbatarian laws of the time. It is recorded that three respectable parishioners, one an ex-churchwarden, had been prosecuted in the Bishop's Court for profaning the Lord's Day by walking to Bath. Having confessed their sin, and doubtless paid the heavy fees for which the Court was notorious, they were allowed "by commutation" to escape on contributing 20s. to the parish funds.

It will be remembered that when the city Swordbearer, John Roe, appeared as a witness in the House of Commons, he charged the Marquis of Worcester with having dragged him before the Privy Council for an undefined offence. The Privy Council minutes throw some light upon the subject. On January 21st, 1680, their lordships, having been apprised by affidavit that Roe and one Joseph Tyley had spread seditious news in Bristol, issued a warrant for their arrest, and a week later a similar writ was ordered against Philip Bisse, another Bristolian, for sedition. All the men had arrived in custody before February 6th, but no witnesses were produced against them by their secret prosecutor, and on the 14th Tyley and Roe were "reproved" and discharged, on giving bail for their good behaviour. Roe's assertion that the affair cost him £60 is not at all improbable. Bisse was lodged in the Gatehouse prison for some time, but his ultimate fate is not recorded. A month later Roe and Tyley, with one Godfrey Hellier, were again summoned "to give an account of certain letters," probably

opened in the Post Office, but there is no further mention of the case.

In their eagerness to suppress the business transactions of "foreigners," the Corporation sometimes allowed zeal to outrun discretion. On March 1st the Chamberlain paid 1s. 9d. at "the Three Cranes tavern for a quart of sack, and biskett, when the Town Clerk and Thomas Speed was arbitrating the difference between the city and James Mudford about 2 baggs of hops, seized as foreign bought and foreign sold." Later minutes show that Mudford was really a free burgess, but corporate obstinacy delayed a settlement, and in the meanwhile the hops were damaged by damp. Mudford therefore declined to take them back, and demanded their original value, £17, which the Council were forced to pay. The sequel turns up in the audit book for 1683:—"Received for the hops seized in 1680; being old and not fit for much was feign to sell them for £2 1s."

The spring of 1680 was notable for the rival agitations of the "petitioners and abhorrers"—the former faction clamouring for the election of a Parliament, whilst the latter addressed the King expressing abhorrence of attacks on the royal prerogative. A presentment of the Bristol grand jury in April, amongst the State Papers, shows that the jury box was packed with Abhorrers, or Tories. The jury thank God that it never entered into their hearts to petition against the King's policy, and trust the magistrates will concur with them in disowning a petition for a Parliament lately carried about the city by disloyal persons. They also request the prosecution of the many turbulent people active in sowing sedition, and desire that a store of arms may be kept in the Guildhall for the preservation of the city. Considering that the grand jury of the following August were summoned by the same Sheriffs, it is somewhat amazing to find them making a presentment of an exactly contrary character. The jury, "in this time of so apparent danger from the many hellish plots," lament the distracted condition of the city, through animosities fomented by many men for the gratification of private passions, such men feigning loyalty and religion while they were really inflamed by Jesuitical sentiments. The presentment goes on to animadvert on the conduct of the ultra-Royalists, who had not only traduced the Mayor, whose loyalty and orthodoxy were declared to be unquestionable, but had denounced all good Churchmen that showed moderation towards Dissenters as more dangerous

than even Papists. This document was also sent to the Government, and was endorsed, probably by Secretary Williamson, "A seditious presentment."

A "certificate," amongst the State Papers of August, introduces to notice a person who afterwards played a prominent part in local affairs—Nathaniel Wade, son of a conspicuous Puritan officer during the Civil War. The certifiers—Sir Robert Cann, Sir Robert Yeamans, and Alderman Olliffe—declared that Wade, then awaiting his trial at Wells assizes, had for three years been guilty of seditious and disloyal practices, and that he and about sixty sectaries, of which he was the ringleader, had formed, without the consent of the authorities, an armed company, and exercised themselves in arms. He had also resisted a justice who was disturbing a conventicle, for which he was fined at quarter sessions, and had since again committed the same offence, for which he and his brother were sent to prison. With what object this document was sent to the Government does not appear.

At the conclusion of the assizes, in August, Chief Justice North and his brother Roger, whose interview with Bedloe has been already recorded, spent a week at Badminton on the invitation of the Marquis of Worcester, whom Roger in his reminiscences styles Duke of Beaufort, though that title was not conferred until 1682. "The duke," he wrote, "had a princely way of living above any except crowned heads that I have had notice of in Europe, and in some respects greater than most of them. He had about 200 persons in his family, and nine tables covered every day; and for the accommodation of so many a large hall was built. The chief steward dined with the gentlemen and pages, the master of the horse with the coachmen and liveries, the under steward with the bailiffs and husbandmen, . . . my lady's chief woman with the gentlewomen, the housekeeper with the maids, and some others." The duke, he adds, was Lord-Lieutenant of four or five counties, and Lord President of all Wales. His grace's dictatorial treatment of the Corporation of Bristol was glanced at in the Swordbearer's testimony in the House of Commons, and will be further described in later pages.

Towards the close of the year, the House of Commons, in consequence of complaints made to it from Bristol concerning the sermons and conduct of the Rev. Richard Thompson, appointed a committee to inquire into the case. Thompson was a man of mean birth, but must have had an influential

atron, as in 1676, when only twenty-eight years of age, he was appointed to the canonry of Bedminster in Salisbury cathedral, in right of which he held the livings of Bedminster, St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas, and Abbot's Leigh. Soon after his arrival in Bristol, he began to be notorious for his pulpit invectives against Dissenters, and witnesses deposed before the committee as to the language he had used in a sermon preached in St. Thomas's church a few months before. Even the Devil, he said, blushed at Presbyterians; they were as great traitors as the Papists, and he hoped they would all be flung into gaol and their houses burnt. Hampden, he added, was a villain for refusing to pay the King's rightful demand of ship-money. In another sermon in the same church he asserted that Queen Elizabeth was a lewd and infamous woman, and then proceeded to traduce the House of Commons and the Reformation. Out of doors his talk was equally unseemly. He had reviled several of the cathedral dignitaries, and denounced people who attended their sermons as brats of the Devil. He had, he said, been a hundred times at Mass in France, and he did not know but what he should change his religion. Some coarse expressions aspersing Queen Elizabeth were uttered to Roe, the Swordbearer, whom he described as a "lusty fellow," born out of due season. Thompson was confronted with these witnesses, and confessed to having spoken to the effect they deposed. The committee having reported these facts to the House, the Commons resolved that the offender was a scandal to his profession, that he should be impeached, and that the report on his case should be printed. (A copy of the pamphlet is in Mr. G. E. Weare's collection.) The dissolution of Parliament, a few days later, put an end to further proceedings. No better evidence can be given as to the character of the Government of the day than the fact that Thompson was appointed to the first vacant canonry in Bristol cathedral, and was promoted to the office of Dean in 1684, though utterly detested by the Bishop and his colleagues in the Chapter. On June 21st, 1685, he preached a sermon in the cathedral to the troops brought into the city by the Duke of Beaufort, in which he insisted that subjects should passively obey their Prince, and even humbly submit to be punished for not observing his sinful commands. James II., he added, was great and wise and merciful, and would be known to future ages as James the Just. Being a man after the King's heart, he was far on his way to a bishop-

ric, when his career was cut short by death in November, 1685.

The violence of political factions that had marked several previous years reached its climax early in 1681, when, owing to the ferment in London, a Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford. It would seem that ardent adherents of the two rival camps could not meet in Bristol without coming into collision. To cite an instance found amongst the State Papers, it appears that on February 11th, whilst the Mayor (Sir Richard Hart), Sir John Knight, and other Aldermen were assembling in the Tolzey for judicial business, the two worthies just named, who were getting ready to take the field as rival candidates, lost no time in insulting each other, the irascible old knight terming his competitor a base, ungrateful fellow, giving him the lie to his face, and threatening him with his cane—all which was forthwith reported to the Government by the Mayor, who prayed the King to redress the “intolerable affront,” but of course said nothing about the unruliness of his own tongue. The Bristol election concluded on March 7th, after scenes of unprecedented excitement. Practices hitherto unknown were adopted to secure support for the rival candidates. The ultra-Royalists secretly besought William Penn to influence Quaker voters, promising that the sect should be exempted from the persecution of Dissenters. The opposite party, on the other hand, had recourse to a London printer, and produced an electioneering placard, probably the first ever seen in Bristol. In this unique broadside, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, the “lovers of freedom” are desired to take notice that “hundreds of persons” had been placed on the roll of burgesses at the expense of Tory wire-pullers, to the injury of the old freemen. Drinking and treating were, of course, widely prevalent. The candidates were Sir Richard Hart, Mayor, and leader of the Tories; Thomas Earle, Mayor in the following year, generally esteemed a Whig, but a bitter enemy of Dissenters; Sir Robert Atkyns, the Recorder, who held aloof from bigots on both sides, but was probably a Whig; and Sir John Knight, whose anti-Popery fanaticism and opposition to the Government had deadened old high-flying principles, and who was now scornfully termed “an old rat” by a Tory chronicler. The poll, which luckily has been preserved, resulted as follows:—Mr. Earle, 1,491; Sir R. Hart, 1,462; Sir R. Atkyns, 1,435; Sir J. Knight, 1,301. Through some disagreement between the Sheriffs, all the

candidates were returned as duly elected. Sir John Knight, as was to be expected, vented his wrath at being at the bottom of the poll by swearing at large, publicly branding those who voted against him, according to a Tory grand-jury presentment, as "Popish dogs, Jesuits and devils." On the meeting of Parliament a petition claiming the seats was presented on behalf of Atkyns and Knight, but the House was dissolved after sitting only a few days. The Easter sessions grand jury, just referred to, denounced the petition as full of falsehoods, and suggested the removal of the Recorder!

On March 8th, immediately after the election, an incident of an exciting character occurred at the Council House. After the death of Sir John Lloyd, some weeks previously, the Mayor had been thrice requested to summon a Court of Aldermen to supply the vacancy, but Hart refused, being desirous of postponing the matter until Sir Robert Atkyns had left the city, when the Mayor's opponents would be deprived of a vote. At length the Recorder and five other Aldermen convened a Court on the above day, and requested the Mayor and others to attend. At the hour appointed the Mayor was at the Tolzey, but sulkily avoided to enter the Chamber, and the six Aldermen present proceeded in his absence, unanimously electing Thomas Day, the senior Councillor on the roll, and a man of ample wealth. Mr. Seyer's assertion that "it was by no means a party business" seems justified by the facts. One of the Aldermen present had been a zealous supporter of Hart in the Parliamentary contest, and Sir Robert Cann, a still warmer adherent of the Mayor, was prevented from voting for Day only by illness. The new Alderman, however, had a fatal fault in the eyes of the Mayor: he had voted at the poll for the Recorder and Sir John Knight. The first act of the Tory majority in the Council touching the matter was somewhat pitiful. They resolved that the entertainment of the Recorder at the gaol delivery, which had become a long-established custom, should be discontinued, and search was ordered to be made in the records to see whether his yearly fee of £20 could not be cut down. But this did not satisfy the Mayor and his more furious adherents, who determined upon an extraordinary step—the indictment of the Recorder and three other Aldermen, whom they charged at the quarter sessions with conspiracy and riot. The prosecutors did not dare to attack all those concerned in Day's election, for the trial of six justices before the Mayor and the four Aldermen

ready to obey his orders would have scandalised the city. Hart was moreover astute enough to wait until after the annual civic elections, when the choice of two uncompromising partisans as Sheriffs rendered it certain that the jury-box would be packed by men of similar passions. In the meantime, he and his four henchmen, Cann, Yeamans, Olliffe and Crump, held a Court of Aldermen, and filled the alleged vacancy by electing Thomas Earle, then Mayor-elect. The indictment produced at the October sessions against the Recorder and three other defendants asserted that, in pursuance of a wicked conspiracy, they broke by force of arms into the Tolzey, and riotously assembled in the Council House, where they held a secret council for the purpose of illegally electing Day. It was perfectly known to all in Court that those charges were false; but the unscrupulous jury at once found a verdict of guilty. An appeal being, however, demanded, the judgment was respited. Pending the issue, Hart's friends devised a plan for bringing up the Recorder for trial before themselves, with a view of dismissing him from office. The ringleader in this project was one of the new Sheriffs, the third John Knight of this troublous reign, son of the respectable sugar-refiner, and surpassing even his titled namesake in intemperance and scurrility. This official, on November 15th, laid before the Common Council a series of "articles" against Sir Robert Atkyns, embodying the charges laid in the indictment, with others of a like character; and the Chamber summoned the Recorder to answer those charges within three months. Sir Robert, however, treated the proceeding with contempt, and it was found prudent to abandon the design. In Michaelmas Term, 1682, the Recorder appeared in the Court of King's Bench to defend his own case. The scene was a remarkable one. Atkyns had been deprived by the King of his judgeship in the Common Pleas for his uprightness and independence in the discharge of his functions, a proffered bribe for servility having been scornfully rejected. He now appeared at the bar "in his cloak," discarding legal apparel, and was received by the bench with great respect, a chair being brought for him by order of the Chief Justice. After pointing out various legal defects in the indictment, he argued that the Mayor's assumed supremacy over the Aldermen, and the pretended illegality of an aldermanic election at which Hart wilfully refused to be present, could not be substantiated. He further showed that Hart was acting as a justice and an alderman in defiance of the

express words of the city charters. He had come up at the last gaol delivery, but not at the proper time, requesting to be sworn in, and his partisans made a hideous tumult in his support, but he (the Recorder) refused to let the oath be then tendered, and withdrew, and the ceremony of swearing, which was illegal in his absence, was a pure nullity. The venerable gentleman concluded with some striking remarks on the state of the civic body. He had held, he said, the Recordership for twenty-one years, the longest term ever known. Until the last electoral contest, which he had not sought, he had the good will of all parties, even of Hart, for he would never join any section, and strove to promote unity. But "ever since they grew rich and full of trade and knighthood—too much sail and too little ballast—they have been miserably divided. And unless this Court will examine their disorders, and command peace and order to be observed, I cannot safely attend any more, or hold any gaol delivery." The Court soon after determined that the indictment was vicious, and quashed the verdict. In the following December Atkyns resigned the office he had held so honourably. It was reported that he did so at the solicitation of his friends; Chief Justice North asserted that he was compelled to retire by the Government's threats of prosecution, but in a letter to Secretary Jenkins complaining of his unworthy treatment, Sir Robert states that he withdrew by the friendly advice of that minister. He lived to see the downfall of the dynasty, and to become Lord Chief Baron under William III.

The fierce agitation provoked by the election continued for many months. Reference has been already made to the presentment made by the factious grand jury at the April sessions, but there is a further paragraph in the document indicating the regimen that Hart and his school were desirous of imposing on public opinion. The jury strongly denounced the coffee-houses and tippling-houses in the city, which they alleged were constantly frequented by seditious sectaries and disloyal persons, where visitors were entertained with false news, scandalous libels, and pamphlets dishonouring the Church and the Government. It was therefore recommended that no news, printed or written, and no pamphlet, should be suffered to be read in any coffee-house, unless it had been first sanctioned [by the Mayor, or the Alderman of the ward.

The Council's quarrel with the Recorder was followed by.

a dispute with another, and much less reputable, civic official, whose appearance in the House of Commons in the case of Sir Robert Cann had given great offence. A minute dated May 31st, 1681, reads as follows:—"John Roe, Swordbearer, having in many respects misbehaved himself, ordered that he be immediately dismissed." Doubts having arisen as to the legal validity of this decree, the following note was afterwards interpolated:—"At a Council the 20th June, the House having assigned no particular cause against the said John Roe, ordered that those might be assigned: for bearing false testimony against several persons of quality in this city; for refusing come (*sic*) from London with Mr. Mayor when thereto required; for speaking very opprobrious reproachful words of the magistracy and Government." The post being declared vacant, one Daniel Pym was elected in the following August. Two months later it is recorded that Roe had applied for a *mandamus* for restitution to his office, and the Mayor, on instructions, retained three barristers to resist the claim. Nevertheless, in January, 1682, the Council, in doubt as to its proceedings, thought it advisable to begin *de novo*, and summoned Roe to show cause why he should not be dismissed. Roe accordingly produced a "humble answer" to the above charges, denying the alleged misdemeanours, but refusing, on legal advice, to answer further until his suit in the King's Bench was decided. He was thereupon again dismissed. Roe's proceedings for the following eighteen months are involved in mystery. He was, in fact, engaged in an extensive conspiracy, of which an account will be given in 1683, and saved his life only by a flight to Holland. The Corporation exulted over what appeared to be the extermination of its litigious official. His surprising resurrection and ultimate triumph will be narrated in 1691.

Two destructive fires, one upon the Quay and the other in Wine Street, occurred in the early months of 1681, and, as was always the case, the provision made against such calamities was found practically unserviceable. The Council, in June, ordered the parishes to procure fire-engines and an adequate supply of buckets. Old engravings show that the fire-engines of the time were little larger or more powerful than the garden engines of the present day, but the vestries were unwilling to incur expense, and nothing appears to have been done; for in September, 1685, after another alarming fire, the Council "revived" the above order, apparently with as little effect as before.

The Marquis of Worcester, Lord-Lieutenant, having given orders for a muster of the militia in September, the dominant party in the Council resolved to avail themselves of his visit to mark their adherence to his ultra-Royalist principles. An invitation to the Marquis and his two sons to accept the hospitality of the Corporation having been graciously accepted, it was resolved that the freedom should be presented to his lordship for his many favours, not only by his influence with the King, but by his "happy counsel and advice," humbly trusting that the city might never want the favour and patronage of his family. The same compliment was also tendered to the Marquis's sons. The noble guests seem to have been lodged at the mansion of Sir Robert Cann, but one of the banquets given to them took place in Merchants' Hall, and was probably offered by the Society. The Corporation expended £186, of which £110 were received by Sir Robert Cann. Amongst the minor items of the account were 4s. for two pounds of tobacco—a vast reduction in the price of that article as compared with earlier records—and 1s. 10d. for a gross of pipes; which prove that smoking had become a post-prandial custom amongst the upper classes.

About the time when the members of the Corporation were hob-nobbing with nobility, humbler citizens were entertaining a visitor whose name will be ever associated with the progress and development of the English race. Soon after William Penn, whose Bristol extraction has been already noted, had obtained the charter constituting him proprietor of Pennsylvania (February 24th, 1681), he began preparations for the foundation of his colony. At his instigation, the Quakers of Bristol organized a company, styled the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania, and in the autumn Penn came down to confer with the leading members, amongst whom were men named Moore, Ford, and Claypole, the first-named, Nicholas Moore, a lawyer, being their chairman. On September 27th Penn granted the company 20,000 acres of land for a settlement. A vessel having been fitted out, in which several persons embarked as emigrants, Moore departed in charge of the expedition. Penn, with a London contingent, sailed shortly afterwards from the Thames.

Amongst the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library is a letter from Bishop Goulston to the Primate, which throws some light on the corporate yearnings of the time. Writing on November 16th, the Bishop stated that the Mayor had

that day set off for London, previously begging the writ to appeal for the Archbishop's assistance in the application he was about to make to the King. In the first place, the Corporation desired the grant of a new charter; secondly, they wished to have a lease, in reversion, of Kingswood Chase; and thirdly, they were anxious that Bristol might have a Lord Mayor. It is characteristic of the civic records that no hint of any of those proposals is to be found in the Council minutes, the Mayor's journey being ostensibly for the sole purpose of taking the oaths. It will presently be seen that the supplication for a new charter was granted in a manner little satisfactory to many of the applicants. The other requests were eluded, but to soften the Mayor's disappointment he was dubbed a knight, and reappeared in the civic chair as Sir Thomas Earle.

The closing months of the year were marked by the outbreak of a persecution of Dissenters surpassing the grossest of its forerunners. It began in November by the arrests under the Conventicles Acts, of all the Nonconformist ministers and about 100 laymen, all of whom were flung into Newgate. In December, the notorious attorney, John Hellier, followed by a smith and fourteen labourers, broke into the Presbyterian chapel, and ordered his hirelings to pull down the "prattling box," the pews, and the galleries and to destroy all the windows, which was thoroughly accomplished. The Broadmead meeting-house, and that of the Quakers in the Friars, were next reduced to wreck and the timber and other materials of the latter were carried off, and appraised at £2 9s. 6d., though the damage was really more than a hundredfold greater. The outrages were perpetrated under pretence of distraining for a fine of £5 laid on each building by Sir Richard Hart and his clique for not sending a soldier in arms to the military muster; but they were doubtless instigated by party vindictiveness, many of the Dissenters having voted against Hart at the Parliamentary election. In the case of Broadmead chapel the fine had been actually paid, yet the havoc wrought there left it a mere ruin. On December 26th, the Mayor, with the Sheriffs and the Bishop's Secretary, took the field in person, and ordered all the meetings gathered in that chapel to be committed to prison. A few days later it was again entered by order of the justices, when the seats were torn up and burnt; and within a few weeks all the other chapels were wrecked, the windows broken, the doors nailed up, and the minister

and many of the congregations sent to gaol. Children were not punishable under the Acts, but several boys, caught holding meetings for prayer whilst their fathers and mothers were in gaol, were put in the stocks and beaten with whalebone rods. Fifteen boys and girls were committed to Bridewell as alleged disturbers of the peace, and Hellier urged the justices to have them lashed with the cat. Some of their parents were meanwhile dying in the filthy prisons, and many were beggared by the seizure and sale of their goods. Such Dissenters as remained at liberty were now forced to betake themselves to the fields for worship, and in despite of the oppression their meetings were sometimes attended by from 1,000 to 1,500 people. At the sessions in March, 1682, upwards of 150 persons were fined £20 a month for not attending church. Hellier had then become under-sheriff of Somerset, and in concert with one Player, a magistrate at Kingwood, and with a son of the aldermanic publican, Olliffe, mercenaries were organized for preventing open-air services in every suburban district. On April 11th, whilst a minister named Knight, and a High Street mercer named Ford, were striving to escape from one of these gangs by crossing the Avon, near Conham, Mr. Ford was drowned, and Mr. Knight died subsequently from exhaustion. A coroner's jury found three of Olliffe's harpies guilty of manslaughter, but at the trial, at Gloucester, the judge, awed by the presence of Lord Worcester's eldest son, ordered the prisoners to be acquitted, and rebuked the coroner. Hellier, in the meanwhile, got six of Knight's congregation committed to Somerset assizes, here, on his false allegations of their disloyalty, they were each fined £80, and sent to gaol until the money was paid; whilst in Bristol he applied for 500 writs against recusants, the fine being £20 a month. In July, the Mayor and his colleagues posted train-bands at the city gates on Sunday mornings, to prevent Dissenters from repairing to the fields, but this merely forced determined men to depart on Saturday nights. Large bodies of officers were, however, employed to capture such as gathered for worship, and imprisonments without any warrant were of constant occurrence. Newgate was in so vile a state that one of the aldermen publicly avowed that he would not send his dog to it, yet it was frequently so gorged with Dissenters that four were compelled to repose on each miserable pallet. On one occasion a surplus

glut of thirty-five Quakers had to sleep upon the ground. Not content with endangering the lives of his victims, Hellier levied exorbitant distrains on their goods, breaking into houses and shops for that purpose, and selling the spoil at a small fraction of its value. To give a single illustration of the numberless outrages, Mr. Richard Marsh, a merchant in Wine Street, was deprived of two butts of wine, which were sold for the derisory sum of £4, and then £6 in money were taken forcibly from him to make up a fine of £10. Only a few months later, a second distress was levied upon him for the same amount, when all his account-books were carried off, together with a quantity of goods, the officers even ransacking the chamber in which his wife was lying in child-bed. Many employers of labour were so impoverished as to be forced to discharge their workmen. A London news-letter of August 17th stated that above 1,500 Bristol Dissenters were then under prosecution. With the exception of Hellier, no one was so active and so cruel in this persecution as Hellier's prompter, Sheriff John Knight, who had learnt inhumanity whilst a factor in the West Indies. His exploits being gleefully reported to the Government, he was rewarded for his services with the honour of knighthood. (It is gratifying to learn that "old Sir John Knight" was disgusted with the brutality of his namesake, and was spoken of by a Quaker pamphleteer as "a worthy magistrate.") The fines imposed on the Bristol Quakers alone in 1683 amounted to £16,440. One prominent Friend, Charles Harford, paid fines amounting to over £300, and spent several months in prison. An attempt was made by Knight and Hellier to put in operation an Act of Elizabeth, under which persons refusing to conform to the Church and not abjuring the realm were punishable with death. In fact, Richard Vickris, son of Alderman Vickris, deceased, had this sentence actually pronounced upon him by Sir John Churchill, the new Recorder, but a writ of error was procured through the intervention of the Duke of York, and the prisoner was discharged. One of the most melancholy facts connected with the persecution is the language in which the packed grand juries, at quarter sessions, express warm approval of the proceedings of the authorities, urge them to a still more vigorous execution of the laws, and insolently "present" those magistrates (old Sir John Knight, Alderman Crabb, and Alderman Creswick), who

discountenanced the outrages that were being constantly committed.

William Colston, father of the philanthropist, died on November 21st, 1681, in the house in Wine Street that had been his dwelling for nearly fifty years. He had resigned his aldermanic gown in 1664, but continued his mercantile enterprises with great vigour, and became probably the largest importer of Levant fruits, besides carrying on an extensive wine and oil trade with the Peninsula. Although five of his sons attained manhood, none of them remained to assist in the Bristol house, and most of them are supposed to have been long resident in Spain or Portugal. Near the end of his life he appears to have sent for his fourth son, Thomas, to conduct his business, and that gentleman soon afterwards was admitted a freeman, and elected a Common Councillor, and purchased from the son of Sir Henry Creswick the stately mansion of that family in Small Street. The second son, Sir Richard Colston, resigned the consulship of Marseilles soon after his father's death, but did not return to Bristol. The early life of Edward, the eldest child of the family, is as obscure as that of his brothers. According to a statement made by himself, he was educated in London. The books of the London Mercers' Company show that at Midsummer, 1654, he was apprenticed, being then within five months of completing his eighteenth year, for a term of eight years, to Humfray Aldington, mercer. At the end of his servitude he must have been absent from the capital, for though the privileges of a London freeman were indispensable to a resident merchant, he did not apply for admission into his Company for eleven years. He was at length enrolled on May 2nd, 1673, when he paid a small fine for his tardiness. Of his presence in Bristol there is no evidence until June 15th, 1682, when he was in his forty-sixth year, and when the Chamberlain records a loan made by him to the Corporation:—"Received of Mr. Edward Colston, of London, merchant, at 5 per cent., £1800": a sum subsequently increased to £2,000. This transaction probably took place whilst the lender was on a visit to the city to wind up his late father's estate, of which he was executor. In December, 1683, he was again in Bristol, in consequence of the fatal illness of his brother Thomas, and took the opportunity to seek admission to the freedom, and also to the Merchants' Society. Thomas died in the following year,

bequeathing the house in Small Street, and apparently the mercantile business, to Edward; and from 1685 to 1688 the latter imported, in ships previously belonging to his father, yearly cargoes of oil and other goods. That he was not even then a resident is proved by the minute-books of the Merchants' Society, in which his presence at a Hall is only twice recorded; the words "at London," or "lives at London," being generally written against his name on the roll in explanation of his absence. During the same period, in fact, he was taking an active part in the management of Christ's Hospital. In 1687, when the policy of the Corporation had probably given him dissatisfaction, he demanded the repayment of his loan, and £600 were refunded early in the year. But he continued to press for the balance, and on October 13th the Mayor had the unpleasant duty of informing the Council that an "extent" had been levied on the city property to recover the amount due. A few days later, Colston's attorney, Mr. Thomas Edwards, came to the rescue of the impecunious Council, advancing the required amount on a mortgage, and the unpleasant affair was thus settled. About the same time Mr. Colston disposed of his Bristol ships, closed his local transactions, and in April, 1689, removed from London to Mortlake, where he resided almost uninterruptedly until his death. There is no trace of another visit to Bristol until 1700.

It is difficult to realize the conditions of English social life in an age destitute of newspapers. With the exception of the Government organ, the *London Gazette*, which twice a week produced proclamations and tidings of official appointments, with brief records of horse races, cock fights, startling highway robberies, and executions of criminals—all compressed into two small pages—no periodical touching on current events and topics was allowed to be printed. The only manner in which the provincial public could obtain a knowledge of passing occurrences was by means of London "news letters," the writers of which skilfully collected facts and gossip from various sources. These weekly letters became about this time extremely popular amongst the class that could afford to purchase them. The Corporation audit book contains the following items under December, 1681:—"Paid the Town Clerk, for one year's Mr. Munday's letters, £6; postage, 39s." The cost of each letter was thus a little over 3s.

The first party of French Huguenots driven out of their country by the persecution of Louis XIV. landed at Bristol in December, 1681. Amongst the State Papers of that month is a letter from the Mayor and the high-flying Aldermen to Secretary Jenkins, stating that the immigrants consisted of men, women and children, generally of the meaner sort, and needing relief, and that many more were understood to be coming. The writers were at a loss how to dispose of them, owing to their great number and poverty, the city having already more poor than it could keep at work, and directions were requested as to where the immigrants should be sent. The truth was that the Mayor and his allies were greatly annoyed by the influx of this new body of Dissenters, who received much sympathy from the citizens. Struck by a happy thought, the irritated justices, in the following month, again addressed Jenkins, begging that the fines levied on persons resorting to conventicles might by the King's grace be applied to the relief of the French; but there is no record of this proposal having been carried out. Another numerous party of Huguenots landed in the following August, and had a hospitable reception. On this occasion the Corporation disbursed £42 10s. for their relief. According to local tradition, many of the fugitives were mariners, and this class would be soon absorbed in the fast-increasing merchant service of the port. There was, however, a sprinkling of higher-class immigrants, a minute still in existence recording that ten merchants, a physician, three surgeons, and nine weavers took the oath of allegiance to the English crown.

The State Papers for 1682 and 1683 contain a considerable number of papers, hitherto unpublished, relating to the quarrels and intrigues then disturbing the Corporation. From the facts already narrated, one would scarcely suppose that Sir Thomas Earle's treatment of Dissenters could have merited disapproval on the ground of its leniency. The Mayor himself, in a letter sent to Secretary Jenkins, in June, 1682, took credit for his thoroughness. The King's affairs in the city, he said, "were in a good position, the conventicles being in a manner wholly suppressed. We deal in all tenderness with the Quakers, but such is their obstinacy that near 30 are in Newgate, and 60 women in Bridewell, where we put them for more air, and to prevent their clamours above"—that is,

to the Court. But this was far from satisfactory to the vindictive Sheriff, the second Sir John Knight, who in the same month forwarded to the Minister a furious indictment against Sir Thomas. It is highly characteristic of this unscrupulous man that the missive, and others that will shortly be mentioned, are not in his handwriting, and bear no signature, and are known to be concocted by him only from the endorsements of the recipients or other circumstances. The Mayor is charged with scandalous indulgence to all recusants and sectaries. He refuses to send Baptists to prison; those that are committed by other aldermen he induces the gaoler to liberate; he takes sureties from rich Quakers and discharges them at his own house; when Quakers are brought before the bench, and he finds himself outvoted by "honest" justices, he delays committing until he can get a majority of aldermen on his side, and then the offenders are let off; if sectaries are convicted by the "loyal" magistrates, he advises the prisoners to appeal, when he and his adherents outvote the honest justices; it is true he sends some poor fanatics to prison, but that is done to arouse clamour against prosecutions; and finally by these arts he has put a full stop to proceedings against conventicles. After expatiating on these scandalous practices, and detailing the case of the Recorder, the libeller comes to the real object he has at heart. He urges that the Corporation have forfeited their charter, and earnestly hopes that the King will commiserate the condition of his loyal subjects, over-ridden by disaffected magistrates, by issuing a *Quo Warranto*, and so put an end to the existing civic body.

That Sir John Knight II. had colleagues in the Council equally eager to welcome a drastic royal policy will speedily be shown. The Government, however, were not yet ready to move; and the intriguers found it necessary to take steps to secure a new Mayor, and new Sheriffs, on whom they could thoroughly rely. A difficulty was encountered in the fact that, in regard to both offices, several of those entitled to be elected by the usual course of rotation were men whose moderate principles rendered utterly objectionable. The obstacle was found to be so serious that it was resolved to apply for help to the Marquis of Worcester, and his lordship, cleverly disguising the real object of his visit, ordered a muster of the militia for the alleged purpose of imposing the test oaths on the troopers. During his stay, the customary corporate festivities took place, which gave the Marquis an opportunity of inculcating obedience and

fidelity to the good cause, and he apparently made several converts. He ended by ordering the election of Thomas Eston as Mayor, and that person, with George Hart and John Combes as Sheriffs, was duly elected. Sir Richard Hart jubilantly informed Secretary Jenkins that "the loyal party carried it without much struggling." The Marquis, writing to the same Minister, frankly avowed that he had come to the city "to promote a good election," adding, "I have so far proceeded [succeeded?] in it by strengthening some, and *forcing* others, that though the King's friends are not so thorough as I could wish, the result will be satisfactory. . . . We have been forced to leap over the heads of some that of course should go before" (those elected).

A local instance of the mutability of human institutions occurs in the Council minutes of September 15th. In the previous century the chapel of "St. Anne in the Wood" (Fillwood), near Brislington, was a highly popular place of pilgrimage, and had seen even royal visitors offering at its shrine. In 1682, a pottery had been erected amongst the ruins, and at the above meeting, Edward Ward, potter, St. Anne's, was admitted a freeman gratis. It is probable that this manufactory was the first in the district to produce articles superior to the coarse stoneware turned out by local potters. The use of crockery for domestic purposes was still far in the future, the dinners of the rich being served on pewter, while humble traders and working-men were content to dine on wooden platters.

The Council, in December, filled the office of Recorder by the election of Sir John Churchill, subsequently Master of the Rolls. This man's pompous entertainment in Bristol of a member of the King's harem is already known to the reader. But the Chamber, as if to emphasize its debasement, ordered that the hospitality it had refused to Sir Robert Atkyns at the gaol delivery should be tendered to his successor "with all respect." The Mayor, with Yeamans, Olliffe, Crump, the second Sir John Knight, and others seized the opportunity to inform Secretary Jenkins of the appointment, trusting it would give the King satisfaction. The real aim of the letter, however, was to urge the adoption of the policy already prayed for by Knight. The city would never be well settled, said the writers, until (old) Sir John Knight and the Aldermen that followed him were displaced like Sir Robert Atkyns. This dispatch having been sent direct to Whitehall, the prime mover, Knight, drew up a much longer diatribe, which he forwarded to the

Recorder for communication to the Government. As in the former case, the letter bears no signature, but there can be no question as to its authorship. It describes the Court of Aldermen as consisting of the Mayor and four "good men,"—Yeamans, Olliffe, Crump and Hart—and seven "ill men," who would be increased to eight next election if a Mayor were chosen by seniority, and two "ill" sheriffs would also come in by rotation. To get the aldermanic body in a "good" state the writer proposed that four of the "bad" men—the elder Knight, Lawford, Crabb and Creswick—should be tried for riot, convicted and ejected. Earle could be laid aside, "his election not being good," a naïve confession of the malpractices of the clique. Thus five "good" men could be chosen, and the succession of "bad" men would be destroyed. If this plan were not approved, Knight suggested that the King should send down a mandate to the aldermanic body for the displacement of the "bad" men, whose relatives would then not dare to support them, as they otherwise would. "All this," he concludes, "is *our* judgment," showing that he was acting with the assent of his partisans. The course taken by the Government will speedily appear.

The Dean and Chapter, in 1682, gave orders for the erection in the Cathedral of a "fair great organ," still in existence. An organ built shortly before the Civil War was then in use, but was doubtless dilapidated. A capitular minute of December 10th reads:—"It appearing to the Dean and Chapter that Paul Heath, organist, and master of the choristers, hath had several admonitions for keeping a disorderly ale house, debauching the choir men, and other disorders there, and neglecting the service of the church: and being now credibly informed that he doth still keep ill order in his house, and hath suffered one Rouch, a barber, to trim in his house on the Lord's Day, . . . (and according to report hath allowed several town-dwellers to sit tippling in his house till they were drunk, or very much overgone with liquor, one of them being found there dead, and hath often suffered illegal games there,") . . . it is ordered that Heath be "removed, expelled, and dismissed." The fixed capitular payments were then £544 a year; of which the Dean received £100, the six prebendaries £20 each, the four minor canons, £16 each, six singers £12 each, four choristers £4 each, and the organist and schoolmaster £20 each. The ordinary income was about £250 in excess of the outlay, and this surplus was raised to over £1,000

in years when valuable leases were renewed. Most of the balance was divided annually amongst the Chapter, the Dean receiving a fourth and each prebendary an eighth.

Amongst the freemen admitted this year was Onesiphorus Tyndall, grocer, a native of Stinchcombe, who had served as apprentice to Nathaniel Crowder, and who in the course of a long life became a wealthy and influential citizen. Mr. Tyndall was treasurer of Lewin's Mead Chapel in 1704. The name of Athelstane Tyndall, probably a brother or cousin, also occurs in the civic records.

A unique entry occurs in the Council minutes of February 6th, 1683. It records that Edward Young, Common Councillor, being then present, an excommunication was produced against him, whereupon he withdrew. In the following month, Sir John Knight II., in a letter to Secretary Jenkins, incidentally stated that another Councillor [Michael] Hunt, was also excommunicated. There is no further reference to either case, either in the civic minutes or elsewhere.

The idiom of the West of England is amusingly adopted by the Chamberlain in February, when he notes the payment of half a crown to some men "that brought out the engin from under the Guildhall to try him whether he was in order." The masculine instrument did not give satisfaction, and a new engine was purchased in 1684 for £34 15s. According to Sir Richard Hart's account of his squabble with old Sir John Knight in the Tolzey, his angry antagonist's walking-stick was also of the male gender:—"He took up his cane and shook him at me."

The subserviency of the Common Council to the new despotism having been so unreserved, it seems at first sight surprising that the King and his advisers were still dissatisfied with the situation. The charters of Bristol and other towns, however, implied the existence of popular self-government, and though men of the stamp of the second Sir John Knight and Sir Robert Yeamans were everywhere ready to obey royal dictation, there was always a possibility that those who succeeded them might refuse to be used as mere tools. By deft legal trickery the Corporation of London had been driven to surrender their charters, and the lives and property of any men daring to oppose the royal will in that city were soon at the mercy of subservient judges and juries packed with enemies. The Government now resolved to secure similar powers in every corporate town, and in March, 1683, the Court of King's Bench, on the motion of the

Attorney-General, granted a "rule," requiring the Corporation of Bristol to show cause why a *Quo Warranto* should not issue for practically depriving the city of its ancient franchises. Even before this step was taken, Sir John Knight II. had sent one of his characteristic letters to the Secretary of State, urging the Government to proceed with vigour. He had now abandoned the plan he had previously suggested, and hypocritically pretends that he is the mouth-piece of others in recommending a sweeping revolution:—"I do not appear in the business on my own hand, but on the desire of the Mayor and several of the Council, who are agreed the city cannot be settled without a *Quo Warranto*; for a purge will be so far from settling us that it will divide us." He forwarded the names of the members of the Council, showing 26 as ready to bend to the King's desire, and 22 (including seven Aldermen) as "doubtful," but he thought that eight of these would prove "right" on a division. Five others were absentees, showing that the Council numbered 53 instead of 43. "If I have erred in one of the 26 men, I will never see his Majesty's face. They would despise any one who thought otherwise of them. Before I attempted this design of a surrender, I gained a confession from each of them, saying they would submit." He then disclosed the manner in which grand jury presentments were manufactured:—"In the expectation that a writ would be sent, it was designed I should be foreman of a grand jury, that so their presentment might agree with the Council." Anticipating an easy victory, the Attorney-General caused the writ to be sent down towards the end of March, and the Council assembled on the 29th, when, to the consternation of the schemers, a resolution that the charters should be at once surrendered was defeated on a division. There is no further information in the minute-book, but a letter of the newly created Duke of Beaufort to Secretary Jenkins, dated April 1st, gives some interesting details. His grace was surprised at the disappointment, seeing that Sir John Knight, the Bishop, the Mayor, the Town Clerk, and a "great number of the considerablest of the loyal party" had been to Badminton to inform him that they had a moral assurance of success. There had, however, been a defection amongst those that had promised. Sir Thomas Earle had not only gone astray, but had made a motion to "address the King, through me, to continue the present charter, which begot a doubt whether I might not favour such a design." But the arch-traitor—of all unlikely men—

was Sir Richard Hart, "who as you will see by your list [clearly Knight's list] was depended on," but who insinuated that the *Quo Warranto* was without the King's privity and approbation. The Duke concluded by suggesting that the Government should send down a threatening letter, when the Mayor would call another Council; adding that the present defeat was "partly due to jealousy of Sir John Knight having too great a sway if the surrender took place." His grace's advice was probably followed, but on April 28th, when the Council re-assembled, it was resolved to put in an answer to the writ in defence of the city's rights. The step seems to have caused a little perplexity at Court, and a delay of some weeks followed; but in June the Attorney-General, in a letter to the Town Clerk, stated that he not been hasty in pursuing the business, but was now informed that his delay had become a matter of triumph in Bristol, where it was supposed he was afraid to proceed. "Deceive not yourselves. . . . I entertain no other thought but of proceeding according to a strict course of law." The Corporation, he added, would be called to account before the judges' next term. The chief charges to be answered were stated to be the excessive number of the Common Council and the neglect to hold gaol deliveries, "divers other miscarriages and forfeitures" being hinted at *in terrorem*. The Council directed the Town Clerk to deny the charge of "triumphing," and to ask that the suit might not be hurried on, it being impossible to make a just defence in so short a time.

The threatened attack did not prevent the civic rulers from continuing their quarrels. The election of Sir Thomas Earle as an Alderman by the ultra-loyalists was recorded at page 402. His defection on the surrender question aroused the wrath of the party, and on August 23rd the Mayor and five Aldermen declared his election void, and chose the Mayor to fill the seat to which Day and Earle had been successively appointed! The matter, however, was not even yet settled (see August, 1689).

The record of corporate difficulties must be interrupted in order to give a brief account of a conspiracy already alluded to in dealing with Roe, the Swordbearer. After the King's triumph over the Whigs in 1681, a number of hot-headed men in London, Bristol and other towns began secretly to discuss schemes of an armed insurrection, with a view of excluding the Duke of York from the throne. From numerous documents in the State Papers, it appears

that upwards of a hundred Bristolians were known or supposed to be concerned in this project, amongst whom Colonel John Rumsey, or Romsey, who had been Collector of Customs, Roe, Nathaniel Wade, his brother William Wade, and his brother-in-law Joseph Whetham, James Holloway, draper (the "undertaker" of the weaving scheme), Joseph Jackson, merchant, Ichabod Chauncy, doctor, Thomas Tyley, mercer, and Thomas Scrope, merchant (son of Governor Scrope), were alleged to have been the most conspicuous. The confederates met nightly, sometimes to the number of seventy, first at the White Hart, and later at the Horse Shoe inns; while another party gathered at the Mermaid. Emissaries of the "Kings Head club" in London often came down to promote the design, and Roe was frequently sent to town for the same purpose. Risings were planned to take place in November, 1682, in nearly all the large towns in the country, and the local plotters believed that Bristol could be easily surprised and seized by 350 men, of whom 200 were residents and 150 were to be stealthily brought up from Taunton. Some of the more desperate and fanatical of the conspirators in London seem to have doubted the feasibility of projects of this character, and, unknown to the general confederacy, hatched a plot of their own in March, 1683, for the purpose of assassinating the King and the Duke of York at a place known as the Rye House, between London and Newmarket. This gang, like nearly all such gangs, soon produced a traitor. In May the detection of the miscreants led to the immediate disclosure of the original design, and the Government, with cruel ingenuity, confounded the schemes together, insisting that all who had joined in the first were accessories to the intended butchery. Colonel Rumsey, an unmitigated villain, to save himself, surrendered, and became an informer. Whetham, captured in London, was carried before the Privy Council, where he insisted that the Bristol club was simply formed to promote Sir Robert Atkyns' election as member of Parliament, and, though committed for trial, he was liberated on bail. Roe and others fled, including Holloway, whose sad fate has yet to be told. Sir Robert Cann, on June 2nd, wrote to the Duke of Beaufort alleging that Robert Henley, who was still unpardoned for his Parliamentary candidature, was Wade's "great correspondent," evidently hoping that this would justify a prosecution, adding that Dr. Chauncy was "the bellwether of all the phanatickes here." The Mayor informed Secretary

Jenkins that four members of the Council, named Hine, Watts, Corsley and Hale, had been committed to the sessions for their complicity in the plot, and asked how they should be disposed of. Hellier, the attorney, denounced Dr. Chauncy to the same Minister as a pestilent incendiary, adding that all the seditious practices against the King were hatched in the meeting-house that the doctor had built in Castle Green. Chauncy, after being four months in gaol, was banished. Owing to the loss of the sessions book, the fate of the others arrested in Bristol is unknown.

The discovery of the Rye House plot afforded the Council an opportunity for beseeching the good graces of the King of which they did not fail to profit. On September 18th a congratulatory address to His Majesty was adopted, expressive of joy on his escape from a damnable conspiracy; but the compliments were but a shoeing horn to prayers on a more interesting subject. "We humbly hope that your Majesty has been pleased to accept our constant care of preserving the government of this city in loyal hands . . . not depending upon our own judgment . . . but electing the Mayor last year by the intimation of the Duke of Beaufort, and this year our Mayor and Sheriffs from your sacred Majesty's directions." It was then humbly begged that the privileges of the city would be confirmed, a pledge being given to govern according to the King's directions. The address was forthwith presented by the retiring Mayor, who, a week later, "read the very words uttered by his Majesty" on the occasion. These gracious expressions were not recorded in the minutes, but the Duke of Beaufort professes to repeat them in a letter to Secretary Jenkins. His Majesty said he intended to demand no more than the Corporation had offered—namely, to have the governing power secured to himself. When that was done the charters should be confirmed as was desired. This, added the Duke, ought to force on a surrender; if the Council refuse, the *Quo Warranto* should be vigorously prosecuted.

The year was full of surprises. It will be seen that the King (who had rejected a whining suggestion for re-election sent up by Eston) had commanded the elevation to the civic chair of the innkeeper, Ralph Olliffe, whose only claims to such an honour lay in his servility to the Government and his cruel treatment of Dissenters, though Bishop Mew, of Wells, extolled him to the King as "an excellent subject and a serviceable man." On September 29th, Olliffe, then ill, was carried to the Guildhall in a sedan, to be sworn in; but

he died a few hours afterwards, to the dismay of his partisans, who hurriedly despatched a messenger to Court to receive fresh instructions. In a letter of October 5th the King, regretting the death of the "worthy magistrate," stated that, on the advice of the Duke of Beaufort (who had really recommended that the city should be left without a Mayor for a while, to keep the Council in awe), he thought fit to recommend William Clutterbuck for the vacant office, in order to avoid the heats of an open election, and significantly reminded the Council of their late promise to obey his instructions. The mandate elicited "hearty thanks," and was of course complied with.

The new Mayor, assisted by a committee, now addressed the Attorney-General, as the King had suggested, begging that he would not proceed with the *Quo Warranto*, and promised him, with a just estimate of his character, "returns suitable to your quality and pains" on a favourable reply. Sir Robert Sawyer responded on October 25th, promising his good offices, but clearly intimating that the Council must surrender at discretion, "As you express readiness to comply with what may be necessary, I have sent you an instrument, which must be executed by you before the King can proceed in regulating the government of the city." The "instrument" contained a confession of the offences mentioned in Sawyer's previous letter, an offer to surrender all the liberties and franchises conceded by the charters, and a prayer that the King would grant such privileges as he might think conducive to good government. An appeal to the royal minions then acting as judges being obviously hopeless, the humiliating document was executed on October 31st, and the Town Clerk was sent with it to London to plead for favourable terms. He had scarcely arrived there before he discovered that much pecuniary lubrication would be needed "to make things pleasant." The Lord Keeper and Secretary Jenkins had been already oiled, the first with wine costing £42, and the latter with "40 dozen mark quarts" of the same liquor, costing £50 13s. 11d. The Town Clerk had provided himself with a hamper of wine for the Secretary's secretary, but that worthy declined the gift, with a hint that a handier present would be quite acceptable. "Though wine will not go down with some," wrote Mr. Romsey to the Mayor, "yet I perceive that money will with all, for the officers through which the patent has to pass have taken every occasion to speak of Bristol as the most opulent wealthy place in England, and that bounty

was expected. Nay, they made a sort of comparison of it to the East India Company." (out of which they had extorted enormous gratuities.) The unhappy official, "sick of this place," asks as to what shall be done with Jenkins, who, in spite of the wine, was causing things "to stick," and concludes by requesting more money. Romsey, after many weeks' negotiations, obtained some slight concessions, the Corporation, for instance, being permitted to appoint Town Clerks, subject to the King's approval. A request for additional fairs was also granted, but a prayer for the Rangership of Kingswood was rejected. Doubtless for the purpose of extracting more money, no real progress was made until far into the following year, the King keeping the city in his own hands until June 2nd, 1684, when the new charter was executed. The instrument reserved to the Crown the right to annul the election of any civic official and to nominate his successor, the chief object being to secure Sheriffs who could be relied upon to pack juries, and to return members of Parliament of approved Court principles. The safeguards of absolute government seemed thus complete. Apparently at the request of the Corporation, the charter empowered the Council to impose a fine of £500 on any one refusing to serve as Mayor, Alderman, Sheriff or Councillor, and to imprison the recusant until the fine was paid. The affair entailed an outlay of £742 13s. 6d. exclusive of the wine presents.

The first mention of a local glass grinder occurs this year, when a man was admitted a freeman, on his undertaking to take a City schoolboy as an apprentice without the usual premium of £7. (The first glass maker does not appear upon the roll until 1690.) On the same day a vote of £20 was passed for the redemption of one Captain Johnson, who had rendered the Corporation services, but had been captured and enslaved by the Algerines.

An amusing account of Sir Robert Cann, a gentleman now well known to the reader, is given in the reminiscences of Roger North, and must refer to about this date. The cynical narrator states that soon after his brother Dudley, the eminent merchant, returned from Turkey, which was in 1680, he made the acquaintance of Sir Robert's daughter, the rich widow of a knight named Gunning (of Rood Ashton, a descendant of the Bristol Gonnings). The lady looked on him favourably, but her father was opposed to the match, and declined to entertain the suitor's proposals until he had acquired such an estate in land as would provide a fitting

jointure for the lady. Dudley, in reply, offered to settle £20,000 upon her, but Sir Robert curtly responded:—"My answer to your first letter is an answer to your second." Dudley, equally laconic, retorted:—"I see you like neither me nor my business." After some time, however, Cann yielded to the coaxing of his daughter; North settled his property on his intended wife; and the wedding took place, but not before the bride had thrown the marriage settlement into the fire. The old baronet eventually became proud of his son-in-law, who, when he came to Bristol, "to humour," says the bitter storyteller, "the vanity of that city and people," put himself into a splendid equipage; and the old man often said to him, "Come, son, let us go out and shine," by which he meant a promenade in the streets, attended by six footmen in rich liveries.

The elder Sir John Knight, after a long and active career, died in December, 1683, aged 71, and the difficulty in distinguishing between him and his less reputable namesake henceforth disappears. The latter, as has been previously stated, spent several years in the West Indies, and he appears to have thought that his services to the Court in procuring the surrender of the city franchises entitled him to no less a reward than the governorship of the Leeward Islands, then held by Sir William Stapleton. That he applied to the King for this lucrative post is stated by himself in a letter amongst the State Papers, and he adds, what is by no means unlikely, that His Majesty had given him hopes of the appointment. The Ministry, however, effectually remonstrated, and the disappointed suitor returned to Bristol, and betook himself to bullying his colleagues in the Council. One of them, Edward Feilding, who styles himself an old Cavalier, appealed to Secretary Jenkins on January 31st, 1684. Observing that Knight had been more early "dignified" than his actions or estate deserved, the writer continues:—"But his dignity would not satisfy his ambition without Sir William Stapleton's place to maintain it. He has magnified his actions to get a place of profit for himself, for which he has trampled upon many loyal subjects of good estate . . . and publicly preaches against the old suffering Cavaliers. In December last, when he missed his expectation of being generalissimo of the Caribbees, he hasted to this city to set himself up for a parliament man, promising some and threatening others, and putting the city in a ferment." Mr. Feilding thinks it his duty to report this, "which has lost the King 100 for one." On February

4th, the Secretary received another account of Knight's doings from one John Haris, who alleged that Sir John intended to get John Romsey re-appointed Town Clerk "that they might govern the city joyntly. . . . The way that things are now managed gives great discontent to the loyal, finding they are to be governed by these two proud hot-headed gentlemen, whose dependence is on the Duke of Beaufort." Soon after, the authorities of the Leeward Islands, greatly disturbed by reports that Knight would be sent out to govern them, sent home urgent appeals against the nomination of a man "who is well known here," and whose inexperience and self-interest would be injurious to both the King and the colonies. Finally, Sir William Stapleton must have forwarded a scathing account of Knight's conduct whilst at the islands, for Sir John petitioned the Privy Council to allow him "to vindicate his reputation from the scandalous libels." A committee was appointed for that purpose, but there is no further mention of the subject in the minutes of the Government. But in the late Mr. Sholto Hare's collection is a graphic letter from Sir William Stapleton to Sir Robert Southwell, of Kingsweston, dated 7th March, 1684, in which he refers to the intrigues of the "Bristol heroe" whilst at Montserrat, and to his talent for noise and clamour. "There is nothing I abhor more than to speak behind any man's back, yet such is his rude behaviour and insolence that I cannot forbear to say somewhat of the man who is so much hated by all men here. . . . I understand his grace the Duke of Beaufort is this heroe's patron, but I am confident if his grace knew him, he would never admit him in the commission of deputy-lieutenants or militia, unless it were purely against the quaquers, that he knows will not strike."

In the first week of May, 1684, the civic authorities received a horrible consignment from London—the head and dismembered body of James Holloway, executed there on April 30th—accompanied by an order from the Government for the exhibition of the ghastly fragments over the principal city gates. The hapless "undertaker" of the corporate weaving scheme was treated with exceptional barbarity by the King's advisers. According to his confession, printed in the State Trials, he had conceived a project for wresting the linen trade from French hands by producing the fabrics at home, and had gone to Westminster to solicit the support of leading statesmen, in which he had met with some success, when, during the Popish Plot mania, he was induced to join

in the conspiracy for excluding the Duke of York from the throne. On the discovery of the Rye House Plot, in which he was not concerned, he absconded, and, as he did not surrender under the royal proclamation, through fear of arrest by some of his creditors, he was outlawed. After wandering about the country for some weeks, disguised as a seller of wood, he succeeded in hiring a boat of ten tons burden in Bristol, whence he sailed to France, and eventually to the West Indies, where he employed a factor to collect various debts due to him. This the scoundrel did, but appropriated the money himself, and betrayed his employer to the authorities. On being brought to London Holloway sued piteously for pardon, but his confession was unsatisfactory to the Government, since it contained no evidence against any of the men that the authorities sought to wreak vengeance upon. No trial took place, and the unhappy man was ordered to be executed on his outlawry.

During the nine months that elapsed between the surrender of the old charters and the coming into force of their debased substitute, the functions of the Common Council were totally suspended, the negotiations with the Court being left in the hands of the King's nominee, the Mayor. Before the Chamber was permitted to resume its duties, a body of royal Commissioners, consisting of the Marquis of Worcester, Sir John Smyth, and others, held a sitting on July 10th, 1684, to administer the oath of allegiance and other tests of devotion, and were entertained at the city's expense by Sir Robert Cann, the outlay being £138. The first meeting for business under the new dispensation took place on July 22nd, when the roll shows the changes that had been effected. Sir Thomas Earle had been removed from the aldermanic body, and William Hayman had been nominated in his room by the King, who also appointed the Mayor in the place of old Sir John Knight. Nineteen Councillors, including Thomas Day and Edward Feilding, had been displaced, and only sixteen of the old body retained their seats, new men being brought in to complete a Chamber numbering 43, as of old. Two new members, William Merrick and Richard Gibbons, prayed earnestly, but vainly, to be excused. Thanks were voted to the Lord Keeper, the Duke of Beaufort and Secretary Jenkins for the great favour they had conferred on the city in furthering the new charter; but even the well-manipulated Council showed a spark of independence. Lord Guildford had "thought fit to request" the Chamber to confer the two

city lectureships upon Mr. Gaskarth, lately appointed vicar of St Nicholas', on the ground of the small income of the living; but as a respected clergyman, Mr. Chetwyn, already held one lectureship, the Council tacitly refused to displace him, and conferred the other upon the Lord Keeper's nominee.

The harrying of Dissenters had gone on almost uninterruptedly from the period at which it was last mentioned, and was continued throughout 1684. The Sheriffs nominated by the King sought to outrival their predecessors in severity; and the Quakers, in a petition to His Majesty, made a piteous appeal for 120 of their sect immured in Newgate and Bridewell, many for "near two years," while greater oppression was threatened. To give an instance of the treatment of others, the Mayor on August 23rd paid into Court £42 10s., money levied on Michael Pope and others, convicted of attending worship in Lewin's Mead Chapel, one-third of the total amount being due to the King. Distresses for the recovery of similar fines were of constant occurrence, three successive distrains being levied on the goods of Mr. Burges, draper, Wine Street. At this period, the ministers of two chapels had been eighteen months in Gloucester gaol, and there were numberless commitments of laymen. On the accession of James II., in 1685, about 1,500 Quakers were liberated from prisons, of whom about a hundred were Bristolians; but no lenity was shown to other Dissenters. In the following November, Mr. Fownes, minister of Broadmead Chapel, died in Gloucester gaol, where he had been incarcerated for nearly three years.

An example of the manner in which the purified Corporation dealt with their Church patronage occurred in September, 1684, when Richard Roberts was presented to Christ Church, vacant by the death of the venerable Mr. Standfast. In the following month Mr. Roberts petitioned the Chamber, alleging that his new parishioners were "litigious," and it was resolved to defend him at the city's charge. The simple fact was, that Roberts was already incumbent of All Saints', and wished to enjoy the other living whilst evading the services due to the parish. The scandal continued for a year and a half, when the Christ Church vestry again threatened resistance, and the parson renewed his brazen request for corporate support, although he had been unable to get a dispensation to hold the two incumbencies. The Council, still anxious for his welfare,

then presented Emanuel Heath to Christ Church, "yet not to injure the right of Mr. Roberts if he can obtain a dispensation." Heath—who was also incumbent of St. Augustine's—retained the vicarage until his death, in Jamaica, in 1693. He had obtained a royal warrant to absent himself from his livings for seven years!

Attempts to obtain the freedom by trickery were, when discovered, dealt with sharply. A publican named Newport, having, as he pretended, served an apprenticeship to a freeman, got his name placed on the roll, and set up in business. But the authorities, on discovering that his servitude had been a mere sham, disfranchised him, and his shop windows were nailed down. The offender petitioned for pardon in October, and was re-admitted on paying a fine of £40. Another victualler, though a "foreigner," was granted the freedom about the same time, on payment of £8. Shortly afterwards, a new industry—the manufacture of tin plates—was introduced into the city by one John Combs, who became a freeman on paying £4.

Sir John Knight was in such dudgeon at the Government's refusal to reward him for his recent exertions that he resolved on retiring from the Corporation. He accordingly petitioned the Privy Council in July, praying for his discharge, "as the only expedient to secure him from envy and ruin." The King's acquiescence was, after some delay, transmitted to the Duke of Beaufort, as the general controller of corporate affairs, and at a Common Council held on January 15th, 1685, a letter was read from his grace, stating that Knight had been dismissed, though the King was well satisfied with him, and exhorting the Council to elect a man equally zealous for the King, Church and State. The vacancy was filled by the election of Robert Brookhouse, who received a warning that his non-acceptance of the place would entail a fine of £200, and imprisonment till it was paid. Brookhouse, however, took his seat on the same day, but speedily tired of his dignity, which he was allowed to relinquish six months' later on payment of £100.

Henry Gough, a former Sheriff, but ejected from the Chamber by the new charter, was at the above meeting voted a pension of £20 a year, "considering his condition." After his death, in 1694, his widow received a pension of £10 for life.

The death of Charles II. on February 6th, 1685, does not appear to have been known in Bristol until the morning of

the 8th. Although the day was a Sunday, it was resolved to make the customary proclamation of his successor in the afternoon, and the ceremony is said to have taken place "with the greatest joy and acclamation." From respect for the Lord's Day, the expenses were limited to 12s. 6d. A few days later, the Council adopted a congratulatory address to the new sovereign, redolent of the servility due from courtly nominees. The death of a King of blessed memory would have been, it was alleged, insupportable, had not his successor's virtues, sagacity and affection alleviated grief. Entire confidence of happiness was placed in His Majesty's government, and pledges were given that the dutiful addressers would stand by him with their lives and fortunes. The Mayor (William Hayman), whose affection for the Crown and its ministers underwent some modification before he quitted office, presented the fulsome document at Whitehall, and received the honour of knighthood. The Council then felt unhappy at being without a portrait of a beneficent monarch, and one John Hoskins was paid £10 5s. for a work to supply the desideratum. (A few years later the face of this picture was covered with paint, and the figure converted into a portrait of Charles II.) The coronation of the new sovereigns, in April, was celebrated with great rejoicing. Salutes were fired from 114 great guns in the Marsh. Two hogsheads of claret (costing £11 5s.) "caused the four conduits to run with wine." The corporate body proceeded in great pomp to "hear a sermon" in the cathedral, and afterwards dined at the Three Tuns tavern—each guest being required to pay for his dinner. In the evening an enormous bonfire blazed at the High Cross, and another before the Mayor's windows. An item of £6 16s., paid by the Chamberlain "for beer, ale and cider, for the Mayor and Aldermen," may be charitably supposed to misrepresent the number of consumers of several hundred gallons.

A general election took place in the spring, the proceedings in Bristol occurring on March 30th. The Duke of Beaufort, whose watchful supervision of the Corporation never relaxed, forwarded a sort of peremptory recommendation of Sir John Churchill as a fitting member, and the obsequious Council, on the 27th, resolved, "every one of us called over by name, to improve *their* interest to elect" his grace's nominee, who was accordingly chosen, in company with another admirer of passive obedience, Sir Richard Crump. On the demand of the King to the House of Com-

mons for money to pay off his late brother's debts, Dudley North, Sir Robert Cann's son-in-law, and an able financier, was instructed to devise ways and means ; and in due course proposed an increase, for eight years, of the duties on sugar and tobacco. The mercantile interest was incensed by the proposal, and nowhere was the wrath greater than in Bristol. The Corporation forwarded urgent appeals to the city members to resist a scheme so prejudicial to local commerce with Virginia and the West Indies ; and a deputation of merchants was admitted to the bar of the Commons, to represent the injuries that the scheme would inflict upon the port. It was, however, adopted. Churchill died in the following November, necessitating elections both for the vacant seat and the Recordship. As regarded the former, the Duke of Beaufort, in his wonted style, requested the choice of Mr. Romsey, the Town Clerk, but, to his great irritation, the demand was not responded to ; and Sir Richard Hart, who had sued for his grace's patronage and had met with a flat refusal, was elected without opposition. The Duke's anger was somewhat mitigated, however, by the obedience of the Council to another of his behests—the appointment of Roger North to the office of Recorder.

Owing to the penury of its income, the bishopric of Bristol was a dignity which few clergymen of the Stewart period were likely to accept save as a stepping-stone to a better position. In August, 1684, Dr. John Lake was consecrated in the place of Dr. Goulston, deceased ; but before a twelvemonth had expired the new prelate was earnestly praying for Archbishop Sancroft's help in his suit for the vacant see of Chichester, promising gratitude if delivered from "the impertinences and insolences of our Dean" (the incendiary Thompson). Lake's prayers being heard, Sir Jonathan Trelawny was nominated to Bristol in September, 1685, whereupon the baronet (who had been greedily craving for a richer see, begging the King to have "compassion on his slave") informed Bishop Turner, of Ely, that his preferment was too mean to give a man credit for the large sum needful to enter upon it (Tanner's MSS.). But, as will be shown hereafter, Trelawny was a man eager to win preferment by the ignoblest means. In spite of his cloth, he took the field as a soldier in the campaign about to be described. Lake and Trelawny were afterwards two of the historical seven Bishops.

A narrative of the Monmouth Rebellion, except so

far as it affected Bristol, is not within the scope of this work. It will suffice to say that the presumptuous youth landed at Lyme on June 11th, accompanied amongst others by Nathaniel Wade, a Bristol barrister, Thomas Tyley, a Bristol mercer, and John Roe, the ex-Swordbearer, all of whom had been charged with complicity in the Rye House Plot. The "Protestant Duke" was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm by the peasantry, who flocked to his standard, armed with scythes and pitchforks; and a week after his arrival Monmouth made a triumphal entry into Taunton, where he was proclaimed King amidst the plaudits of the townspeople. Wade was at this time major of the forces, and Tyley was one of the captains. The Government were meanwhile on the alert. In order to secure Cornwall, the King sent the Rev. Sir Jonathan Trelawny down to that county to put it in a posture of defence; and that bellicose cleric boasted afterwards to Lord Sunderland that he raised the militia, travelled night and day through every district to review the regiments, gathered a store of arms, and disposed the troops where they were most likely to be useful; for all which martial deeds he was rewarded in September with the Bishopric of Bristol. By the King's orders, again, the Duke of Beaufort entered this city on the 16th June to secure it against attack, and the trained bands that mustered at his command were afterwards supplemented by some companies of regular troops. The Duke proceeded in his usual high-handed fashion, ordering the houses of Dissenters to be searched for arms, shipping off about sixty citizens suspected of disloyalty to Gloucester gaol, and crowding the city prisons with supposed malcontents, all the arrests being made without legal authority. To return to the Pretender, Monmouth marched from Taunton to Bridgwater, where he was welcomed by the Mayor and some members of the Corporation, and was again proclaimed King. The following days found him at Glastonbury, Wells, and Shepton Mallet, his so-called army being everywhere joined by zealous volunteers. It was now determined to attempt the capture of Bristol, where Wade and Roe assured him of thousands of sympathisers, whom the disaffected trained bands would neither be willing nor able to keep down. The southern walls of the city being still formidable, it was resolved to make the attack from Gloucestershire, and for this purpose a portion of the rebels was sent forward to Keynsham to repair the

bridge there (broken down by the King's troops), whilst the main body halted at Pensford on June 24th. The night of that day was long remembered in Bristol. The citizens had been informed of Monmouth's movements, and many doubtless hoped, and many feared, that the defences would be attacked before morning. The whole population was afoot, eagerly on the watch for events. Suddenly a ship lying at the Quay burst into flames, either from accident or design, though the cause was never discovered. The popular commotion then became intensified, and seditious cries were raised in the darkness. If, as was afterwards alleged, the fire was the work of Monmouth's partisans, in the hope that the trained bands would be employed in saving the fleet in the harbour from the flames, and that a way would thus be opened to the rebels, the scheme was a failure. The Duke of Beaufort, whose forces were drawn up outside Redcliff Gate, not only refused help to quench the fire, but openly declared that if any insurrection were attempted amongst the inhabitants he would burn the city about their ears. Monmouth, though informed of the favourable incident, adhered to a previous plan, and ordered an advance on Keynsham at sunrise. On arriving there the bridge was found practicable, but in spite of the shortness of the march the Pretender resolved to proceed no further until the evening. While his forces were idling about the village a small body of horse guards dashed into the place, scattered two troops of Monmouth's badly-mounted horsemen, and retired uninjured, after causing a general panic. This trivial skirmish led to the abandonment of the design on Bristol, and practically to the ruin of the enterprise. It is needless to follow Monmouth during his subsequent inglorious retreat, or to the combat on Sedgemoor, on July 6th, where his untrained followers fought bravely but hopelessly in his cause. The news of his defeat reached Bristol on the same day, and caused much rejoicing, though an annalist states that several more suspected persons were committed to prison. The Duke of Beaufort had by this time upwards of forty companies of militia and about seven troops of cavalry under his command, but most of the men were soon afterwards disbanded. His grace then departed for Court, where the King warmly thanked him for his services, and in December he was granted a pension of £600 a year for so long as he might hold a post in the royal household. During his stay in Bristol he was a

costly guest to the Corporation, for besides various entertainments, he ordered the construction of military works, costing about £500, and left the Council to discharge the outlay. The Chamber tried to recover the money by levying a rate, which the inhabitants refused to pay. Subscriptions were next appealed for without result. Eventually the liability was added to an already overwhelming burden of debt. Whilst the Corporation was struggling with its pecuniary embarrassments a brilliant thought occurred to Mr. Romsey, the Town Clerk, and was hailed with delight by the Council. Admission into that body could be gained only by taking the test oaths; but Quakers were forbidden by their consciences to take any oath at all. Nothing, therefore, was easier than to elect prosperous Quakers as Councillors, and then to fine them heavily for refusing to accept office. The first victim was Thomas Speed, a highly esteemed merchant, who while a young man had undertaken the burden of nurturing and bringing up the very numerous orphans of "the State Martyr," Yeamans. A fine of £200 having been exacted from him, several other Quakers were successively elected in his place, and fined according to what was deemed the measure of their ability for refusing it. Thomas Callowhill paid £150; Thomas Jordan, £100; Charles Jones, £50; James Freeman, £50; and Thomas Goldney, £200. Richard Bickham was mulcted in £500, and subsequently in £300 more for refusing to be sworn as Sheriff; but these sums were not recovered. The Town Clerk complained, in June, 1686, that although his device had proved very profitable, the Council still owed him a large sum for his costs in obtaining the charter. As no further payment was made to him by the Chamber, though a vote of £200 was passed, it is probable that he was allowed to extract his debt out of the pockets of Bickham.

Chief Justice Jeffreys' "Bloody Assize," specially ordered by James II. to glut his vengeance on the miserable peasantry that had risen for "King Monmouth," was fixed for September. Kirke's soldiery, quartered in Somerset, had already hanged or slaughtered a great number of captured rebels, but the Government complained, not of the Colonel's atrocities, but of his interested lenity towards delinquents able to bribe him, and Jeffreys was sent down with a commission both of a judge and a general in the army, to fall on all ranks without mercy. The assizes began at Winchester, where the proceedings thrilled the nation with

horror. Jeffreys then proceeded to Dorchester, where he shortened his labours by letting it be known that a prisoner's only chance of avoiding the gallows lay in pleading guilty. In the result, seventy-four men were sentenced to be hanged without delay. The rebellion had touched only a fringe of Devon, and the convictions at Exeter were comparatively few. But wide districts of Somerset had shown enthusiasm for the Pretender, and Jeffreys, whose ferocity was aggravated by a painful disease and by inordinate drinking to relieve his anguish, literally revelled in his sanguinary work. Altogether, 233 prisoners were hanged, quartered, and gibbeted in various parts of the county, cross-roads, market-places, and village-greens being rendered pestiferous by decomposing corpses. Twelve unhappy men were executed at Pensford, and eleven at Keynsham. In addition to those done to death in the various counties, about 850 persons were sentenced to a fate hardly less cruel,—transportation as slaves to the West Indies,—while a still greater number, for the utterance of mere idle words, were sentenced to repeated scourgings and long terms of imprisonment. On finishing business at Taunton, on September 19th, the judge reported progress to the King in a letter not hitherto published. His Majesty, it appears, had already sent instructions "about the rebels designed for transportation," and Jeffreys ventured to recommend care in handing them over to private persons,—that is, to purchasers,—for there was a great demand for them. They were worth, he said, £10 if not £15 a head. (The King took the hint, and handed over the convicts to the Queen, the maids of honour, and favourite courtiers.) The writer concluded by declaring that he would rather die than omit any opportunity of showing his loyalty, and by making two remarks of local interest. He "purposed for Bristol on Monday and thence to Wells." And he had "ordered Wade hence on Monday." The person thus referred to was Nathaniel Wade, who had been captured after Sedgemoor, and who, it is only too probable, had compounded for his own crimes by offering evidence against men far less culpable. Immediately after his arrest, Wade had made a brief "confession," which was sent to the King, and His Majesty, hoping for information that would inculpate peers as well as peasants, ordered him to be brought near the Court, where he was required to save his own neck by a full disclosure of the details of the rebellion and of those engaged in it. He accordingly disburdened himself in two

lengthy documents of all he knew, or said he knew, of the preparations made in Holland and of the events in England. But the papers, which are in the British Museum, contain nothing that the Government were not already acquainted with. As his statements were not made public, and as the King, through some caprice, took him into special favour in a way that will presently be described, the odious name of "Traitor Wade," by which he was popularly known to the end of his life, is reasonably explained.

Jeffreys, boasting that he had already hanged more traitors than all his predecessors put together, arrived at Bristol on Monday, September 21st, and took up his quarters at the Town Clerk's mansion. After refreshing himself, he proceeded to the Guildhall, where a grand jury of forty-one gentlemen were duly empanelled, to whom he delivered a characteristic charge. Beginning with a scoff at the splendour of his reception, he declared that he had not come to make set speeches, but to do the business of a gracious King, and after jeering at the influence which women were reported to exercise in civic affairs, he burst into a denunciation of the murder of Charles I., "the most blessed martyr after Jesus," by order of rebels numbering forty-one—an allusion to the jury before him. This was followed by an eulogium on the blessed and merciful prince, the God on earth, whom he represented. Rebellion, he swore, was like the sin of witchcraft, and Bristol had too many rebels who had added to the ship's loading. "There was your Tylys, your Roes, and your Wades, scoundrel fellows, mere sons of dunghills," and there were still more of the same breed; but he had brought a brush in his pocket, and he would sweep every man's door, great or small, wherever the dirt was sticking. The rebels without must have had encouragement from the rebels within. A ship had been fired as a signal, "and yet you are willing to believe it was an accident." He then poured a torrent of invective on the moderate politicians nicknamed Trimmers, who he said were only cowardly and base-spirited Whigs, and stank worse than the worst dirt in the city, and yet the place had many of them. Then, after referring to the sink of Conventicles, he roared: "Come, come, gentlemen, to be plain with you, I find the dirt of the ditch is in your nostrils. This city, it seems, claims the privilege of hanging amongst themselves. I find you have more need of a Commission once a month." The very magistrates were quarrelling amongst themselves, while cunning men

set them together by the ears and knocked their logger-heads together. "Yet they can agree for their interest, or if there be a kid in the case; for I hear the trade of kidnapping is of much request. They can discharge a felon or a traitor, provided they will go to Mr. Alderman's plantation at the West Indies. Come, come, I find you stink for want of rubbing." The Dissenters fared well amongst these magistrates. If a Dissenter, three parts a rebel, is brought up to be fined, an Alderman says, he is a good man, and he is fined but 5s. Then comes up another, worse than the first, and another Goodman Alderman says, he is an honest man, and he is fined half a crown, each justice playing knave in turn. After a reference to unseemly dissensions amongst the city clergy, and directions to all the constables to bring in presentments, Jeffreys closed his tirade by adjourning the court.

Doubtless to the cruel judge's vexation, the prisoners for trial were few in number. Thanks to the Duke of Beaufort's summary seizure of over a hundred suspected citizens on the first tidings of the rebellion, and to the awe inspired by his forces, no overt act amounting to treason is recorded by the annalists, and Jeffreys was unable to sentence more than six men to death, and three of them were reprieved. (The three executions took place on Redcliff Hill. About the same time, three rebels condemned at Wells were hanged at Bedminster; one of them, a Bristolian, declaring to the last that he had merely gone to have a sight of the rebel army.) Several prisoners charged with idle talk, and others for rough horse-play on Shrove Tuesday, were ordered to be severely lashed at the tail of a cart. Disgusted with the meagreness of the calendar, the Chief Justice again fell upon the Aldermen, whom he unreasonably suspected of disloyalty; and by the help of information from some local source, he was enabled for once to pose as an upright judge. Roger North, then Recorder, explains in his reminiscences that it had been customary for the Aldermen to transport reprieved felons to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves. But this supply failing to satisfy greed, the justices arranged that when persons charged with crime were brought before them, some underlings of the Court, whispering the probability of hanging if the cases went to trial, advised the culprits to pray for transportation, as their only chance of escaping the gallows, a course which was generally adopted. The game thus bagged was appropriated by the magistrates in rotation—a squabble sometimes aris-

ing as to who had the first claim—and the poor wretches were incontinently shipped off as marketable merchandise. This practice, adds North, had gone on for some years, and though Sir Robert Cann and other wealthy Aldermen refused their share of the spoil, they connived in the guilt. To return to the Guildhall, Sir William Hayman, the Mayor, arrayed in his gorgeous robes, was seated on the bench, he being, by an old and cherished privilege, named in the Royal Commission before the judges, when Jeffreys, to use one of his favourite expressions, gave his worship a lick with the rough side of his tongue. “Sir, Mr. Mayor, you I mean, kidnapper! and that old justice on the bench (Alderman Lawford), an old knave; he goes to the tavern, and for a pint of sack he will bind people servants to the Indies. A kidnapping knave! I will have his ears off before I go forth of town.” The furious judge next threw a paper to the Town Clerk, ordering him to read it, which was done. It appears to have given precise details as to the above practices, and doubtless referred to the man-stealing villainies that have been mentioned in previous pages. In one case the Mayor was charged with having sought to transport to Jamaica a man alleged to have picked a pocket. On this statement being read, Jeffreys, who was suspected of being inflamed with liquor, flew into a transport of rage, and again addressed the Mayor. “Kidnapper! Do you see the keeper of Newgate? If it were not in respect of the sword which is over your head, I would send you to Newgate, you kidnapping knave! You are worse than the pickpocket who stands at the bar. I hope you are a man of worth. I will make you pay sufficiently for it.” And thereupon he fined Hayman £1,000 “for suffering a boy committed to Bridewell to go beyond the sea.” The ordinary business then proceeded, but shortly before an adjournment for dinner the Chief Justice ordered the Mayor to enter the prisoners’ dock, like a common felon, in order to plead guilty or not guilty. Hayman, dumbfounded by this treatment, showing some hesitation, the furious judge bawled at him, stamping with fury, and called for his soldiers, in virtue of his commission as a general. The Mayor then submissively pleaded not guilty, and he was made to give security for his appearance in the afternoon, when he was given into the custody of the Sheriffs, to the infinite amazement of a crowded Court. “Had it not been in respect of the city,” vociferated Jeffreys, “I would have arraigned him, and hanged him, before I went forth, and

would have seen it done myself; a kidnapping knave!" Charges of kidnapping were then laid against Sir Robert Cann, Alderman Lawford, William Swymmer, John Napper and Robert Kirk, and they, with the Mayor, were ordered to find two sureties in £5,000 each to answer indictments in the Court of King's Bench.

Jeffreys did not let the day pass over without recounting his doughty deeds to Lord Sunderland, the King's favourite Minister. His missive, hitherto unknown to local readers, is amongst the State Papers. After the usual rhodomontade about his affection for his royal master, he declares Bristol to be a most factious city, worse even than Taunton. "But my lord, though harrassed with this day's fatigue & now mortified with a fit of the stone, I must beg leave to acquaint your lordship that I this day committed Mr. Mayor & some of his brethren the aldermen for kidnapping, & have sent my tipstaff for others equally concerned in that villany. I therefore beg your lordship will acquaint his Majesty that I humbly apprehend it infinitely for his service that he be not surprised into a pardon to any man, tho' he pretend much to loyalty, till I have the honour & happiness of kissing his royal hand. . . . My dear lord I will pawn my life, & that which is dearer to me, my loyalty, that Taunton & Bristol & the County of Somerset too, shall know their duty to God & their Prince before I leave them. I purpose to-morrow for Wells & in a few days don't despair to perfect the work I was sent about." He concludes by recommending that the convicts for transportation should not be "disposed of" hastily, the applicants for them being "too impetuous."

The incriminated magistrates were never brought to trial for the offences laid against them, and only one explanation of the fact can be offered. During his bloody campaign in the West, Jeffreys acquired what was then considered a great fortune by selling pardons to wealthy persons suspected of complicity in the rebellion. From Mr. Edmund Prideaux, son of a former Recorder of Bristol, he is known to have extorted £15,000, though that gentleman had not been in arms; and this infamy was only one of many. The prosecution of the Bristol Aldermen was adjourned on trivial pretexts from time to time, but they doubtless paid dearly for the favour. The charges were still hanging over their heads at the Revolution, three years later, when they were quashed by a general amnesty. The affair, however, was fatal to Sir Robert Cann, whose dignity had been irre-

parably outraged. The worthy old baronet went up to London in great fear, and through the intervention of his influential son-in-law the charge against him was withdrawn; but the relief did little to revive his spirits. He had been accustomed, says Roger North, to drink sherry, morning, noon and night; but he now took an exclusive fancy for Sir Dudley's small beer, of which he drank extravagantly, and with wonderful pleasure, and was much concerned he had not found it out before. But Nature would not bear so great a change, and he died soon after his return to Bristol.

The only payments for the entertainment of Jeffreys in the civic accounts are 17s. for fruit, and 2s. 6d. for a couple of ducks. The Town Clerk is not likely to have feasted the judge at his own expense, and it is probable that Bickham, in this case also, was made to compensate Romsey. The sum of £42 17s. 10d. was paid by the Chamberlain "for hay, oats and beans for the judge's horses." As Jeffreys was not forty-eight hours in the city, and the ordinary charge for horsekeep was only one shilling a day, the judicial retinue must have been enormous.

At the outbreak of the rebellion, the city had been placed under martial law by the Duke of Beaufort, and a return to ordinary government was long delayed. In the autumn a regiment of the line, under the command of Colonel Trelawny, brother of the Bishop, was quartered upon the inhabitants, and the troopers seem to have attempted to rival "Kirke's lambs" in insolence, rapacity and debauchery. Loud complaints were raised by the citizens, but the magistrates were impotent without the help of the Duke of Beaufort. Efforts were made to recover his favour by sending the Mayor to Badminton (at an expense of £10 for coach hire) to offer a cordial vote of thanks for his eminent services, and by presenting the freedom to the young Earl of Ossory, son-in-law to the Duke, the latter being styled in the Council's resolution "the protector and father of this city." But when the Chamber followed up these flatteries by beseeching his grace for relief from the outrages daily committed by the soldiery, and praying that the expenses caused by the rebellion should be repaid by the Government, and the keys of the city Gates restored to the Corporation, the Duke penned an angry reply, refusing to consider the conduct of the troopers, and expressing wonder that a body which had not complied with his "just desires" at the recent Parliamentary election should pre-

sume to ask for his services. He had not, he added, checked them enough, and this encouraged them to make "such frivolous complaints"; while to ask for the keys of the town when the King had forces in it was an unexampled impertinence. The regiment probably left in the following year for the memorable camp at Hounslow.

The new charter having granted to the Corporation a market for the sale of imported corn, the erection of a market-house at the lower end of the then existing Quay (near the west end of Thunderbolt Street) was begun towards the end of the year. The building, which cost nearly £700, was let in 1686 at the large rent of £140. An ordinance had been previously passed forbidding the landing or sale of imported grain at any place except this market, under pain of prosecution. This regulation aroused the ire of the burgesses of Tewkesbury, who claimed the right of importing goods into Bristol toll free, by virtue of a charter of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, confirmed by Edward II. in 1314. They had asserted this right in 1534, when the Corporation were compelled to relieve them of all tolls except keyage. On the present occasion the dispute was left to the arbitration of the Duke of Beaufort, whose decision cannot be found. The market-house had but a brief existence. In July, 1690, when the rapidly increasing trade of the port demanded an extension of the Quay southwards, the Merchants' Society undertook to carry out the improvement, and to erect more cranes, providing the Corporation granted them a new lease for eighty years of the wharfage dues. To this the Council assented, and further permitted the Society to take down the whole or part of the market and to make use of the materials for the new works.

Local annalists unfortunately bestowed little attention on the religious topics of their time. Not only are they silent respecting the treatment of Nonconformists, but even the intense popular repugnance to Romanists is passed over without remark, though nowhere was Protestant feeling more acute than in Bristol. In 1682, a sessions grand jury incidentally remarked in a presentment that during the previous seven years only two Papist families had lived in the city, and one of them had departed. The jury were probably misinformed, adherents of the persecuted faith being then in too great dread of popular fury to make a public avowal of their opinions. At all events, in April, 1686, the inveterate tormentor of dissidents, Sir John Knight, got

scent of a small Romanist congregation assembling to hear Mass. Having forthwith reported his discovery, the Mayor, Sheriffs and officers hurried to the place, and secured the offending priest with some of his hearers, and the former was committed to prison for what was then a capital crime. The intelligence gave intense umbrage at Whitehall, where Mass was being celebrated daily before the King and Court, and the matter gave rise to a voluminous correspondence, preserved amongst the State Papers. On April (really May) 6th the Duke of Beaufort, who had received orders to overawe the city justices, informed Lord Sunderland that he had acquainted the Mayor and Aldermen of the King's resentment at their late proceedings and at Sir John Knight's scandalous behaviour, and had made them "a proper exhortation" for himself, which he trusted would make them sensible of their errors. The priest was doubtless liberated by the King's dispensing power, but the populace had become excited, and the affair gave rise to a serious disturbance, of which Lord Macaulay found some details in the despatches of the Dutch and Papal envoys in London, dated May 18th and 19th:—"The rabble, countenanced, it was said, by the magistrates, exhibited a profane and indecent pageant, in which the Virgin Mary was represented by a buffoon, and in which a mock host was carried in procession. Soldiers were called out to disperse the mob. The mob, then and ever since one of the fiercest in the kingdom, resisted. Blows were exchanged, and serious hurts inflicted." Sir John Knight appears to have taken part in this business also, to the exasperation of the King, for he was forthwith arrested, and appeared before the Privy Council on June 5th, together with the Mayor and five of the Aldermen. Knight was then charged with "several misdemeanours," and especially with going about the streets of Bristol flourishing a sword, "to the terror of the public." It would appear from the minutes that the informer against him was Mr. Romsey, the Town Clerk, once, as has been shown, his closest ally; for the Ministry requested Romsey to give "further information," and in the meantime ordered Knight to be prosecuted. The Mayor and Aldermen had next to bear the brunt of the royal displeasure. The King, who took part in the proceedings, reprehended them for the recent disturbances, which he asserted were due to their default or connivance, and ordered Lord Chancellor Jeffreys to issue commissions of the peace to as many gentry around Bristol as he thought fit, who were to be associated with

the Aldermen for the better government of the city. In the following week His Majesty ordered the ejection from the Common Council of Alderman Sir Richard Hart, M.P., the chief of the ultra-Royalists, but a man towards whom the Duke of Beaufort had a bitter antipathy. As for Sir John Knight, he was not easily daunted. In a letter written on June 7th to the Prime Minister, he stated that he was not afraid of finding an opportunity of showing his innocence, and being as acceptable to the King as ever he was. He moreover hoped to detect the contrivances that had blasted his former fair "carrecter," and, supported by an upright heart, he would "bare" his misfortunes. He then insinuated at great length that the seizure of the priest by the justices arose from the encouragement and persuasions of others much more than from his own action, the real truth, he says, being that Bishop Trelawny's charge to his clergy had forced the Mayor to take measures "to prevent Mass," whilst Romsey, though "he now puts another face on it," made a similar pressing charge to the grand jury, his zeal against Popery being so great that he had challenged several persons who had raised reports of his Popish inclinations. Lord Sunderland maliciously communicated Sir John's reflections on Bishop Trelawny to the new-fledged prelate, whose terror at the prospect of falling under the King's displeasure evoked an unconscious but striking picture of his own true character and worth. He is, he wrote, unalterably fixed in his duty to His Majesty. He has forcibly required all his clergy to observe the King's commands. He not only "disrespected" Sir John Knight, and forbade the cathedral clergy to converse with him, but had collected the dangerous things he had said and done, and sent them up to the King. Before going to Bristol he had inquired of Lord Jeffreys as to the character of leading men, and on being told that the most trustworthy was the Town Clerk, he had called on the latter before waiting on the Mayor, which incensed the town. He further pleaded that he had preached in Bristol only once, when he delivered an old sermon preached before the late King, enforcing passive obedience to the Government. As for Knight's statement respecting his charge, it was said he had turned Papist before he got to the city; and being told, the day after his arrival, that Mass was being said at a certain house, which he believed was done to try him, he advised the Mayor to look after it, but the story proved false. Had it been true he would have informed

the King, and asked his pleasure, and would have stopped everything till that was known. And Sir Winston Churchill would attest how he had protected the Catholics in Dorsetshire. On the latter subject he dwells at some length in another letter, couched in still more despicable terms. Sunderland, it appears, had given him formal commands as to the language he was to use at his visitation, and he now reports the result. When some Romanists were presented at Cerne for recusancy, he ordered their discharge. A "very impudent" sermon, alleging danger from Popery, having been preached, he reprehended the preacher, and threatened him with suspension, telling the clergy that such discourses cast an imputation on the King, and warning them that he should suspend and silence any who indulged in such excesses. He would reside in Dorsetshire to set the clergy a good example, but his episcopal income was so miserably small that he could not do so without ruin. "But whenever the King shall please to give me a dignity of larger value, I will engage to render a proportionable service." Returning to Sir John Knight, that worthy was prosecuted by the Attorney-General, and the indictment appears to have charged him with parading the streets, not with a sword but with a blunderbuss, to the terror of the lieges. His trial took place in December. According to Luttrell's Diary, the jury were Bristolians, "who knew him well, and he was acquitted, to the great disappointment of some persons who appeared very fierce against him."

The debt of the Corporation, which had been increasing for several years, had in April reached nearly £16,000, and threatened to bring about a financial collapse. Retrenchment, however, was not in favour, and the Council resolved to dispose of part of the property in the Castle Precincts. The sales brought in about £3,000. But in the autumn, the necessity of economy having become urgent through an outlay to be recorded presently, a number of charges were abolished or pruned down. The expenditure for scavenging, £60 yearly, was stopped, and cleansing transferred to the parishes. The salary of the waits was withdrawn, the musicians being dismissed. The quarter sessions' dinners were given up, and the Mayor's salary "defalked" £52 on that account. The salaries of the civic officers, increased at the Restoration, were reduced to the previous scale. No more money was to be laid out in repairing the prisons, and the pitcher was not to be paid for mending the road on

St. Michael's Hill. Finally, the robes of the petty officials were docked of their fur, embroidery and velvet, which not only added to their cost but made their wearers undistinguishable to the vulgar from the members of the Council. It will be found hereafter that these cheeseparings did not suffice to restore an equilibrium.

A case of some local interest came before the Privy Council in May, arising out of a petition of Viscount Grandison and one Henry Howard. Lord Grandison alleged that he and his partner, in 1676, were induced to adventure in lead smelting by one Samuel Hutchinson who had obtained a patent for a new process, and that, after buying the patent, they set up works near Bristol at a cost of £4,000. Hutchinson had now set up works of his own near the same place, to their great injury. The Privy Council summoned the intruder, whose claim to work the patent was annulled. Another claimant, however, afterwards arose in the person of one John Hodges, who denied Lord Grandison's rights, when the latter, in another petition, averred that he had spent £10,000 in establishing his works, and Hodges' claim was dismissed. From various references to "the Cupoloes" in documents of about this date, it is probable that Grandison's works were near Nightingale Valley.

The Corporation received intimation early in August that the King had resolved upon a visit to the West of England, for the purpose of inspecting the battlefield of Sedgemoor, and immediate preparations were made for his entertainment in a manner calculated, it was hoped, to mitigate his displeasure. His Majesty arrived on the 25th, and was humbly welcomed by the Mayor and Common Council at Lawford's Gate, the precedents of the previous reign being exactly followed. The house of Sir William Hayman, in Small Street, had been made ready for the reception of the royal guest, and a grand banquet wound up the day's proceedings. On the 26th the King held a review in the Marsh of some troops that had encamped there. He afterwards rode up St. Michael's Hill, to view the remains of the defences from Royal Fort to Prior's Hill Fort, and returned by way of Newgate to his lodgings, where he "graciously touched" several persons afflicted with scrofula. An early dinner having been disposed of, he made an inspection of the strong city walls extending from Redcliff to Temple Gate, and thence took a long ride to survey the fort at Portishead. In the evening his Majesty knighted

William Merrick, one of the Sheriffs, and Mr Winter, Sheriff of Gloucestershire, and early next morning departed for Sedgemoor. His visit cost the Corporation, who could ill afford the outlay, £573, of which £146 went for wine and £63 for confectionery. The Mayor received 10s. for a lost silver fork—a rare luxury at that period.

A renewed quarrel between the civic body and the Bakers' Company broke out in the autumn, but the details are not recorded. In October the Council took the unprecedented course of conferring the freedom, for a trivial fine, on one John Gibbs, apparently a "foreigner," on his undertaking to make good bread, and to hold aloof from the incorporated Company. A few weeks later, a fine of £40 was demanded, and paid, on the admission of an intruding ironmonger.

Towards the close of the year, Thomas Gale, who had been appointed Postmaster of Bristol in 1678, petitioned his superiors in London for an increase of his salary, then amounting to £50 a year. The managing official thereupon reported to Lord Rochester, Postmaster General, that Gale's stipend was very small, considering the expenses to which he was put, and his extraordinary labours, Bristol being a great city. On the other hand, the allowances that Gale had applied for on account of his outlay for candles, string, sealing wax and stationery, were stated to be for necessary incidents of his office, borne by all the provincial postmasters; and as a reasonable compromise it was recommended that the salary should be increased to £60 per annum. An order carrying out this suggestion was signed by Lord Rochester on December 13th. The entire in-door work of the local office appears to have been performed at that period by the unassisted efforts of the postmaster.

On January 18th, 1687, the Council, by electing Mr John Bubb to fill a vacant seat in the Chamber, unwittingly fell under the King's displeasure. Bubb claimed exemption from civic service, by virtue of his office of "Remitter of the Customs," and having applied for royal protection, his Majesty sent down an order that his officer should be excused. The Council offered some resistance, and pointed out, in a letter to Lord Sunderland, that as Bubb's employment did not disturb him in his trade of shopkeeping, which he followed very considerably, the duties of Councillor could be no hindrance to him in serving the King. His Majesty, however, forwarded a peremptory reply. Being informed that the real object of the Council was to thrust Bubb into the costly office of Sheriff, he reiterated his former command

and required instant obedience. The Council of course submitted, but Mr. Bubb will turn up again. About the same time the King in Council, on the petition of Alderman John Moore, who pleaded great age and infirmities, relieved that gentleman of his office.

The salary of the Lord High Steward, the venerable Duke of Ormond, being several years in arrear, he was presented in March with a butt and two dozen bottles of "sherrysack," which cost, including carriage, £43 16s. The Duke's estimation of "your excellent sherry" has been already mentioned, and the Council were doubtless anxious to maintain their good fame; yet the cost of the fine old wine was only 15s. per dozen. A few days later, the Mayor and other skilled members spent 4s. "at the Virgin tavern in tasting of wine against the coming of the judges"—a period which, from the large sums laid out for entertainments, must have been marked with copious libations.

During the assizes, Bishop Trelawny had an interview with the Council, from the report of which it appears that the corporate body had been again deprived of their seats in the cathedral. The Bishop proposed, in order that the Mayor and Common Council might not be debarred from coming into the choir during service, "no place being hitherto assigned them," that they should have the free use of "the sub-dean's seat, and all on the right-hand side of it to the archdeacon's seat;" the sword to be laid on a cushion according to usage. To this the Council assented, and resolved to attend service on the following Sunday.

The spring of 1687 was marked by an astounding revolution in the royal policy. For a quarter of a century the Dissenting bodies had undergone almost ceaseless persecution, and many hundreds of both sexes were, for conscience sake, lying in noisome gaols, when James II., assuming absolute power to deal with any statute, suspended the penal laws against all classes of Nonconformists, ordered the prison doors to be thrown open, and authorised every sect to hold services publicly. It is somewhat strange that the Broadmead Records contain scarcely any information as to this unexpected relief. A brief entry states that the congregation, which had been worshipping in a private house, at length "had peace." The reparation of their chapel, reduced to a mere ruin, was at once set about, and services were resumed. The joy of the Dissenters at their emancipation was damped by the fact that they were classed in the Indulgence with the real objects of the King's solicitude—

the adherents of the Roman Church. In July, a Papal Nuncio was received at Court with extraordinary pomp, and subsequently made a tour through the country for the propagation of his faith. The date of his visit to Bristol is not recorded, but an annalist notes that he dined at the Three Tuns tavern in Corn Street. Protestant feeling was greatly irritated, and Guy Fawkes' Day was celebrated, by way of protest, at unusual expense, and with great popular enthusiasm.

The impoverished state of the civic exchequer led the Council, in July, to deal with a very ancient custom—the payment of wages to the Members of Parliament for the city. It was resolved that no salary to the members should thenceforth be paid by the Chamber, “but that it be paid as the law directs”—a direction that it would have been difficult to discover. Sir Richard Crump had received £17 13s. 4d. for the brief session of the previous year, but nothing was given to Sir Richard Hart. It will be seen, later on, that the above resolution was temporarily rescinded.

The King, in August, started on a “progress” of an unusually magnificent character. After visiting the south coast, he travelled to Bath, where, after a short sojourn, he left the Queen, paid a visit to Badminton, where he was sumptuously entertained, and then proceeded by Gloucester and Worcester to Chester. During his journey northward, the Corporation sent a deputation to the “Queen Regent” to pray her to accept an entertainment in Bristol, but her Majesty declined the compliment. The stay of the Court at Bath furnishes us with the last notice of the royal deer that once roamed so plentifully in Kingswood. On August 27th, the Board of Green Cloth sent a mandate to Mr. Creswick, of Hanham, the Ranger of the Chase (who had purchased Throckmorton's interest in January, 1682), complaining that its demand for five brace of bucks for the royal table had produced only a single head, and ordering that three bucks be at once delivered. Mr. Creswick had great difficulty in finding the animals, but sent in five deer at intervals during the following month. (How hopeless was the task of maintaining game there may be judged by the fact that upwards of seventy coal pits were being worked in various parts of the chase.) On the return of the King to Bath, another deputation from Bristol again proffered the hospitality of the Corporation, and upon its acceptance the Council, little foreseeing their contemptuous degradation in the near future, and recklessly indifferent to the city debts, resolved on

receiving their imperious master with even greater display than in the previous year. The royal guests were received at Lawford's Gate on September 12th with the accustomed ceremony, and were conducted to Mr. Lane's Great House at St. Augustine's Back, where a luxurious banquet was prepared for them, and where the Queen was presented with 100 "broad pieces" of gold. Their Majesties returned to Bath the same evening. Their brief visit cost the Corporation no less than £703.

The shocking condition of the city gaol at length shamed the Corporation into action. It was resolved in December, to build a new prison on a different site, and the subject was delegated to a committee to take the necessary steps, with further instructions "to put Bridewell into some proper posture." Without further communication with the Council, the committee framed and promoted a Bill, empowering the Corporation to construct a new building, and to charge the cost upon the ratepayers; another Bill, creating a Court of Conscience for the recovery of petty debts being carried through Parliament simultaneously. The only mention of the matter in the records is a payment of £92 to Sir Richard Hart, "charges of procuring the Acts." The cost of rebuilding Newgate was about £1,600.

Another of the arbitrary edicts of James II. was in preparation at the opening of 1688. On this occasion the blow fell upon the English Corporations. The Bristol Council, carefully selected from zealous Tories less than four years previously, had always shown obedience to the royal will; they had proved their loyalty during the Monmouth rebellion; and had on two occasions displayed extravagant liberality in doing his Majesty honour. Their latest tribute of devotion—a joyful procession to the cathedral on January 29th, to take part in the thanksgiving service ordered by the Government, on the Queen having declared herself to be with child—had not yet reached the royal ear, but might have been anticipated. But they, like their brethren in other towns, were Churchmen, naturally displeased by the illegal favours conceded to Papists and sectaries, and could not be relied upon to carry out the latest scheme devised by the King—the packing of a Parliament to promote Roman Catholic supremacy. On January 13th, 1688, by an Order in Council, Richard Lane, Mayor; Aldermen Swymmer, Hicks, Clutterbuck, Saunders, Combe, and Eston; the Sheriffs, eighteen Councillors, and Romsey, the Town Clerk, all zealous Tories, were dismissed

from the Corporation. This was followed on the 14th by a royal Mandate, addressed to the relics of the Chamber, ordering them to admit Thomas Day as Mayor; Michael Pope, Walter Stephens, William Jackson, William Browne, Humphrey Corsley, and Thomas Scrope as Aldermen; Thomas Saunders and John Hine as Sheriffs; and eighteen gentlemen, including Henry Gibbs, Joseph Jackson, John Cary, John Duddelston, William Burges, Joseph Burges and Nathaniel Day, as Councillors. Many of the King's nominees were Dissenters, some were survivors of the Commonwealth regime, and Scrope was the son of a regicide; but even those appointments were not so astonishing as was the selection for Town Clerk of Nathaniel Wade, notorious as an accomplice in the Rye House plot, and as one of Monmouth's prompters and lieutenants in the western rebellion. To remove all difficulty in the way of the royal nominees, the Mandate further directed that they were not to be required, before taking their seats, to swear the oaths imposed by Acts of Parliament, "with which we are pleased to dispense." His Majesty confided the above instruments to Wade, who arrived in Bristol on February 2nd, and forthwith informed the Mayor that he had "something to communicate" to the Council. A meeting of that body was accordingly convened for the 4th, when, if the members had been previously kept in the dark as to the fate hanging over them, their eyes must have been opened by the aspect of the Council House, already crowded by the royal *protégés*. Mr. Lane having taken the chair, Wade was called in to fulfil his commission; the Order in Council was read; the displaced Tory gentlemen, who appear to have maintained a silence more eloquent than words, withdrew; the King's Mandate was next presented to Alderman Lawford, the senior surviving Alderman; and the election and admission of the new members, in pursuance of the royal commands, brought the amazing revolution to a close. The "purge," as it was called, was sufficiently severe. Nevertheless, some flickerings of dissent from the royal policy were apparent, and on March 25th, the King in Council issued an Order for the displacement of Walter Stephens, one of the new Aldermen, and of five of the old Councillors; and this was followed, on the 26th, by a Mandate, nominating Simon Hurle as Alderman, and five obscure persons—probably Dissenters—to the other vacancies. These changes were accordingly made at a Council held on April 11th, the statutory oaths being again dispensed with. By this time

some members of the highly purified Corporation thought it indispensable to return thanks to their gracious creator, and a committee was appointed to draw up a suitable address. This document, which may be safely attributed to Wade, was brought up at a meeting held in the following week. In brief, the address laid the Council at his Majesty's feet, rendered hearty thanks for the happiness enjoyed under his wise government, extolled his suspension of the penal laws, promised the utmost exertions to support his policy, beseeched God to prolong his benign reign, and prayed that the Crown, at his death, might fall to a successor descending from himself, and inheriting his princely virtues. Puppets as they were in the royal hands, and liable to be swept away by the pen that created them, the majority of the Council revolted against the adulation that it was proposed to put into their mouths, the allusion to the expected advent of an infant prince being especially distasteful. The adoption of the address was negatived by sixteen votes against eleven, and a motion that it should be adopted with amendments was rejected by fourteen votes against thirteen. Wade, though not entitled to vote, impudently took part in both divisions, and figured of course amongst the minority. The largeness of the number of absentees was doubtless due to disgust at the Town Clerk's servile manœuvring.

The proceedings of the royal nominees during their brief existence as civic rulers may be briefly summarised. Their first act was to order the anniversary of the King's accession to be celebrated with unusual trumpeting, salutes and bonfires. A few days later, their Puritan principles were displayed in a resolution for the revival of the week-day lectures at St. Nicholas's and St. Werburgh's churches. In May, the Princess Anne, with her husband the Prince of Denmark, arrived at Bath to drink the waters, and as their Highnesses declined an invitation from Bristol, orders were given for the despatch to them of sixty dozen of sherry and French wines; a further gift of a hogshead of sherry being forwarded to London, whither the Princess had hurried on the birth of a Prince, soon better known as a Pretender. The latter incident evoked many demonstrations of joy from the King's partisans in the Council, in spite of the incredulity with which the intelligence was received by the public. The office of Lord High Steward became vacant during the summer, on the death of the Duke of Ormond, but owing to dissensions as to a successor, the election was

twice deferred. (Strangely enough, there is no further reference to the vacancy in the minute books; but the office was certainly conferred, before the end of October, on James, Duke of Ormond, grandson of the deceased Duke.) The civic debt causing much embarrassment, it was resolved in August to sell as much of the corporate estates as would clear off the burden. On September 15th, when William Jackson was elected Mayor, with Thomas Liston and Joseph Jackson, Sheriffs, Alderman Hurle produced an Order in Council declaring the King's pleasure that he, and also Councillor James Wallis, should be dismissed, which was accordingly done. Hurle then produced a Mandate requiring the election of Henry Gibbs as Alderman and of Peter Mugleworth as Councillor, and the order was obeyed. On October 11th another Mandate, dated so far back as April 29th was produced, setting forth that the King, having received a good character of the sixty-nine persons named in the document (many of whom were Quakers), commanded their admission as freemen, without their being required to take any oath whatever. By this time, resistance to James's daily violations of the law was developing in the chief municipal bodies throughout the country, although they had all been manipulated with the vigour exerted in Bristol. It was moreover known that the King, alarmed at his position, had restored the charters of the city of London; so the Council after a debate, shelved a motion to obey the order, and adjourned the matter until the next House (which quietly ignored it). Directions were however given for the royal salutes and musical fantasias that usually took place on the King's birthday (October 11th). On the 14th his Majesty was constrained to withdraw from his monstrous encroachments on municipal liberties. It appears from the proclamation, Order in Council, and Mandate issued on the 17th that, saving a few exceptions, the surrenders of corporate charters made in and after 1679 had never been enrolled, or the judgments on *Quo warrantos* entered on the records, so that no surrender in law had been made of the ancient franchises, and the old corporations were not in fact dissolved. Wherefore, to quote the "general proclamation," the King, of his grace and favour, being resolved to place the civic bodies in their former position, was pleased to order that Mayors, Sheriffs, Aldermen and Councillors elected after the date of the surrenders should be at once displaced, and the previous Aldermen and Councillors reinstated, after which, new elections of Mayors

and Sheriffs were to take place, although the charter days for such elections might have passed. His Majesty finally promised to restore and confirm the charters that had been surrendered.

The dignitaries that had been so contumeliously treated for their loyalty cannot but have exulted on returning to the Council House. But their proceedings when again reunited, on October 23rd, when Wade had disappeared and Romsey had returned to his office, exhibit no rancour towards the King's late nominees. On the contrary, William Jackson, the Mayor, was reappointed, though he was not really entitled to sit until he was elected a Councillor. The lately appointed Sheriffs disappeared with the other royal dependents, and Thomas Cole and William Browne were chosen, but the latter had fled from the city to his house at Frenchay, to escape the office, and the fine of £400 imposed upon him was never recovered. (His place was filled by the election of George White.) The arrival of the Dutch fleet under the Prince of Orange being daily expected, orders were given for the enrolment of six soldiers to guard the city gates; but this was clearly a mere formality, as the troopers served only eleven days during the ensuing two months. On October 25th the Council assembled to appoint a Recorder, when William Powlett, an able lawyer, was elected in the place of Roger North, whose friends were in a minority, and who revenged himself in his reminiscences by many sneers and libels on Bristol and its citizens. A copious present of wine was ordered for the Duke of Beaufort, who had already arrived in the city, by order of the King, with directions to repeat his exploits of 1685. On November 26th, when the King's position had become desperate, the Council, in co-operation with the leading local clergy, headed by Bishop Trelawny, whose principles of passive obedience and non-resistance had become marvellously modified, adopted a petition to His Majesty, praying for the convocation of a Free Parliament; but there is no evidence that this appeal ever reached its destination. James's flight and the events that followed it plunged the Corporation into utter helplessness and confusion. From the date of the above meeting until August, 1689, six attempts were made to assemble a Council for the despatch of business, but it was in each case found impossible to collect a quorum.

The local calendar writers are provokingly reticent in reference to the events of this memorable year. It is known

that the news of the birth of a Prince of Wales, received on June 12th, two days after the event, was greeted, as it was everywhere, with mingled dismay and incredulity. "They rang the bells a little while," says one annalist, "but made but very small demonstrations of joy." On the other hand, public sympathy was cordially manifested in the following week for the seven Bishops, whose liberation from the Tower was hailed with great popular enthusiasm, and similar demonstrations followed their ultimate acquittal. But nothing is recorded as to the reception of the news of the Prince of Orange's arrival, and it is necessary to resort to a London news-letter for most of the details in connection with the occupation of Bristol by the Deliverer's partisans. As stated above, the Duke of Beaufort arrived in the city in October, resolved to secure it on behalf of the King; but he held aloof from the Corporation, notwithstanding its gift of a quantity of wine, and took up his abode with the Collector of Customs. Becoming sorrowfully convinced that public feeling amongst all classes was adverse to his cause, his Grace made no effort to assemble any considerable number of trained bands. Such a moment was favourable for an outbreak of fanaticism amongst the ignorant and disorderly. On the morning of December 1st, a rabble gathered in the streets, and sacked the house of a Romanist harness-maker in Castle Street, burning part of the contents and stealing the remainder. The mob next attacked two houses in King Street, also occupied by men of the obnoxious faith, and wrought great havoc. Fortunately, in the afternoon, says the news writer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, with 200 horse and 200 infantry, entered the city without opposition, and assumed the functions of Governor by direction of the Prince of Orange. His Lordship was joined on the same day by Sir John Guest, who had recently returned from exile for his opposition to the Duke of Beaufort's proceedings, and who, with the assistance of Lord Delamere, had already raised a large body of volunteers in Gloucestershire. The Duke of Beaufort, hearing of the approach of these unwelcome visitors (he had attempted to arrest Guise in October), departed in some haste, "not staying to dine," adds a chuckling chronicler. Lord Shrewsbury was met at the Tolzey by the Mayor and Aldermen, to whom he handed a letter from the Prince of Orange, assuring them that he had come to England in defence of religion, liberty and property, and adding that, being unwilling to burden them, and desiring to have their friendship and concurrence,

he had sent only a small party of troops. Lord Shrewsbury had also a letter for Bishop Trelawny, who had probably joined the Mayor and Corporation. His Lordship's brother, the colonel of the regiment that had so recently run riot in Bristol, had already carried over his troops to the Prince of Orange, and the Bishop himself hastened to salute the rising sun. "Lord Shrewsbury, with whose conduct we are all extremely pleased, will give you a full account of what has been done here, which, if your Highness should approve it, will be greater satisfaction to me that I have bore some part in the work which your Highness has undertaken . . . Believe me very ready to promote so good a work." The Mayor and Aldermen also sent the Prince assurances of their assistance, and thanked him for his considerate treatment of the city. The adhesion of Bristol was deemed so important an event by William's advisers, that the missive of the justices was hurriedly translated into Dutch and despatched to Rotterdam, where it was forthwith published, accompanied by a proclamation of the Mayor and Aldermen forbidding Jesuits, monks and Romish priests from abiding in Bristol, and threatening those who harboured them with heavy penalties. (A copy of this remarkable tract is in the collection of Mr. G. E. Weare.) The disposition of the citizens generally was so favourable that it was thought needless to maintain a garrison, and all the troops, save a small guard for the gates, departed about December 5th. The only expense incurred by the Corporation during their stay was 40s., presented to the dragoons by the Mayor, presumably for their good conduct. The soldiers being gone, the populace gathered again, intending to attack the houses in King Street, but a calendar writer says:—"Sir John Knight, Sir Richard Crump and Sir Thomas Earle, and some others, drew their swords, which so daunted the rabble that they fled." Only a few days later, a panic, the cause of which was never explained, broke out in Bristol, London, and almost every town in the kingdom. A rumour spread with amazing rapidity that the Irish soldiers disbanded by James II. were approaching, massacring on their way Protestant men, women and children. Thousands of persons flew to arms to resist the barbarians, and it was not discovered in Bristol until after a night of awful terror that the soldiery were stationed more than a week's march from the city. The Chamberlain paid £5 9s. "for powder, when the report was that the Irish that was disbanded were coming near this city, and did great cruelties wherever they goeth."

Interrupting for a moment the story of the Revolution, attention may be drawn to a curious deed, now in the Reference Library, dated August 11th, 1688, by which Susanna Veil, of Bristol, in consideration of £40, conveyed to an attorney, named Parmiter, a moiety of the tithes of the lordship of Tockington. On the back of the instrument is a memorandum, signed by Parmiter, acknowledging that he had acted in the matter merely as the agent of Richard Hawksworth [a Bristol merchant], to whom he transferred the estate. In another hand is the following note:—" *Nota bene.* Richard Hawksworth, herein mentioned, and his heir Walter, who sold his right to these tyths to St. D., were & are still Quakers, though they did, without scruple, receive and use these tyth fruits so many years." St. D., doubtless the writer of the above, was the Rev. Staunton Degge, of Over, who purchased the manor of Tockington, which, in 1688, was the property of Alderman Lawford, of the representatives of that gentleman's heiress, Lady Dineley, widow of the murdered Sir John Dineley, *alias* Goodere.

In the closing days of December, the Prince of Orange resolved on summoning a Convention for the settlement of the kingdom, which James II. had deserted. The writs for what was in all but the name a Parliament were forthwith issued, and the election proceedings at Bristol began on January 11th, 1689, and concluded on the 15th, when Sir Richard Hart and Sir John Knight were returned, their Whig opponents, Thomas Day and Robert Yate, being defeated. Bristol was one of the few important towns that returned uncompromising Tories at this great crisis, and both its members opposed the dethronement of James. Both, however, took the oath of allegiance to the new King and Queen, as did the Duke of Beaufort after a short hesitation. At the close of the session, the Council, after passing a vote of thanks to the members for their good services to the city and the Church of England, repealed the resolution abolishing the payment of "wages" to representatives, who received the usual allowance of 6s. 8d. per day, amounting to a total sum of £193.

The proclamation of King William and Queen Mary took place at the High Cross on February 16th, 1689. The meagre ceremonies denoted the prevailing sentiments of the civic body. Not one bottle of wine was consumed by the Corporation, and the total expenditure for salutes,

trumpeters, and bonfires was only £2 7s. 5d. A fortnight later, however, the King sent instructions that the keys of the city gates, which the Duke of Beaufort had long held so tenaciously, should be delivered to the Mayor, and this concession to corporate susceptibilities produced a good effect. On the day fixed for the coronation, in April, the Council went in state to the cathedral (10s. being paid "to four women that strewed sweet herbs before Mr. Mayor"), and a modest potation took place afterwards at the Council House, whilst cannon fired salutes.

Bishop Trelawny's sudden abjuration of the principle of passive obedience was rewarded in the way he desired. In answer to his petition for preferment to the see of Exeter, and for two good livings in that diocese, to be held *in commendam*, a *congé d'élire* in his favour was issued on March 16th, and on the same day he was granted a well-endowed Cornish deanery and a rectory in Devon by royal warrant. His successor in Bristol was Gilbert Ironside, son of a former Bishop of the same name. This prelate's episcopate here was even shorter than Trelawny's, his translation to Hereford taking place two years later.

Ecclesiastics were far from being the only suitors for the favour of the new Government. On March 15th, John Dutton Colt was appointed Collector of Customs at Bristol, in conformity with his petition recounting his sufferings in the Protestant cause.

The long-standing dispute over the election of Sir Thomas Earle as Alderman (see pp. 402, 417) was revived in August, when the Court of Aldermen re-assembled after a suspension of eight months. With the assent of the Court, and in contradiction to its last decision on the subject, Sir Thomas took the oaths and his seat. Sir William Clutterbuck and Thomas Day were then elected Aldermen. Thomas Eston, who had been placed in Earle's seat by the Court in 1683, being now an encumbrance, it was resolved, a few days later, that, as he had been long imprisoned for debt, and could not attend to his office, which he had held all along, "contrary to right," his election was void. Sir William Hayman, one of the late King's nominees, was also ejected, and the Mayor, with Edward Feilding and William Donning, were appointed to vacant seats. These resolutions were not passed without much dissension. In fact, the Mayor was so embarrassed in the performance of his office that, on September 4th, he

addressed an appeal to the Government. His letter, which is amongst the State Papers, stated that he had, on the preceding day, called a House to make arrangements for the coming elections, but many members did not attend, while others came only to wrangle about precedence. "They are for the most part those who consented to the surrender of the charter, and I believe are least affected to their Majesties' interest. I desire directions, wishing to leave office in the hands of men entirely disposed to their Majesties' service, which I cannot promise if this party prevail." In reply, Lord Shrewsbury said the King had noticed the Mayor's faithful service, and expected that those who had a right to choose officers should act as became them. If business were obstructed, the names of offenders should be sent up to the Privy Council, that they might be prosecuted. The result of the aldermanic proceedings came out on election day, when the civic scribe placed no less than seventeen Aldermen on the roll, declining the responsibility of omitting Eston and those whom the late King had nominated or displaced. Arthur Hart, an ultra-Tory, was placed in the chair. Ignoring King James's order for the exemption of John Bubb, that gentleman was not only elected a Councillor but appointed one of the Sheriffs.

At the period under review, the law made no provision for such persons condemned to death for felony as the judges thought fit to save from the gallows. Prisoners were hanged by scores every year for what would now be deemed trivial offences; but if, from extreme youth or other extenuating circumstances, the penalty of death were remitted, the culprit suffered no heavier punishment than that endured by poor people imprisoned for non-payment of a debt. The perplexity occasioned by this defect in the statute book is illustrated by a letter addressed by the Recorder of Bristol to the Attorney-General at the close of the gaol delivery in September. Three men, wrote Serjeant Powlett, had been sentenced to death: one for sheep stealing, one for personating a landed man, and a third for instigating the latter felony. The two first were notorious rogues, and the whole country would cry out if they were not hanged; but it might be well to transport the other, who was only twenty-four years old. The writer asked for advice, especially as to what power judges had to transport prisoners convicted of small felonies. "Here are two boys, the eldest not twelve, convicted of

stealing a purse with forty pence in it. I reprieved because so young, upon their friends promising to transport them." What would have happened to the two children if they had been destitute of friends is left to conjecture.

Whatever might be the bickerings in the Council chamber over precedence and other trifles, the members were pretty unanimous in their hatred of Nonconformists. It was resolved in October, that, "the settlement of the militia being in some part in the hands of Dissenters and persons obnoxious to the Church of England," the fact should be represented to the King, together with "other emergencies that may fall out." A committee was also appointed to write to the city members, desiring their attention to these important matters.

On January 18th, 1690, a fire broke out in the White Lion inn, Broad Street, by which that long-famed hostelry, together with an adjoining house, was burned to the ground. The Chamberlain disbursed £7 8s. 9d. amongst those who strove to quench the flames.

A parliamentary election, consequent on the dissolution of the preceding House of Commons, began in Bristol on February 24th and continued for five days. The previous members, Sir Richard Hart and Sir John Knight, again offered themselves, and defeated their Whig opponents, the Recorder and Robert Yate. The unsuccessful candidates petitioned against the return, alleging that many of their supporters had been prevented from voting, whilst divers unqualified persons had been allowed to vote against them; but their claim seems to have been abandoned. The Tory majority in the Council were so enraged at the candidature of Serjeant Powlett that they refused to allow him to be present at meetings of the Chamber, although an Alderman by virtue of his office.

The repudiation by the Corporation of all responsibility in reference to the cleansing of the streets was noted in a previous page. As was to be expected, the parochial authorities were little disposed to bear the burden, and reduced their scavenging staff to derisory proportions. Though the narrow alleys inhabited by the poor were not merely lanes but sewers, the sum expended in the populous parish of St. Stephen in the summer of 1690, according to the records of the vestry, was only 4s. per week, whilst St. Leonard's vestry laid out only £6 a year; and there is no reason to suppose that those districts were more parsimonious than

their neighbours. The scandal continued until the last year of the century.

The Corporation, in fact, was overwhelmed with debt and menaced with insolvency. In July it was announced that two creditors threatened distrains, and orders were given for raising temporary loans. The crisis was finally overcome by the sale of lands at Hamp for £3,600. Instances of contemptible parsimony and of gross extravagance occur in the year's accounts. Thus, on July 22nd, the Chamberlain notes:—"Spent on several attorneys at the Nag's Head, 2s. 2d." A few weeks before he had paid "Jonathan Blackwell, Esq., for wine, £102"—representing about 260 gallons.

In August, Mr. Edward Colston made a proposal to the Council to purchase three acres of land on St. Michael's Hill, known as the Turtles, or Jonas Leaze, intimating his intention to build thereon an almshouse, chapel, and other buildings. The Corporation, in view of his charitable purpose, demanded only £100 for the ground, and the conveyance was executed in November. There is no record of the opening of the almshouse, which was constructed for the reception of twelve men and twelve women, and cost about £2,500. In January, 1696, Mr. Colston conveyed the property, together with the endowment fund—consisting of a great number of fee-farm rents purchased from the Crown—to Sir Richard Hart and twenty-seven other citizens, chiefly members of the Merchants' Society, who were constituted managers of the charity, with power to appoint successors. The nomination of alms-people was reserved to the founder for life, with remainder to the Merchants' Society in perpetuity.

One of the calendar writers of this time records that "much heats and contentions degraded the Chamber, and engendered continual squabbings and heart-burnings"; and though the minutes of the Council are drawn up with great reserve and ambiguity, enough may be made out to corroborate the assertion. Quarrels as to precedence were of frequent occurrence, the ex-mayors and sheriffs elected after the return of the charters refusing to recognise the seniority of the officials designated by James II. or elected by his nominees. A few headstrong Jacobites refused to enter the Chamber at all, and attempts to coerce them by fines proved unavailing, as they had not taken the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns, and were therefore disqualified. In supplying vacancies, Dissenters and others

were chosen against their will for the mere purpose of annoyance, and heavy fines were imposed for non-acceptance of office; but one James Whiting, being thus treated, and committed to gaol in default of payment, raised an action for illegal imprisonment, and the Council were glad to settle the matter by relieving him of his office. Other men, again, claimed to act as Councillors, though the dominant party contended that they had no right to sit, but this argument was raised only when the claimant's politics were antagonistic to those of the majority. Sir John Knight, for instance, had formally resigned his gown before being displaced by King James, but he returned and claimed his place as if nothing had happened, and was of course welcomed by his allies, who elected him Mayor in September. With the pretended object of securing good order, an ordinance was passed in the same month, under which any intruder claiming to take part in the business of the House was to forfeit £20, and be imprisoned in default of payment; whilst Mayors or Sheriffs neglecting to put this law in force were threatened with the same penalties. But the decree fell stillborn. The exasperation of the ruling faction was especially directed against Sir Thomas Earle, and reached its climax in October. So far as can be gathered from the vague records, it would appear that in the previous February the then Mayor (Hart) and some of the Tory Aldermen, on evidence of a hearsay character, had committed the mate of Earle's ship, the *Eleanor*, on a charge of having a French pass in his possession, with the object, as Hart insinuated, of landing a cargo of leaden bullets in an enemy's port. Sir Thomas Earle thereupon wrote to Secretary Lord Shrewsbury, setting forth what he said were the true facts. The ship's cargo, chiefly perishable goods, was consigned to his sons, factors at Bilbao, and he had not sent a ship to France for thirty years. Neither the captain nor himself knew that the mate had a pass; but as all other attempts to compromise him had failed, Sir John Knight had turned affidavit man, while the Mayor, of like principles, had "got a lewd fellow to swear to something that I believe was taught him." If attention was paid to such stories, the Secretary would "find trouble enough whilst this man is Mayor, for their whole party, being known to be most zealous Jacobites," would cover their designs by aspersing the men they mortally hated, namely, those faithful to the Government; the present project being mainly designed to defeat the election of

well-affected members of Parliament. A copy of this letter came into the hands of Earle's enemies about the end of September, either by dint of bribing a Government underling, or by the treachery of Lord Shrewsbury himself, who had secretly gone over to the Jacobites. Before calling Sir Thomas to account on this matter, a new charge was raised against him by his opponents. They alleged that on July 23rd, whilst Hart and some Aldermen were sitting in the Tolzey, Earle tumultuously broke in upon them with a crowd of people, and insolently menaced them for granting bail to one Moore, accused of sedition, which so alarmed the justices for their own safety that they committed Moore to Newgate against their judgment. Thirdly, it was asserted that Sir Thomas, with other deputy-lieutenants, had come into the Council House, and demanded that the corporate books should be shown to the Earl of Macclesfield (now Lord-Lieutenant of the city, *vice* the Duke of Beaufort, resigned), for the purpose of bringing an accusation against Hart, and prying into the civic secrets. These charges having been formulated, Earle produced an answer in writing, which the Council refused to accept, and he was ordered to give categorical replies to the accusations. On the first head he declined to say anything until his letter was produced, which of course could not be done. To the second, he contended that he had simply protested against an improper act, when Hart had contemptuously ordered him—a magistrate—to “go away aïme.” As to the third, he stated that he and his official companions wished to inspect an order concerning them in the Council books. He was thereupon ordered to withdraw. and the Council, declaring all the charges proved, resolved by a large majority that he be expelled from the Corporation. (The only Whigs present were Aldermen Creswick, Day and Donning, and Robert Yate.) The Jacobite triumph was of brief duration. At the next meeting, November 12th, the Mayor announced that he had been served with a “rule” for a *mandamus*, requiring Earle's restoration, and it was resolved to put in an answer. The defence was unsatisfactory to the Court of King's Bench, which granted a *mandamus* in February, 1691, when the mortified majority were compelled to vote for Earle's restoration to his office.

Whilst the above squabble was raging, William III. reached Kingroad on September 6th on his return from the Battle of the Boyne. His Majesty landed at Kingsweston,

then recently acquired by Sir Robert Southwell, Irish Secretary of State, and on the following day he passed through Bristol on his way to the Duke of Beaufort's mansion at Badminton. The only available approach to the city from Kingsweston was down St. Michael's Hill, then narrow, precipitous and rugged, leading to a dangerous declivity called Steep Street, and the descent must have been trying to one who delighted in the level flats of his own land. At From Gate, Christmas Street, the King was received by the city dignitaries, who preceded him, bareheaded, to Lawford's Gate. Remembering the lavish outlay repeatedly incurred in doing honour to William's predecessors, the only items of civic expense on this occasion are worthy of a record:—"Paid six soldiers for going in the city's arms, 6s. Disbursed in the Council House, 10s." In November, a day of Thanksgiving was appointed to celebrate the King's successes; but the ruling party in the Council were the reverse of jubilant, and only six shillings worth of sack was needed "to drink the King and Queen's health," implying a very general abstention from a distasteful ceremony.

Soon after the King's return to England, the honour of knighthood was conferred upon John Duddleston, a Bristol merchant largely concerned in the West Indian and tobacco trades. A few weeks later, January, 1691, Sir John was created a baronet. The cause of these distinctions has never been explained, but it is not improbable that Duddleston, who appears to have been a Whig and a Dissenter, was sent to Kingsweston to offer the King the respectful homage of the citizens of similar sentiments—a tribute which the sullen reserve of the Jacobite Council would render the more gratifying. It is almost needless to add that the story of a knighthood being conferred on a humble staymaker by Queen Anne, more than ten years later, is one of the absurd fictions invented by a stupid imitator of Chatterton.

The Corporation were troubled, near the close of the year, by the arrival of Sir Edward Philipps, sent down by the Government to assume the office of Vice-Admiral, in repudiation of the city's chartered rights. The Members of Parliament were forthwith furnished with documentary evidence of the local privilege, and their exertions for its maintenance proved successful. In February, 1691, the Council were informed by the Mayor that Philipps's commission had been quashed, and that the Government had promised to conduct future Admiralty business through

the chief magistrate. So far as can be discovered, this was the last occasion on which the Council took the trouble to defend a right that had ceased to be of any real value, and had been often a source of expense. The local jurisdiction had been tacitly surrendered before 1741, when, on the committal of Sir John Dineley's murderers for trial in Bristol, the Government attempted to move the case into the Admiralty Court, alleging that the crime was committed at sea. Sir Michael Foster, the Recorder, founded a successful defence of the magistrates on the fact that Kingroad was within the boundaries of the city, which ousted a jurisdiction that he did not care to dispute.

At the above meeting in February, the Council were about to admit Charles Delamain, "lapidary," to the freedom, on payment of £15, when the goldsmiths of the city, who had heard of the intention, presented a petition complaining that the admission of Delamain, whom they styled a jeweller, would be grievously prejudicial to their trade. The Council thereupon raised the fine to £30, and that sum was paid.

Retrenchment in trifles was still pursued by the civic rulers. It was resolved on February 27th to abolish the salary of £2 paid to the Keeper of the Library, on the death of the existing librarian. A committee was also instructed to view the house, set apart a space sufficient to store up the books, and let the rest of the building as a dwelling! In spite of parsimonies of this kind, the Corporation could not meet their liabilities, and in the following month, when a distraint was threatened for a debt of £400, it was determined to abstract that sum from charity funds, to be refunded when money came in. By the ingenuity of the Mayor (Sir John Knight), these financial troubles were turned to account for political purposes. On July 22nd he dilated on the great expense incurred for the entertainment of the judges, and induced the Council to abolish the custom, and to limit the future outlay to a sum "not exceeding £5 for some small necessaries." He then sent a messenger to the judges on circuit, averring that this step had been taken, not from disrespect but pure necessity. The well-informed diarist, Luttrell, notes the conclusion of the matter. On the envoy fulfilling his mission at Exeter, Mr. Justice Gregory replied that the Corporation "need not fright themselves with his being a burden to them (though he knew well enough how to construe their excuse). At his coming to the city he received great insolencies from some persons who

were very tumultuous about his coach, and threw dirt at him, for which, publicly noticing the affront, and resolving that their Majesties' Government should not be so wounded through him, he fined the city £100, and each Sheriff £20, but on their submission he remitted the fines."

The hostility of Sir Richard Hart, M.P., to the Government of William III. was exemplified by a speech which he addressed to the Council in April. The recourse to impressment for reinforcing the land and sea forces was then of ordinary occurrence, and during the reigns of the Stewarts the Corporation had been frequently zealous in raising the contingents that were called for. But the impressment of three Kingswood labourers for service in the army was complained of by the Jacobite knight as a shameful abuse of the liberty of the subject. He drew, moreover, an alarming picture of the disorders to be dreaded from the irritation of the colliers, whose numbers he estimated at 500, and who, he said, might not only become riotous, but refuse to supply the city with fuel. As the result of his tirade, his political sympathisers resolved to address a complaint to the Government, who seem to have treated it with silent contempt.

A somewhat enigmatical minute was made at a Council meeting in July:—"Mr. Mayor observed that several shows and sights are setting up in the fair by the license of the Mayor, in the houses of private persons, to the prejudice of the fee farm. Ordered, that Mr. Mayor and all future Mayors be desired to grant no license to any but such that shall take ground of the city of the fee farm as usual." The apparent complaint of the Mayor against his own conduct was probably directed against licenses granted by his predecessors. The profits derived from letting stands during the fairs amounted to about £60 per annum. A standing at the High Cross let for 30s. Three in the Corn Market, Wine Street, brought in £28 15s. A theatrical booth in the Horse Fair was set up almost every year, and produced £3. Subsequently, two companies of players made their appearance, increasing the receipts; but the old dislike of the drama was aroused by the innovation, and in 1699 the actors were banished, the Sheriffs being compensated for their loss by a vote of £5 yearly out of the civic purse.

The reappearance of John Roe, the rebellious swordbearer, was foreshadowed in page 404. On November 11th, the Mayor informed the Council that he had been summoned to show cause why a *mandamus* should not issue for the

reinstatement of Roe in his former position, whereupon it was resolved to put in an answer repelling the claim. No further mention of the case occurs for some time, but, according to Shower's King's Bench Reports, the dispute came before the Court for judgment in Michaelmas Term, 1691. (There is admitted confusion in the chronological order of these reports, and this cause is probably antedated.) The defence of the Corporation was based on Roe's absence from his duties, and especially on his outlawry after the Rye House plot. As to the latter plea, Roe rejoined that the outlawry had been reversed. The Court determined that mere absence was no forfeiture of the place, and that it had not been proved that Roe was absent when the Mayor was "in his progresses" officially. But outlawry was an undoubted disability, and Roe must sue out a new writ, reciting the outlawry and its reversal. "And afterwards," adds the reporter, "he brought such a special writ, and we amended the return, etc." Strange to say, the matter again drops out of sight until a meeting of the Council in January, 1695, when the following minute is recorded:—"Resolved that Mr. Lane, who is sued by Mr. John Row for not restoring him, be defended at the city's charge." In the following April, Roe petitioned for restoration to his place, or compensation: and a committee then appointed to negotiate with him reported a few days later that they had offered him £40, but that he insisted on £150. Both parties being stubborn, Roe renewed legal proceedings, and on June 1st the Mayor announced that he had been subpoenaed by Roe to appear at the trial of the case. The rest of the minute offers a striking example of the frequent negligence of the city scribes:—"Upon debate of the matter ——" and there the writer stops! The truth appears to be that the Corporation had no valid defence to offer, and determined on a compromise. On June 5th, the Chamberlain paid Roe £100, "by order of the Common Council," and brought the long dispute to an end.

The State Papers for 1691 contain an account of an affair that must have caused much excitement in the city, though no local writer condescended even to allude to it. In a report to the Treasury, dated November 12th, the Customs Commissioners commended the petition of John Dutton Colt, Collector at Bristol, who had succeeded, by the help of an informer on board the ship Bristol Merchant, in detecting certain Customs officers and local mer-

chants in a combination for defrauding the revenue. He had recovered £2,772 from the incriminated merchants, and £500, as a fine, from the officers, and the latter had moreover been convicted in the Court of King's Bench, and condemned to stand publicly upon the Back, placarded upon their breasts with a paper declaring their crime. (This punishment, according to a London news-letter, was remitted by the Government.) The Commissioners recommended that Colt should be generously recompensed, with what result does not appear. Subsequently, charges of misconduct against Colt himself were made by Bristolians, but the Government seem to have taken no steps against him.

An unexpected resolution was passed by the Council in December. Impressed, perhaps, by the pacification of Ireland, and by the increased security of commerce due to a reorganized Navy, the House had at length begun to manifest some respect for the new occupants of the throne; and the Chamberlain was directed to pay £13 5s. "for the King and Queen's pictures now set up in the Council Chamber." The portraits had been evidently ordered by some previous resolution of which there is no record. The money was paid to "Mr. More," probably the well-known Dutch painter, Karel de Moor.

The corporate Bargain Book, in March, 1692, contains an interesting reference to an ancient building then belonging to Edward Colston. The entry recites a lease granted, in 1682, to Captain Richard Ham, of the White Lodge and gardens, on St. Michael's Hill, part of the estate of the old Hospital of St. Bartholomew. This lease had become vested in Mr. Colston, and on its surrender by him, and the payment of £24, a new lease for forty-one years was granted, at his request, to John Price, mariner, at a rental of 56s. 8d. The White Lodge stood at the bottom of the Hill, nearly facing the King David inn. But there was another White Lodge, adjacent to the Red Lodge, and both are mentioned as being still in existence at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Sir William Merrick, who had taken little part in civic affairs for some time, petitioned in August to be discharged from further service, and the Council consented to his retirement on payment of £100. The fine was paid in the following year, when an objection was raised to the dismissal. A civic bye-law was then in force requiring every member to record his vote, either in person or by proxy, on

the election of Mayor. On September 15th, the entire Council, with a single exception, assembled under these conditions, and the Chamberlain was elected a Councillor for the day to make the roll complete. By inadvertence, some one previously holding Merrick's proxy voted again in his name, and it was contended that the discharge had thus become invalid. After a solemn deliberation, Sir William was finally liberated.

The Council were again in financial trouble in November, 1693. A creditor holding bonds for £1,000 threatened to distrain for the amount, and a scandal was averted only by begging a loan of £350 from a lady, the balance being reluctantly contributed by three members of the House. The embarrassment brought about a reform in the manner of keeping the city accounts, which had undergone scarcely any alteration since the middle ages, and was extremely obscure and imperfect. It was resolved in December to provide the Chamberlain with a ledger, journal and cash book, which he was instructed to make up monthly.

Previous reference has been made to the French Protestants driven from their country by Louis XIV. A considerable number of the Huguenots settled in Bristol, and some attained a good position as merchants. In September, 1693, one of these, Stephen Peloquin, was admitted a free burgess, on the nomination of the Mayor. A member of this family, David Peloquin, was elected Sheriff in 1735, and Mayor in 1751, and another, Mary Ann Peloquin, bequeathed £19,000 to the Corporation for charitable purposes. Other Huguenot names, such as Daltera and Piquenet, are found in the lists of civic officers, whilst some families were lost in the general population by the Anglicising of their surnames, Levraut being changed to Hare, and Leroy to King. There is no record in the corporate minutes of the grant to the refugees of the use of the Mayor's Chapel as a place of worship; but they certainly were in possession of it soon after the Revolution, and were then a numerous congregation.

Wealthy Huguenots desirous of becoming English subjects could attain that end by obtaining a special Act of Parliament; but this process was beyond the means of the bulk of the refugees, who therefore suffered under the disabilities of aliens. Besides the French exiles, moreover, great numbers of industrious German Protestants, driven from their homes by the French devastation of the

Rhenish provinces, had sought shelter in this country. A feeling arose in Parliament that the rigour of the alien laws might be relaxed in favour of the sufferers for religion, and in December a Bill to sanction their naturalisation was read twice in the House of Commons without a division. The enemies of the Government, however, seized the opportunity to inflame the national hatred of foreigners, and on January 4th, 1694, when it was proposed to consider the Bill in committee, it was furiously denounced by the Opposition. It was, they alleged, a fraudulent device, under which the country would be flooded by Dutchmen, who would adopt any faith for money, and would soon be a greater curse than the plagues of Egypt. Amongst the most virulent of the speakers, according to the measure of his ability, was Sir John Knight, whose coarse ranting was afterwards dressed up into decent English by abler Jacobites in the background. After much irrelevant rigmarole about the liberties of England, the miseries of our troops in Flanders, and the cunning and meanness of our Dutch allies, Knight professed to speak on behalf of his constituents. He could not hope that his city would be saved from the general inundation that this Bill would bring upon the liberties and property of the nation. Supporters of the Bill were stigmatised as wanting in patriotism, and on the remark provoking protests, the orator alleged he had offended them by concluding that their religion was from the Bible. "If it be that which displeaseth, I beg pardon and promise not to offend again on that score, and conclude with this motion:—'That the sergeant be commanded to open the doors, and let us first kick the Bill out of the House, and then kick the foreigners out of the kingdom.'" This diatribe, with its incoherence pruned and its offensiveness aggravated, was printed secretly at Jacobite presses, and circulated by tens of thousands, undoubtedly winning much approval and assent. But when a copy of the concocted ribaldry was laid before the House on March 1st (not fifty years later, as is strangely asserted by a local historian), it caused an outburst of disgust, and its pretended author, in dread of the consequences, lyingly disclaimed all knowledge of the publication. The House resolved that the libel was false, scandalous, and seditious, and ordered it to be burned by the hangman. The Bill was withdrawn. That Knight was incapable of making such a speech as was attributed to him is sufficiently

attested by a note he addressed to a brother alderman, a copy of which is given by a local annalist:—"Sir John Knight presents his compliments to Sir Richard Crumpe and have a hat which are not mine. If you has a hat which are not yourn, probably it are the missing one."

Amongst the records of the Corporation is an interesting memorandum, showing the amount of a new tax collected from the property owners of the city in the last three months of 1693. Parliament in the previous year had ordered an accurate valuation of real estate to be made throughout the kingdom, and directed that a tax on the yearly value—which soon obtained the name of Land Tax—should be assessed for the support of the war. The valuation of parishes then made remains unaltered to the present day, so that the tax, which was originally four shillings in the pound, has fallen in some parishes to a fraction of a farthing. The total sum collected in Bristol for the last quarter of 1693 was £1,617 8s. 11d., representing the annual value of the city at £32,349. The yearly rental of St. Nicholas parish was fixed at £3,443; St. Stephen's, £3,266; St. Thomas's, £3,138; St. James's, £2,742; Christ Church, £2,000; St. Augustine's, £1,856; Temple, £1,804; St. Ewen's, £1,681; Castle Precincts, £1,681; Redcliff, £1,566; St. Peter's, £1,526; St. John's, £1,339; St. Philip's, £1,237; All Saints, £1,200; St. Michael's, £1,124; St. Mary-le-port, £1,019; St. Leonard's, £882; and St. Werburgh's, £840. The figures must roughly indicate the proportionate population of each parish.

Much distress prevailed during the winter of 1693–4 owing to the high price of bread. In January, the Corporation petitioned the Government to be permitted to import 5,000 bushels of grain from Ireland for the relief of the poor, free from the existing duty of 8s. per quarter; but the Ministry replied that it had not power to assent, the Customs duties having been mortgaged for the repayment of a loan.

At a meeting of the Council, on March 20th, 1694, a resolution was adopted, setting forth that the main streets and avenues within the precincts (alluding to Old Market Street, St. Michael's Hill, and similar thoroughfares) were out of repair, though they had been mended by the parishes to the utmost of their ability, and needed much more outlay to make them decent and safe; wherefore the House, considering that the city parishes had the

advantage and credit of these roads, ordered that all the parishes should contribute to their reparation, in proportions to be fixed by a committee, the Corporation undertaking to assist in mending the way to Lawford's Gate. As the Council had no legal power to assess rates for such a purpose, the resolution probably came to nothing.

A project of much importance was laid before the Council in August. The minute recorded is as follows :—" Mr. Mayor produced the proposals made by Mr. Goddard and others for the bringing in of water from some adjacent stream or river into the city, to serve the inhabitants, at rents between the undertakers and tenants or inhabitants, was read. A committee appointed to treat with the undertakers." In January, 1695, the committee presented a report, stating that the undertakers had refused to assent to the terms demanded by the Corporation. What those terms were, and what the Council now determined upon, are points left in obscurity through the slovenly language used by the minute-writer. Apparently the committee had proposed to grant a lease for a fine of £200, renewable every seven years on payment of £266 13s. 4d. on each occasion; and it may be conjectured that the projectors had offered £100 for a lease, and £200 for each septennial renewal. On February 27th the committee brought up another report recommending that the fines should be fixed at £150 and £166 13s. 4d. respectively. It would seem that the undertakers assented to these terms, for in April the Council ordered that they should be prosecuted "with vigour, for breach of articles." But by some means the contract was annulled by consent, and on August 1st the Town Clerk read the clauses of another agreement arranged by the committee on the same pecuniary terms. One clause, giving the undertakers liberty to make a cistern on the Market-house in Wine Street, was struck out by the Council; the rest of the articles were approved, subject to the projectors paying all the costs incurred, and rewarding the Town Clerk "for his pains." The fine of £150 was paid a few days later, when the lease was doubtless executed. The prospect of amicable relations, however, soon vanished, for in January, 1696, the Chamber directed the city members to oppose the Bill for carrying out the works, which was being "laboured at" in the House of Commons by Daniel Small and others. The policy of the Corporation on the subject is somewhat inexplicable. A clear desire was shown to extract as much money as possible out of the company,

while obstacles were repeatedly raised to the progress of the undertaking. The opposition to the Bill was unavailing, and it received the Royal Assent. The promoters, Daniel Small, of London, Richard Berry, silkman, Bristol, Samuel Sandford, wine cooper, Bristol, and two other Londoners, subscribed a capital of £6,175, divided into 95 shares of £65 each, and purchased, for £900, a lease of extensive flour mills at Hanham Weir, for which they paid a rent of £95 per annum. The water drawn from the Avon at that spot was conveyed to near Crews Hole, whence it was driven by "an ingenious machine"—possibly a primitive steam-engine—to a reservoir at Lawrence Hill, and thence flowed by gravitation into the city. The whole of the pipes were bored out of trunks of elms. The works were completed in 1698, and in 1700 the Water Company, in petitioning against an Avon Navigation Bill, alleging that the scheme would destroy their property at Hanham, informed the House of Commons that they supplied water to "many hundreds of tenants"—a statement that must be accepted with reserve. The water rent was a fixed charge of £2 per house, and "many hundreds" of customers would have produced substantial profits on the small capital, whereas in point of fact the concern was never prosperous, and was ultimately abandoned. In 1700, the Corporation deigned to patronise the Company by ordering a supply of water for the gaol, and by offering £50 towards the erection of a cistern over the Meal Market "to contain 40 tons of water to extinguish fires."

The vestry of St. Stephen's parish resolved in December, 1694, that a vestry room "of a convenient bigness" should be constructed over the porch of the church. As churchwardendom had then reached almost the lowest depths of barbarism, the fate of the beautiful porch, had the project been carried out, may be safely surmised. But at the ensuing Easter gathering "it was found proper," says the minute-book, to have the vestry built over the "Scull House" at the east end of the church. This building, which still deforms the fabric, was completed in 1696, at a cost of £100. "Bone houses," necessitated by the overcrowded state of the burial grounds, were an ordinary feature of the parochial cemeteries. An unusually large one stood in the area before St. James's church. Hour-glasses, as admonitions to prolix preachers, were also common. St. Philip's vestry paid half a crown this year for "mending the hour-glass."

An amusing illustration of the selfishness of the age ap-

pears in the Journal of the House of Commons for December 17th. The members for Bristol presented a petition from the merchants and traders of the city trading to the plantations, complaining that, contrary to law, divers ships of British subjects were carrying goods from the American settlements direct to Scotland and Ireland, to the great prejudice of the petitioners, and praying that the evil should be remedied. The petition met with much approval, and a Bill dealing with the grievance passed both houses unopposed, and received the Royal Assent. It enacted that from December 1st, 1696, it should be unlawful, under pretence of stress of weather or any other pretext, to land any American products in Scotland or Ireland, unless they had been first imported into England and re-shipped, under penalty of forfeiture of both ship and cargo. It was further provided that if a ship through stranding or leakiness was driven into an Irish port, and could proceed no further, the Customs officers were to take possession of the cargo, and to ship it, at the expense of the owners, into another vessel bound for England. The members for Bristol displayed great energy and incurred some expense in carrying the Bill through Parliament, and received the hearty thanks of local merchants. The statute remained long in force.

The Christmas season of 1694 was saddened by the death of Queen Mary, who, as an Englishwoman, enjoyed much more popularity than was ever accorded to her husband. The Jacobites, however, displayed rancorous exultation at her demise. To the disgrace of the Bristol clergy, the bells of several of the city churches rang merry peals instead of funereal knells, whilst a drunken rabble danced about the streets, accompanied by musicians playing "The King shall enjoy his own again." The Council, however, adopted an address of condolence to the King, and on the day of the funeral the High Cross was covered with black cloth.

The Chamberlain, in March, 1695, paid £6 5s. to a carpenter "for making a wooden cage to put rude people in." This structure, sometimes styled "the hutch," appears to have stood near the Guildhall; but was removed after a few years' trial.

A momentous event, though unrecorded in all English histories until the time of Macaulay, occurred in the spring of 1695. Parliament, in passing a Bill for the continuance of several temporary Acts, omitted the statute which subjected printers and printing-presses to many annoying restrictions. No pamphlet or book could be published un-

less it had received the approval of an official censor; and as printing-presses were practically interdicted in all provincial towns except Oxford, Cambridge, and York, the Stationers' Company in London enjoyed an almost complete monopoly of the trade. Anticipating the decision of the two Houses on the subject, one William Bonny, who had been carrying on a printing business in London, came down to Bristol, and presented a petition to the Council "for liberty to set up a printing press in this city," and for admission as a free burgess to further his enterprise. On April 24th, the Chamber, after grave consideration, came to the conclusion that a printing-house might "be useful in several respects," but was not disposed to allow a "foreigner" to compete with local booksellers in their especial business, and the freedom was conferred on Bonny on condition that he dwelt in the city and exercised no trade save that of a printer. It would seem that the liberty conferred on the press was forthwith abused by the Jacobites, for towards the close of the year a Bill was brought into the newly elected House of Commons to "regulate" printing—in other words, to revive some of the old restrictions. On December 2nd, when the measure had made some progress, Mr. John Cary, a Bristol merchant and Bonny's earliest patron, wrote in some alarm to the members for the city, urging them to get a clause introduced "to establish a press for printing here," pointing out that Bonny had "lately settled amongst us, and it will be to the interest of the city that he should be encouraged." Mr. Yate, replying on the 5th for himself and his colleague, stated that it was not intended that the Bill should debar York, Bristol, and other great places from the privilege of printing. Fortunately, however, the session closed before the Bill could be further considered. Cary's relations with Bonny will be dealt with presently.

The growing fame of the Hot Well for the curative properties of its water appears to have attracted many persons to Bristol during the later years of the century, in spite of the difficulties that had to be encountered in reaching the spring, which rose between high and low water mark on the muddy bank of the Avon, and was entirely unprotected. Anticipating profit by rendering assistance to visitors, two men, in 1687, rented the Well from the Merchants' Society, at 40s. per annum, and in 1691 a wall was built around the spring, at the expense, it is said, of Sir John Knight, with a view of barring out the

tidal water and facilitating access, but the results were disappointing. At length, in the early months of 1695, Sir Thomas Day, Mr. Robert Yate, and a few other public-spirited men, entered into negotiations with the Merchant Venturers' Society with a view to providing suitable accommodation for persons visiting the spa. In the result, the Society, on April 4th, 1695, granted to two of the above confederacy, Charles Jones, soap-boiler, and Thomas Callowhill, draper, a lease of the Well, and of some adjoining rocks and land, for a term of ninety years, at a rent of £5, the lessees covenanting that £500 should be expended in erecting a convenient pump-room and lodging-house, and in making walks to shelter and entertain visitors. The right of citizens and Cliftonians to consume the water without payment was reserved. It appears from the will of Mr. Yate, dated in 1734, that the undertaking was divided into forty shares, nine of which were held by that gentleman. The improvements at the spa effected under the lease soon became known in fashionable circles, and many persons sojourning at Bath were accustomed to make a short stay at the Hot Well, which was managed with great liberality, only a nominal charge being demanded from frequenters of the pump-room.

Influenced perhaps by the activity of the new Water Company, the Corporation resolved in August on extending the advantages of their spring at Jacob's Wells. This source had been previously made available to the corporate tenants in College Green by means of "fountains," but the supply was inadequate. It was now resolved to build a cistern near the old Gaunts' Hospital, from which pipes could be laid to the neighbouring dwellings. In October, 1696, another resolution was adopted, stating that the Chamber had incurred great expense [£60] in enlarging the supply, which was not only sufficient to provide for the city tenants, but for all the locality, and a committee was instructed to treat with other applicants. Those supplying water to non-paying neighbours were to be deprived of their pipes. The reservoir, afterwards rebuilt on a larger scale, still exists in the house at the corner of College Green and Unity Street.

The ancient law requiring constituencies to pay "wages" to their members of Parliament had now become virtually obsolete. The town of Hull, the only borough save Bristol that had clung to the usage, gave it up in 1678, and the example was attractive to a debt-ridden Corporation. The

Council, it is said, had demurred to Sir John Knight's claim in 1694, but had given way when that worthy threatened them with law proceedings. As a general election was approaching, the Chamber thought it advisable to bar further demands, and on August 26th it ordained that the sitting members should be paid as usual, but that no further salary should be allowed either to them or their successors. Sir John Knight received £95 13s. 4d. for 287 days' attendance, and Sir Richard Hart £101 13s. 4d. "in full." In 1700, a gift of wine was made to the representatives, and presents of this kind soon became an annual civic charge.

The election just referred to took place on October 28th, when the annalists curtly record that Sir Thomas Day, then Mayor, and Robert Yate, whose mayoralty had ended at Michaelmas, were returned—no mention being made of rival candidates. The new members were zealous Whigs, and it seems unlikely that the hitherto dominant party would allow both seats to be wrested from them without a struggle. Possibly the retiring members were irritated by the abolition of "wages," and refused to stand, but it is still improbable that the Whig candidates were permitted to "walk over." It must be noted that the four Tory members for London were ousted by four Whigs, that sympathisers with the Jacobites lost many seats, and that Revolution principles were steadily gaining ground in the Corporation of Bristol, which, though vehemently Tory at William's accession, was governed by Whigs before his death. Sir Thomas Day, one of the wealthiest merchants in the city, dwelt in the "Great House at the Bridge," already frequently mentioned. He had also a handsome country mansion called Tilly's Court, at Barton Hill (demolished 1894). Notwithstanding his riches and position, Sir Thomas carried on a retail business on the ground-floor of his house. By his will, dated in 1708, he directed his widow to retire from trade "and immediately to give over keeping shopp, and to lett my shopp, and to sell all my goods and wares." His colleague in Parliament, Mr. Yate, resided in Wine Street, over the handsome archway built by a member of his family, and long known as Guard House Passage (removed 1880).

During the autumn, Mr. Edward Colston, from his retirement at Mortlake, announced his intention of conferring further benefactions on his native city. At a meeting of the Merchants' Society in October, it was announced by the Master that Mr. Colston had forwarded a proposal to

maintain six aged sailors as additional pensioners in the Society's almshouse, provided convenient rooms were built to receive them. The executors of a Mr. Richard Jones having determined to follow Colston's example by settling funds for the maintenance of six more almsmen, orders were given for the erection of the necessary buildings, and two wings, bearing the respective dates of 1696 and 1699, were joined to the original almshouse, the Corporation allowing part of the old town wall to be demolished to provide an adequate site. Another benefaction was announced to the Council in November, when thanks were voted to Mr. Colston for "having added six boys unto Queen Elizabeth's Hospital." He had, in fact, promised to give £70 a year to the school for the maintenance of six lads until he had found a suitable estate in real property for a permanent endowment. In 1698 he conveyed to the trustees two farm-houses and 123 acres of land at Yatton and Congresbury for carrying out his proposal, expressly providing that if the number of scholars were reduced below the thirty-six to which his donation had augmented the roll, the premises conveyed by his deed should pass to the Merchants' Society. How disingenuously this injunction was evaded by the Corporation is narrated in the Annals of the Eighteenth Century.

The first volume printed at a permanently established press in Bristol was produced by William Bonny in November, 1695. It was entitled "An Essay on the State of England, in relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes. For carrying on the present War against France. By John Cary, Merchant in Bristoll. Bristoll: Printed by W. Bonny, for the Author, and are to be sold in London . . . also by Tho. Wall and Rich. Gravett, near the Tolzey, in Bristol. Novem. 1695." The work extends over 188 pages, and as Bonny's establishment was of limited dimensions, its production must have been begun almost as soon as the printer had set up his press. His employer, John Cary, who was the son of a Bristol merchant named Shershaw Cary, and was admitted as a freeman in 1672, having served an apprenticeship to Walter Stephens, linen draper, was a man of great intelligence, some of his views on trade, finance, and pauperism being much in advance of his age. He advocated, for example, the stimulating of domestic manufactures by freeing raw materials from Customs duties, and by abolishing the Excise burdens laid on glass and other articles. He also strongly deprecated the trade mono-

polies granted to the East India and Africa Companies, pleading for the concession of free trade to those regions. And he even urged the free admission of Irish food products into England, a policy then regarded as monstrous by the landed interest. On the other hand, he advocated the promotion of the English clothing trade by the suppression of the rising manufactories of Ireland, a course which unhappily met with the warm approval of Parliament. On another subject he also adopted the ideas of his contemporaries. The commerce with Africa, especially the traffic in human beings from that coast to America and the West Indies, was, he maintained, "a trade of the most advantage to this kingdom of any we drive, and as it were all profit; the first cost being little more than small matters of our own manufactures, for which we have in return gold, [elephants'] teeth, wax, and negroes, the last whereof is much better than the first, being indeed the best traffic the kingdom hath, as it doth occasionally give so vast an employment to our people both by sea and land." Turning to other subjects, the author laments the growth of luxury and the increasing desire for idleness in the community generally, the "swarms of idle drones that fill the streets," and the multitudinous beggars that refuse to work, prey upon the public, and bring up their families to lead a similar life. (Mr. Cary's sound ideas in reference to pauperism will be dealt with presently.) He further advises that maid-servants should be "restrained from excess of apparel," and should not be engaged unless they bring testimonials, which "will make them more orderly and governable than they now are"; and suggests that no man-servant should be permitted to wear a sword, except when travelling, "and if all people of mean qualities were prohibited the same, 'twould be of good consequence." The author's ideas on trade were stamped by John Locke as "the best I ever read on the subject." The book passed through three editions, and the last, in 1745, was translated into French and Italian.

The founder of Pennsylvania paid another visit to Bristol in the closing weeks of 1695. On January 5th, 1696, he married, at the Quakers' meeting-house in the Friars, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, recently mentioned in connection with the Hot Well. Miss Callowhill, whose mother was Hannah, daughter of Dennis Hollister, was the heiress of the latter gentleman, and as such possessed most of the estate once belonging to the Dominican Friars. Penn settled in Bristol in 1697, and resided for about two years,

during which period, it is supposed, the Friary gardens and land were laid out for building the streets still bearing the names of Penn, Pennsylvania, Hollister, and Callowhill. In 1698, William, one of Penn's sons by his first wife, was married in the above chapel to Mary, daughter of Charles Jones, the other lessee of the Hot Well. The union was an unfortunate one, as the husband, a few years later, deserted his wife, and by renouncing Quakerism rendered the marriage invalid. The founder of Pennsylvania left his American property to the children of his Bristol wife. (Amongst the many curious manuscripts in the collection of the late Mr. Sholto Hare is a letter of which the beginning and end have been lost, but which appears to have been written during the reign of James II. The writer asserts that, notwithstanding Penn's professions of piety, he long maintained an improper connection with the wife of a London haberdasher; that he afterwards pensioned her off, when she grew old, with £40 a year; and that he had then taken as a mistress the sister of a titled lady, whose name is given in the letter.)

In January, 1696, when the ordinance of 1666, forbidding "foreigners" to trade in the city, had become a dead letter, the Council, moved by Sir John Knight's invectives against intruders, solemnly revived the law issued thirty years before. A slight interpolation in the text is of interest, as denoting the march of improvement. It was ordered that after March 25th no stranger or foreigner should presume to open a shop, "either with or without glass windows," which were evidently a novelty, on pain of forfeiting £5 for each such offence. It was much easier to pass such an ordinance than to carry it into execution. As no fines were received by the Chamberlain, it is clear that little vigour was shown in prosecuting offenders; and in October, 1699, the Chamber feebly desired the magistrates to "consider" the number of foreigners keeping shops and alehouses.

The history of the rise and progress of glass-making in Bristol seems to be entirely lost. From an official return amongst the State Papers, showing the produce of the duty on glass for the year 1695-6, it would appear that the city was one of the chief centres of the industry. The gross receipts of the duty were £17,642, but a "draw-back" was allowed on the glass exported, and this deduction amounted to £2,976 at Bristol, £1,020 at Newcastle, and £840 at London.

For an adequate description of the paralysis of trade

and industry caused by the debased state of the currency at this time reference may be made to Macaulay's History. It must suffice to say here that through the clipping of the silver coinage by multitudes of knavish people, who profited largely by the roguery, the words pound and shilling had ceased to have any definite meaning. Twenty shillings of new coin weighed four ounces. But no person would pay wages or debts in new coin when old clipped shillings served his purpose; and clipped shillings were worth, on the average, less than sixpence each. As the result of a Government inquiry, it was found that £100 in silver, which when issued weighed 400 ounces, actually weighed 208 ounces in London, 240 ounces in Bristol, and only 116 ounces in Oxford. In a local test, recorded by a Bristol annalist, sixteen clipped shillings were found to be of less weight than a crown-piece of Charles II. As a natural consequence, the price of the necessaries of life greatly increased, and workmen, who had to accept their wages by tale, while their food had practically to be bought by weight, suffered lamentably under the double pillage. All classes, however, were afflicted, for as silver was the legal standard of value, business transactions of every kind fell into a state of bewilderment. Amongst the State Papers of February, 1696, is a statement of the Customs officials in Bristol to the head office in London, to the effect that they were unable to remit their receipts, as usual, by bills of exchange, business of that kind being stopped by the badness of the coin. The endeavours made to repress clipping by dealing ruthlessly with the criminals proved of little avail. In the summer of 1695, a widow named Scarlett, a shop-keeper in Thomas Street, was convicted of uttering a debased shilling, and of having instruments for clipping concealed in her house, for which offence, then called petty treason, she was sentenced to be burned in the street; but she succeeded in making her escape, and other criminals continued their practices undismayed. Urged by universal cries of distress, the Government at length resolved on an effectual reform, details of which must be sought elsewhere. Learning that the Ministry proposed to supplement the coinage at the Tower by the establishment of branch mints in some leading provincial towns, an application on behalf of Bristol was privately made to the Treasury by the members for the city, and in June, 1696, the Mayor informed the Council that works would

be set up here, providing a suitable house was furnished at the charge of the Corporation or the inhabitants. A committee was thereupon appointed "to make a bargain with Sir Thomas Day for the sugar house, and the House will find the way to pay the rent." The "sugar house" was really the fine mansion near St. Peter's church, originally built by the Nortons and reconstructed by Robert Aldworth (see p. 44). At the time under review it belonged to four co-partners, Edward Colston and Richard Beacham, of London, and Sir Thomas Day and Nathaniel Day, of Bristol. (The share of the house belonging to Nathaniel Day was soon afterwards bought by the Corporation for £230.) The coining apparatus arrived in August, amidst demonstrations of joy. In the British Museum is a unique placard, issued by the Mayor and Aldermen on August 15th, giving notice that the Government had sent down, for the benefit of the city, one thousand-weight of silver, valued at upwards of £3,000, to be coined at the new mint, and requesting the inhabitants to further the operations by furnishing old plate, for which a reward of sixpence per ounce would be paid in addition to the standard value of 5s. 2d. Holders of old hammered money were also promised a premium on the amount they sent in. How largely the invitation was responded to is attested by the fact that within about sixteen months the Bristol mint dealt with nearly two million ounces of silver, which were converted into £473,728 in coin. The produce of the other provincial mints—at York, Norwich, Chester and Exeter—reached a total of £1,340,000. Before the new coin could be put into circulation, the public, and especially the poor, were thrown into extreme distress through the want of currency to pay wages or to purchase the bare necessities of life. In the Record Office are two petitions from Bristol to the Government: one from the Mayor and Aldermen, representing that the want of half-pence and farthings caused great clamour amongst the poor, and praying that some copper coin might be struck at the local mint; while the other, from Abraham Elton, a prosperous merchant concerned in copper-smelting, begs for permission to coin farthings and half-pence, offering £10 per ton for the privilege, 2d. per pound for making the blanks, and 3d. per pound for coinage. No response was made to either of these requests, and the suffering was protracted for several months. Near the close of 1697, when the great

work had been achieved, a Bill was brought into Parliament, providing that, after January 10th, 1698, hammered money should cease to be a legal tender, but on December 30th a petition from the Corporation of Bristol was presented to the House of Commons, setting forth that by computation there would be at least £150,000 worth of old coin brought in at the approaching fair from Wales and other places, and that great loss would be sustained if no provision were made for its re-coinage. A proviso was accordingly added to the Bill permitting old coin to be taken to the mint for re-coinage until March 1st. The estimate of the Corporation seems to have been fallacious, as no local pieces bear a later date than 1697. The mint officials, however, did not vacate the premises until June, 1698.

Early in 1696, Mr. John Cary followed up his Essay on Trade by printing at Bonny's press a folio sheet entitled:—"Proposals for the better Maintaining and Implying the Poor of the City of Bristoll. Humbly offer'd to the consideration of the Mayor." The copy of this broadside in the British Museum has the following note, signed by Cary:—"These were the Result of the Court or Meeting of the Citizens on the first proposalls, being as soe many Heads whereon to ground a bill to be offer'd in Parliament." This is the only record of the meeting in question—the first public meeting known in local annals. In brief, the "proposals" offered by Cary suggested that the poor rates paid by the various city parishes should be "united into a common fund," and that one central workhouse should take the place of the various parochial receptacles, by which arrangement the endless and costly litigation respecting "settlements" would be obviated; whilst able-bodied paupers would be compelled to work, the infirm would be properly maintained, and the young trained for honest employment. The project was discussed by the Council on February 3rd, when the magistrates were requested to sit daily, and to call for such information as they should think necessary. A Bill, "for the erecting of Hospitals and Workhouses, in the City of Bristol, for the better employing and maintaining of the Poor," was laid before the House of Commons by Sir Thomas Day early in March, and became law during the Session; some amendments, the nature of which is unknown, being made in the Lower House. The Act ordained that on May 12th, 1696, a corporation should be established,

consisting of the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being, and of forty-eight persons to be chosen, in batches of four, by the eleven ancient wards and by the Castle Precincts (henceforth to become a ward), together with such other charitable persons as should be elected at a meeting in each ward of householders, paying one penny or more weekly of poor rates. The rate that the new corporation was empowered to levy annually was not to exceed the sum raised for the poor in 1695, save that £5,000 additional might be collected for building a workhouse. On May 19th, the date fixed by the Act, the newly elected members, amongst whom were John Cary, Sir William Daines, Thomas Callowhill, and Nathaniel Wade, assembled for the first time in St. George's Chapel, Guildhall, when Samuel Wallis, Mayor, was elected Governor; Alderman William Swymmer, Deputy-Governor; and James Harris, Treasurer. A week later a pattern for the common seal, bearing the device and motto still retained, was approved; and two committees were appointed, one to select houses in which to employ the poor, and the other to apply to the justices for the reparation and loan of "the workhouse called Whitehall," adjoining Bridewell, for the same purpose. (The Council forthwith acceded to this application.) In June it was reported that the poor-rate assessments during the three previous years had averaged £2,230 per annum, which was about £180 less than the expenditure, and the assessment on the city was soon afterwards fixed at £44 8s. per week, or £2,308 per annum. The new body went on with its preliminary labours until September, when, to its own astonishment and that of the citizens, it was stricken with paralysis. No explanation of the collapse is to be found in the minute-books, but it appears from other sources that John Hine, who became Mayor at Michaelmas, was so bitterly hostile to the infant institution that he refused to sign the documents required to put the rating scheme in operation, and as the Act made his signature indispensable, affairs came to a deadlock for a twelvemonth. On the removal of the obstruction, the guardians resumed their labours. The furnishing of Whitehall entailed an outlay of £260, which was subscribed on loan, and 100 girls were soon lodged in the building, and taught the work of carding and spinning wool, the cost of their maintenance being fixed at 2s. per head, weekly. Dr. Thomas Dover, whose "fever powder" is still in medical repute, offered

his gratuitous services as physician to the workhouse. An economical arrangement was also made for the education of the children. A pauper widow in St. Thomas's parish was appointed to teach them to read at a salary of 6s. per week; her previous relief of 2s. 6d. a week being stopped. The house being inadequate to contain all the children needing help, a committee was appointed to select another, and this body reported, in December, that they found "none so fit or convenient for the purpose as the Mint." Negotiations were soon after entered into with the owners of the fine old mansion, already described, and it was purchased for £800; but the Mint authorities were very unwilling to give up possession, and the Council generously voted £60, being a year's rental, pending the completion of the conveyance. The house being at length acquired, it was resolved, in September, 1698, to fit up a chamber for the meetings of the board. The beautiful Jacobean sitting-room, erected by Aldworth, was selected for this purpose; and the members, on October 30th, began an occupation that was continued by their successors for almost exactly two hundred years. The guardians were soon plunged in fresh troubles. Under the old system of pauper relief the parochial overseers had control of the funds, and enjoyed the prestige of alms-givers. Annoyed at the loss of their influence, the officials of fifteen out of the eighteen parishes flatly refused to collect the rates, and the provisions of the Act were again found defective. But the obstacle was speedily overcome by legal ingenuity and the sympathy of Parliament. Two clauses were introduced (at a cost of £7 9s. 4d.) into a Tiverton Workhouse Bill, then before the House of Commons, under which the Bristol Corporation of the Poor were empowered to over-ride the obstructiveness of a stupid Mayor, and to levy distresses upon recalcitrant overseers. Vigorous measures were then taken for the training of 100 boys to weave "fustians and calimancoes"; the lads were dressed in blue coats and white leather breeches; the porter's wife was ordered to teach them to read; and a due provision was made of disciplinary apparatus, including a pair of stocks, a whipping-post, and a place of confinement, significantly styled Purgatory, garnished with chains and fetterlocks. Severe punishment was not reserved for juvenile delinquents alone. In January, 1698, a vagrant from the county of Durham was brought before the board, and having

admitted that he had long lived by begging, he was ordered to be committed to Bridewell, and there kept at work "for the space of three years, unless this Court doth otherwise order." Several other tramps received a similar sentence, and the severity of the proceedings led to a general flight of roving mendicants; but the board probably discovered that they were exceeding their powers, or complaint was made as to the cost of maintaining the vagabonds, for the commitments were soon abandoned. The expenditure of the new institution considerably exceeded the amount collected from the ratepayers, and a subscription was started by its leading supporters to meet the deficit. The sum thus raised reached about £1,800, of which Sir John Duddleston, Sir William Daines, Samuel Wallis, Edward Tyson, M.D., Edward Martindale, Robert Yate, Thomas Edwards, George Mason, R. Bayly, Abraham Elton, Thomas Callowhill, William Swymmer, Peter Saunders, and Edward Colston contributed £100 each, and were elected honorary guardians. Out of these donations, £160 were paid for the purchase of a house adjoining the Mint, which was fitted up as a school. In 1700 a pamphlet, dedicated to both Houses of Parliament, was published in London, entitled "An Account of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Bristol in Execution of the Act of Parliament for the better Employing and Maintaining the Poor of that City." The author, John Cary, narrated the story of the institution in moderate yet forcible terms. The boys, he said, were being trained to gain an honest livelihood, and their labours were bringing in £6 per week towards their maintenance; the girls were also doing well, and the aged poor and beggars were kept from idleness and mendicity. About 300 persons were under the care of the guardians. "The success hath answered our expectation. . . . The face of our city is changed already;" and the writer ventured to hope that the example of Bristol would be widely followed. A continuation of the history of the incorporation will be found in the Annals of the Eighteenth Century. All that need be added here is that the establishment of the first "Poor Law Union" in England was creditable to the intelligence and public spirit of its promoters, and was, both socially and economically, a step far in advance of the narrow prejudices of the age.

In the last week of February, 1696, the country was startled by the discovery of a Jacobite plot for the assassina-

tion of the King and the overthrow of the Government. As in the case of the Rye House affair, it was soon found that there were two plots, one within the other. The design of the original and greater confederacy was to promote an open insurrection, to be supported by a French army; and of this plot all the leading Jacobites had full knowledge, and many had promised their co-operation. The inner plot was carried on by about forty braves, and had for its main object the cold-blooded murder of King William. This project had the usual fate of English assassination schemes. Some of the villains betrayed the rest, and about half the gang were arrested a few hours before the time fixed for the tragedy, when much information as to the insurrection scheme was at once brought to light. The disclosures caused a national thrill of horror unprecedented since the time of Guy Fawkes. The magistrates of Bristol ordered the city gates to be closed, suspicious-looking strangers were arrested, and the zeal of the working classes, stimulated by the rewards offered for traitors, outran that of the authorities. The Government, in the meantime, were not idle, and the minutes of the Privy Council show that some Bristol Jacobites were suspected of as much complicity in the insurrection plot as was proved against Sir John Friend, the rich London brewer, who was afterwards executed. On February 28th their lordships issued a warrant for the arrest of Sir John Knight, Sir Richard Hart, and two men named Davis and Moor. Subsequently Sir William Clutterbuck was carried up to London in custody. No record is preserved of their examination, but it would appear that evidence against them was not forthcoming, and they were liberated after several weeks' detention. On May 13th, however, the Privy Council sent down a fresh warrant against Sir John Knight, who was immured in a London gaol until August 27th, when the Privy Council ordered his discharge, "he being dangerously ill." In the British Museum is a broadsheet, printed by Bonny, headed "The Humble Presentment of the Grand Inquest at Midsummer Sessions, 1696," in which thanks are tendered to the Mayor (Samuel Wallis) and the Aldermen for their "zealous and prudent administration of the city during a crisis of great danger." The "Association" for defence of the Government—a movement common to the whole kingdom—met with enthusiastic support, and the Bristol printer was required to provide seventeen large sheets of parchment for the signatures of those who rushed to volunteer their

adherence to the royal cause. Although the matter for a time so completely monopolised public attention as to suspend commercial business, the local chroniclers refrained from even an allusion to it, and it is ignored by Barrett and other historians.

A Bill promoted by the Corporation of Bath, for powers to make the Avon navigable from Bristol to that city, was laid before Parliament in December; and a petition in its favour was presented from merchants and tradesmen of Bristol, who alleged that the scheme would be advantageous to trade. But a strong opposition was organized by the landowners around Bath, who contended that the markets would be glutted with cheap provisions from Bristol, causing a fall of rents, whilst carriers, innkeepers, and labourers would be utterly ruined. The justices and grand jury at Somerset Assizes re-echoed these predictions, averring that landowners were already suffering greatly from the glut of corn carried from Bristol on horseback to the markets at Warminster, Chippenham, and Devizes. The Bill was dropped, but was revived in the session of 1699–1700, the promoters avowing that their chief object was to reduce the excessive price of provisions in Bath. The Corporation of Bristol petitioned in favour of the scheme, but it was unpopular amongst the citizens, and a petition against it professed to represent the feelings of “many thousands”; while the bakers alleged that they would be unable to grind their corn if deprived of the mills on the Avon, and the innkeepers complained that they were threatened with ruin. The really formidable opposition, however, was that of the county gentry, who repeated their former lamentations with increased vigour; and as a Parliament of landlords naturally sympathised with the monopolists, the Bill was again withdrawn.

An attempt to maintain a monopoly in another branch of trade met with a very different reception in the city. Commerce with the west coast of Africa, which consisted largely in bartering metals, cotton goods, and spirits for negro slaves destined for the plantations, had been vested by Charles II. in the hands of a few London merchants, to whom he granted a patent of exclusive privileges under the style of the Royal African Company. As the trade of Bristol was rapidly developing with the West Indies, local merchants naturally felt aggrieved at being excluded from a share in what was the most lucrative traffic with the islands; and although positive evidence on the point

has perished, it is certain that they, and others, sent vessels to the Slave Coast, and carried on a large contraband business, in despite of the Company's denunciations of interlopers. The passing of the Act of 1689, known as the Declaration of Rights, put an end to all trade monopolies created by royal charters, and Bristol merchants lost no time in entering largely into slave enterprises. The Company nevertheless possessed great advantages in holding the forts and settlements on the coast, the protection of which was refused to outsiders, and sometimes set the law at defiance by driving off their competitors. These measures proving ineffectual, the Company, in 1696, applied to Parliament for a statutable revival of their former chartered rights, and forthwith met with a determined opposition. The Bristol merchants, in a petition to the Commons, alleged that the prosperity of the West India planters depended upon a plentiful supply of negroes (the annual shipment of the Company was limited to 3,000 slaves), and that the deficient import could be remedied only by the enterprise of English merchants generally. The clothiers and weavers of the city, in another petition, expatiated on the importance of their exports to the Slave Coast, and on the disastrous consequences that would arise if this market were closed. Similar appeals were made by other ports, and the West India planters were of course in favour of a free trade in slaves. After a struggle at Westminster, an Act was passed, in 1698, leaving the trade open to provincial ports, but requiring non-members of the Company to contribute a moderate sum towards the maintenance of the forts. The bitter controversy of the following century is narrated elsewhere.

Owing to great depression in the clothing trade, the Society of Friends established an independent "workhouse" in 1696. The chief object aimed at was to assist unemployed Quaker weavers, but in addition to the working inmates accommodation was provided for some aged and infirm members. The workhouse, still standing, was completed in 1698, at a cost of £1,300. Somewhat later, a number of boys were admitted, who received some education, and were taught to weave "cantaloons"; but the manufacture was abandoned about 1721, when the building was given up exclusively to the aged and impotent.

The civic accounts for December, 1696, contain the following item :—"Paid for a bull rope, 5s. 7d.," which is followed a few months later by :—"Paid for a collar to bait bulls in

the Marsh, 6s." Bull-baiting was then a fashionable sport in England, and continued long popular. A Bill to suppress the practice was rejected by the House of Commons in 1802, and in 1804 the Rev. Thomas Johnes, rector of St. John's, Bristol, and City Librarian, read a paper before a local literary club, in which he contended that bull-baiting "was not only legal but exceedingly correct and useful to society" (R. Smith's MSS.). After the laying out of Queen's Square, the city bull-ring was removed to some vacant ground in St. Philip's parish, now the site of St. Jude's Church.

The loss of the early Quarter Sessions records has deprived posterity of much curious information. The earliest surviving book begins in 1696, when, by order of the justices, a three months' contribution from St. Philip's parish towards the poor rates was ordered to be levied on five of the central parishes on account of the poverty of the eastern district. In August, 1697, the Sheriffs were fined five nobles (£1 13s. 4d.) for "not burning Isaac Tucker, according to sentence." This really means that Tucker, a thief, had been sentenced to be branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, and that the Sheriffs' officers, probably for a bribe, had applied the branding-iron in a cold state. Soon afterwards, the Sheriffs were fined 40s. "for not causing two women to be well burnt"; and the increased fine being still ineffectual, it was on the next occasion raised to £5. Whipping, often carried out to an extent that threatened the life of the culprit, was much in the favour of the justices. In May, 1698, a man, whose offence is not stated, was ordered to stand in the pillory for three hours as a target for the malevolence of the rabble, and to be thrice whipped—once from Newgate to St. Mark's Lane, once from Newgate to the great sun-dial on the Broad Quay, and a third time from the gaol to Lawford's Gate, "and back again." At the same session, a woman, for forging a marriage certificate, was ordered to be lashed on the naked back from the Council House to the bottom of the Quay. Householders were frequently fined for allowing their pigs to rove about the streets. In addition to their ordinary functions, the justices continued to fix the price of bread, and punished bakers who presumed to disobey the regulations.

One of the many ill-devised schemes of Parliament for the suppression of pauperism became law in the session of 1697. It enacted that all persons receiving parish relief, irrespective of age or sex, should wear, upon the right shoulder of their outer garment, a badge of red or blue cloth, bearing

the letter P. and the initial letter of their parish, on pain, in default, of forfeiting their relief, or of being committed to prison, whipped, and kept for three weeks to hard labour. Churchwardens relieving an unbadged person were to forfeit 20s. The St. Stephen's vestry, on August 31st, resolved that the poor of that parish should "ware bages" with the letters ^{T.P.}_{S.S.}. The orthography indicates the educational standard of the time, when it was not uncommon for a churchwarden to be unable to write his name.

The Peace of Ryswick, by which France acknowledged William III. as King of England, was proclaimed at Bristol on October 29th amidst great demonstrations of joy. The corporate body, with a long train of citizens, accompanied the Sheriffs to the High Cross, St. Peter's Cross, Temple Cross, St. Thomas's Conduit, and the conduit on the Quay, at each of which places the glad tidings were proclaimed amidst the roaring of cannon, the firing of salutes by the militia, the fantasias of musicians, and the pealing of bells. Flags were plentifully displayed (except upon the church towers); the conduits ran wine, and many leading citizens feasted their friends; while at night the city was ablaze with bonfires, fireworks and illuminations. The Jacobites were deeply mortified by the French King's desertion of their cause, and refused to join in the general display, but the populace were good-humoured, and the day passed over without disturbance.

On the petition of many Quakers, still debarred from the freedom owing to their objection to take the oath of a burgess, the Council, in November, allowed them to be admitted on making a solemn affirmation. The Society of Merchants were more conservative in sentiment. Quakers were for some years regarded as absolutely inadmissible to the Company, which even rejected the application of Stephen Pelouquin, the wealthy Huguenot merchant.

From the establishment of posts in the reign of Charles II. down to this time, letters from Devon and Cornwall to Bristol were sent from Exeter, by way of Salisbury, to London, and thence forwarded to their address, involving extra postage and much delay. After repeated appeals to the Government, a "cross post" was established between Exeter and Bristol for inland letters in 1698, thus substituting a journey of under 80 miles for one of nearly 300. But the mails from the West Indies and America, landed at Falmouth, were excluded from the arrangement, to the great prejudice of local merchants, nor was any reform con-

ceded in this respect for nearly a century. The cross post was a financial success, as it captured the large correspondence previously conducted by carriers; and at Michaelmas, 1700, the postal authorities started a similar mail between this city and Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Chester, superseding the roundabout journey *via* London. In this case also, however, Bristol letters to and from Ireland were excluded from the scheme. Even so late as 1746, when strong expostulations were addressed to the Post Office, Ralph Allen, of Bath, who had the control of the western mails, refused to allow a direct communication, but offered, if the postage from Dublin to London were paid, to convey the letters to Bristol gratis!

Under the provisions of the Triennial Act, the writs for a new Parliament were issued in the summer of 1698. The election proceedings at Bristol began early in August, and concluded on the 10th. Five candidates entered the field—the retiring Whig members, Sir Thomas Day and Robert Yate, the two High Tories, Sir John Knight and Sir Richard Hart, and John Cary, who was probably brought forward by a section of the Whigs dissatisfied with Sir Thomas Day. The suspected complicity of Knight and Hart in the Jacobite conspiracy of 1696 seems to have lost them many supporters, and their former popularity did not save them from a crushing defeat. The final state of the poll was as follows:—Mr. Yate, 1,136; Sir Thomas Day, 976; Sir John Knight, 785; Sir Richard Hart, 421; Mr. Cary, 279.

The first local allusion to gin-drinking appears in the presentment of the grand jury at the autumn quarter sessions. The document set forth the great distress of the poor caused by the high price of grain, an evil alleged to be due to the large quantity of malt used for the distillation of spirits, telling the more heavily on the labouring man, inasmuch as his bread and his favourite drink were chiefly made from barley. The presentment was approved by the Council in November, when a petition to Parliament was resolved upon, and soon afterwards an Act was passed restraining distillation and prohibiting the export of beer. Gin-drinking nevertheless became a mania in the following century.

At the Council meeting just referred to, Mr. Yate, M.P., brought forward a serious indictment against the civic Chamberlain, John Cooke, whom he charged with injustice, negligence, and incapacity in fulfilling the duties of his office. The minute-book states that “Mr. Chamberlain was

present at the time, but gave no satisfactory answer." A resolution that he should be "removed and displaced" seems to have been carried unanimously. He was succeeded on November 22nd by Edward Tocknell, a Councillor. (James Millerd, the author of the plans of the city, was a defeated candidate.) Cooke, whose delinquencies were not of a financial character, and who was Master of the Merchants' Society in 1691-2, has won a lasting fame by adding, in 1693, the tower known as his "Folly" to his country house at Sneyd. A few words as to this mansion, based on deeds in the Council House, may perhaps be of interest. In 1590, one of Cooke's ancestors, Bartholomew Cooke, obtained two separate leases of land for long terms, comprising Sneyd Park proper, Sea Mills, and the pastures on which the suburb now known as Sneyd Park was afterwards built. The entire estate had originally belonged to the bishopric of Worcester, but had been wrested from the see by that insatiable church plunderer, Sir Ralph Sadleir, in the reign of Henry VIII. The leases were at later periods succeeded by conveyances in fee; indeed, so early as 1615, John Cooke, son of Bartholomew, apparently dealt with part of the property as owner. From the outset, the mansion and park known as Old Sneyd were distinguished from a pasture of forty acres, together with some adjoining closes, described in a deed of 1619 as "lying in a corner of the park, on the top of the hill, adjoining Durdam Down, or the Spectacles, and the river of Avon," where John Cooke had already built himself a house. (The Spectacles, called in other records the Giant's Spectacles, was a quarry, known in later times as the Black Rock.) Old Sneyd Park was not alienated until about the time of the Civil War by Sadleir's representative, the purchaser being Alderman Joseph Jackson, of Bristol, who rebuilt or greatly extended the "capital mansion" there, the present portal of which bears the Jackson arms. But that Mr. Chamberlain Cooke retained the house and lands "on the top of the hill" is proved by his erection of the "Folly."

Early in 1699, the High Cross was restored and elaborately decorated at the cost of the Corporation. The sum of £61 was paid for gold-leaf, oil and colours, a shop was hired in which to grind the paint, and £67 were disbursed for wages. These and other items indicate the revival of the old civic predilection for display. In April, John Cosley, goldsmith, received £8 5s. for "gilding the Sunday scabbard," and in May, Richard Cosley was paid £6 3s. for "new making and gilding the Mourning scabbard," whilst £29 were laid out

on new and gorgeous dresses for the two city trumpeters. In the summer the unprecedented outlay of £38 was incurred in a perambulation of the civic boundaries in the Severn, and in autumn the ancient pastime of fishing in the From was revived at a cost of £5 3s. 4d. In the result, the year's expenditure exceeded the income by nearly £450, and retrenchments were found necessary. The trumpeters' old trappings were ordered to be sold, and the gold lace with which they were bedizened, together with the silver trumpets, was disposed of for £24 16s. The musicians had to fall back on the old copper trumpets of earlier days, and doubtless met with many jeers on the diminution of their finery.

A new source of income, discovered towards the end of the year, soon helped to alleviate the civic embarrassment. On October 23rd the Mayor acquainted the Council that the Rev. John Reade, D.D., vicar of St. Nicholas, had made a proposal to build a house in the Marsh, and his worship added that, from reports he had received, several other citizens were desirous of following this example. A committee was therefore appointed to lay out the ground for building sites, and to treat for their disposal. Such was the origin of the stately pile of buildings, afterwards styled Queen Square, as it is recorded in the Council minutes. But it is clear that the design must have been carefully elaborated before the Mayor's statement was made, for on October 27th, only four days later, an agreement was executed, by which a plot of ground was demised on lease to Dr. Reade, "as it is now laid out and allotted by the city officers." The site had a frontage of 40 feet with a depth of 105 feet. The house was to be of brick (the first authentic mention of that material for local building purposes), with stone quoins, was to be 40 feet in height, and was to form one corner of the eastern side of an intended square. The lease was for five lives, at a rent of 40s., being one shilling per foot of frontage. (At a later date the lease was converted into one for 53 years, and by another alteration, in 1732, all the leases were made renewable every 14 years in perpetuity, on payment at each renewal of one year's rack-rent.) The second applicant for ground was James Hollidge, one of the Sheriffs, and afterwards Mayor, who took three sites on the east side of the square. The Bowling Green covered part of this ground, and Hollidge paid £100 for the "house of entertainment" erected there for the players. He subsequently built several houses on the south side. Amongst the next lessees were

some leading merchants—John Day, Joseph Earle, Abraham Elton, Nathaniel Day and Woodes Rogers. The last-named became afterwards famous for his privateering voyage round the world.

Disabled by pecuniary difficulties from reconstructing the Council House, the Chamber, in October, 1699, ordered that the building should be "amended and repaired." The resolution was never acted upon, and it must have been evident that nothing short of demolition would effectually remedy the discomforts so long endured. See *Annals of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 59.

Mention has been made of the journey to London taken by each successive Mayor for the purpose of being sworn in, entailing a yearly outlay of £30. The Recorder, Serjeant Powlett, residing within easy distance in Monmouthshire, the Council from motives of economy invited him to Bristol to tender the oaths, which he was legally entitled to do; and in October, when he had thrice complied, he was voted £20 for his trouble.

The Jacobite principles cherished by the Duke of Ormond disabled him from rendering those services at Court which were always expected from a Lord High Steward, and his official connection with the city seems to have been ignored for some years. At Whitsuntide, 1697, however, the Corporation were lucky enough to obtain two butts of sherry as prisage, when three-fourths of this windfall appear to have been despatched to the Duke. And in December, 1699, the Council gave orders that a gross of the best sherry should be sent to his grace "in lieu of all arrears of salary." A gift of wine was also made on that occasion to the members of Parliament for the city, the total outlay being £30.

In the Parliamentary session of 1699-1700, the Corporation made an apparent effort to fulfil their functions by seeking powers "for cleansing, paving and enlightening the streets" of the city. No information as to the framing of the scheme is to be found in the civic minute-books, but an examination of the clauses of the Act clearly demonstrates that the real object aimed at was to relieve the Corporation from all responsibility or expense in regard to street police. The statute required householders and churchwardens to cleanse the thoroughfares adjoining their dwellings and churches twice a week, and to maintain a scavenger to remove refuse. As regarded paving, occupiers and churchwardens were to pitch or pave one half of the

streets fronting their premises, but tenants were empowered to deduct the outlay from their rent. (No provision was made for thoroughfares that had houses only on one side. The Horse Fair, from this cause, soon became "very foundrous and ruinous," and the Council were forced to vote £15 for its repair.) The civic rulers did not at first propose to interfere with the existing system of lighting, by which a few hundred candles were exhibited until nine o'clock at night; but on second thoughts additional clauses were introduced during the progress of the Bill, one of which enacted that householders paying twopence or more weekly as poor rate should, from Michaelmas to Lady Day, set out candles, in lanterns, nightly from dusk to midnight, on pain of forfeiting 2s. for each default. If the householders of any parish chose to carry out this lighting arrangement by means of a rate, they were empowered to do so, but the Council disclaimed all responsibility in the matter. It will be seen that the streets were to remain in utter darkness at night for six months in every year. The Bill received the Royal Assent in March, 1700, but its provisions did not come into operation until January, 1701. In the meantime, the Corporation made the customary grant of £1 4s. for two lights—at the Quay and Blind Gate—then its only effort to lessen the nightly perils of wayfarers, the lamp at the Council House having been discontinued. The new Act further empowered the civic body to levy fines on glass-makers, copper-smelters, and others, for throwing refuse into the two rivers, which, says the preamble of the statute, were the receptacles of most of the ashes and filth of the city. The cost of obtaining the Act was £121.

The Council, in January, 1700, resolved on relieving the treasurer of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital of the duty of supervising the maintenance and clothing of the boys, and made an agreement with Mr. Cobb, the schoolmaster, under which the thirty-six lads were "farmed" to the latter at £9 3s. 4d. per head yearly, for which they were to be fed, clothed, and educated. The master received no salary under this arrangement, and he had also to pay the wages of three female servants. As Mr. Colston provided £70 a year for the maintenance of six boys, Cobb's bargain was evidently a very good one for his employers. In compensation, the Council allowed the master a further sum of £8 per annum for collecting the rents of the charity, not merely in the city, but from numerous tenants at Congresbury and Yatton—an occupation somewhat incompatible with atten-

tion to his proper duties. It is not surprising to find indications that the scale of education in the school had sunk below the original standard. A weekly visitation by members of the Council was ordered, to see that the boys were properly treated, and the Mayor and Aldermen made an annual inspection, when one of the lads sang an anthem, instead of delivering an oration, as in former times. The performer, with each of the eight senior boys, had a gift of a shilling; the others received threepence each, and there was a distribution of cake and fruit. The plentiful supply of wine sent in on each occasion was doubtless consumed by the visitors. In December, 1700, the Council increased the number of scholars to forty, and raised the master's allowance to £9 10s. per head.

Down to this period, letters forwarded by post to Bristol were dealt with at the Post House—namely, the house at which the postboys stabled their horses; and local letters for London, and elsewhere, were left at the same place for the next despatch. The Post House was for several years at the Dolphin inn, which long afterwards gave its name to Dolphin Street. In 1700 the Government found it desirable to establish an independent Post Office, and negotiations were entered into with the Corporation, the result of which appears in the civic Bargain Book, dated June 22nd:—"Then agreed by the surveyors of the city lands with Henry Pine, Deputy Postmaster, that he the said Henry Pine shall have hold and enjoy the ground whereon now stands a shedd having therein four severall shopps, scituate in All Saints Lane, and as much more ground at the lower end of the same shedd as that the whole ground shall contain in length twenty seven foot, and to contain in breadth from the outside of the churchyard wall five foot and a half outward into the lane, with liberty to build upon the same for the conveniency of a post office (viz.) the first story to come forth into the said lane to the extent of that ground and no farther, and the second story to have a truss of 18 inches over the lane, or more, as the said surveyors shall think fitt, that persons coming to the post office may have shelter from the rain and stand in the dry. To hold the same from Michaelmas next for 50 years absolute, under the yearly rent of 30s. clear of taxes." The subsequent history of the office is given in the annals of the following century. The accommodation provided in the above bargain, limited as it was, doubtless met all the requirements of the time. Only three mail bags were

received from and despatched to London weekly, and the only other mails of which there is a record were those to Chester and Exeter, bi-weekly. With the exception of the intermediate towns on the three routes, Bristol letters from and to all parts of England, as well as Ireland and Scotland, were transmitted *via* London, often involving double postage rates and much delay. Cirencester, for example, was then an important centre of the wool trade, and was only about forty miles distant, yet correspondence had to travel upwards of two hundred miles, and ten days frequently elapsed between the despatch of a letter and the receipt of an answer.

The merciless severity of the criminal code, under which young children, if convicted of petty thefts, were necessarily sentenced to death, has been noticed in a previous page. As the carrying out of such sentences would have been revolting to public feeling, it became the practice after every assizes to draw up a memorial to the King, containing the names of those thought worthy of a reprieve, and praying for their pardon. The expense of such acts of grace was, however, considerable, owing to the fees demanded by legal and Court officials. In June, the Council ordered that £14 should be paid towards the charges of the local pardons for the previous two years, but that no further grant should be made on that account. The intention was obviously to lay the burden on the friends of the convicts, but many had no friends capable of meeting the charge, and the Corporation were frequently compelled to intervene. It is probable that many of the "pardoned" felons were ultimately transported as slaves to the plantations.

The Council, in August, voted £100 to Balliol College, Oxford, towards the charge of building chambers for the accommodation of exhibitioners sent up from Bristol Grammar School to the University. The College returned a cordial letter of thanks, and promised to take every care of the young men, many of whom were subsequently educated there.

An odd item occurs at this time in the Chamberlain's accounts:—"Paid Alderman Wallis for the scarlet cloth which is put on the Mayor's pew Sundays, £5." The Mayor attended many churches in the course of his year of office, and presumably the emblazonment was carried about from one building to another, according to his directions.

In an age when business ordinarily began at six o'clock in the morning it is not surprising that the Corporation were promoters of early closing. In 1699 the Council had

ordained that butchers and greengrocers should remove from the streets at seven o'clock in the winter half-year and at eight in summer. These hours being considered demoralizing, it was now ordered that the dealers in the Broad Street market should depart one hour earlier in each half-year. Inns and alehouses were closed at nine o'clock in the winter and ten in the summer months. As nearly all the shop fronts were unprotected with glass windows, candles could not be kept lighted in windy weather, and thieves were offered such facility for stealing that many traders appear to have closed at dusk.

The Council, in the autumn, resolved on reviving the entertainment of the judges of assize, and £22 4s. were paid to Sir Thomas Day, whose "great house at the Bridge" was offered for the occasion to Mr. Justice Powell. The judge must have had an enormous retinue, for £5 15s. were paid for the stabling and food of his horses. Looking about for funds to meet these and other expenses, the city rulers laid for the last time a heavy hand on "foreigners," apparently more numerous than ever. Having been given the option of taking up the freedom on payment of fines, or of having their places of business "shut down," many of the intruders consented to the former alternative, and upwards of £160 was netted by the Chamberlain. A merchant paid a fine of £35, a surgeon £20, a cork-cutter and a saddler £15 each, a tailor, a bricklayer, and a stone-carver £10 each, and a milliner and two wigmakers £8 each. A few tradesmen were more liberally dealt with under exceptional circumstances. Thus a brushmaker was admitted gratis because there was no other in the city, and a similar grace accorded to a furrier and a patten-maker was probably due to the same cause. Then a watchmaker was permitted to open a shop, and was eventually voted the freedom, in consequence of his offering "a curious watch and dyall plate, to be set up in the Tolzey, and undertaking to keep same in repair during his life." (This time-piece, still in excellent order, is now in the office of the city Treasurer.) In November a curious entry occurs in the minutes:—"There being a confederacy between the cooks now in the city, it is ordered, that in case any able cooks come from London, the Mayor and Aldermen have liberty to admit them into the freedom." As there is no further reference to the matter, the "confederacy" was probably broken up; but the glaring inconsistency of the corporate decree with the general policy adopted towards strangers seems to have given a final blow to the long-cherished system of persecu-

tion. In 1703, when all the civic bye-laws were revised by a committee for the purpose of cancelling such as were obsolete or prejudicial, the ordinance forbidding the intrusion of "foreigners" was significantly ordered "to be left out."

A few remarks on the general condition and policy of the Corporation will bring the annals of the century to a close. It seems only too certain that the civic body had deteriorated during the period that has been under review. In the year ending Michaelmas, 1601, the corporate income amounted to only £928, which was about £300 below the average in the later years of Elizabeth; while the expenditure was £690, or about the normal amount of the period. As a general rule there was a considerable surplus, and by dint of continuous prudent management the Council were from time to time enabled to add largely by purchases to the civic estates. The Civil War necessarily entailed heavy burdens on the Corporation, but the liabilities thus incurred might have been cleared off if the large receipts flowing from the Castle Precincts and new King Street had been devoted to that purpose. At the Restoration, however, the economy of the Puritan age became as distasteful to the Royalist Council as its political sentiments, and chronic recklessness and extravagance brought about their customary results. In the ten years ending 1700, the average yearly income had increased to about £3,000, but although all the charges for police, paving, lighting, and other municipal services were repudiated, the expenditure was greater than the receipts. Property to the value of about £8,000 had been disposed of, yet the Corporation, at the end of the century, were burdened with a debt of over £10,000, and had moreover to pay about £190 yearly to various charities, the original capital represented by that sum—about £3,800—having in some way disappeared. The effect of monetary troubles on civic morality is eloquently attested by one of the latest entries in the minute-book of the year. Pressed by clamorous creditors, the Council thought proper to make a raid on the funds of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. The sum of £700 had been borrowed from the Hospital in 1682, and £630 had become due for eighteen years' interest on the loan. But the Chamber, reviving the old fiction of a debt due from the charity—of which nothing had been said for ninety-four years, and which, if a fact, would have justified the appropriation of the £700 as a repayment on account—repudiated payment of the interest, and coolly alleged that such repudiation was "done with very great equity and good conscience."

CATHEDRAL AND CIVIC DIGNITARIES.

BISHOPS,

WITH DATE OF CONSECRATION.

The see was vacant from 1598 to 1608.

- 1608 August. John Thornborough, translated to Worcester, 1617.
 1617 December. Nicholas Felton, translated to Ely, 1618.
 1619 May. Rowland Searchfield, died October 11, 1622.
 1623 March. Robert Wright, translated to Lichfield, 1633.
 1633 February. George Coke, translated to Hereford, 1636.
 1637 January. Robert Skinner, translated to Oxford, 1641.
 1642 June. Thomas Westfield, died June 25, 1644.
 1645 April. Thomas Howell, died 1646.
 1661 January. Gilbert Ironside, died September 19, 1671.
 1672 February. Guy Carleton, translated to Chichester, 1679.
 1679 February. William Gulston, died April 4, 1684.
 1684 August. John Lake, translated to Chichester, 1685.
 1685 November. Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bt., translated to Exeter, 1689.
 1689 October. Gilbert Ironside, translated to Hereford, 1691.
 1691 August. John Hall, died February 4, 1710.

DEANS.

- 1598 March. Simon Robson, died June, 1617.
 1617 June. Edward Chetwynd, died May 18, 1639.
 1639 June. Matthew Nicholls, resigned, 1660.
 1660 July. Henry Glemham, appointed Bishop of St. Asaph, 1667.
 1667 May. Richard Towgood, died April 28, 1683.
 1683 May. Samuel Crossman, died February 4, 1684.
 1684 May. Richard Thompson, died November 29, 1685.
 1686 January. William Levett, died February 11, 1694.
 1694 March. George Royse, died April, 1708.

MAYORS AND SHERIFFS.

(The civic dignitaries, under the old charters, entered upon office on September 29th.)

MAYORS.

- 1600 John Hopkins, merchant
 1601 William Vawer, cardmaker
 1602 Ralph Horte, grocer
 1603 John Whitson, merchant
 1604 Christ. Kedgwin, grocer
 1605 Thomas James, merchant
 1606 John Barker, merchant; Richard Smith,* tanner
 1607 Matthew Haviland, merchant
 1608 John Butcher, draper
 1609 Robert Aldworth, merchant
 1610 John Eaglesfield, mercer
 1611 William Cary, draper
 1612 Abel Kitchen, merchant
 1613 Francis Knight
 1614 Thomas James, merchant
 1615 John Whitson, merchant

SHERIFFS.

- John Boulton, Thomas Hopkins
 William Hopkins, John Fowens
 John Aldworth, Thomas Farmer
 William Barnes, George Richards
 William Cole, George Harrington
 John Rowberowe, John Guy
 Thomas Packer, John Doughty
 Robert Rogers, Arthur Needes
 Thomas Moore, William Young
 Thomas Aldworth, Wm. Challoner
 Thomas Whitehead, William Pytte
 William Burrus, Henry Gibbes
 Christopher Cary, John Barker
 Christopher Whitson, John Gonning
 John Langton, Humphrey Hooke
 William Baldwyne, John Tomlinson

* See page 83.

MAYORS.

- 1616 Thomas Farmer
 1617 George Harrington, brewer
 1618 John Guy, merchant
 1619 Thomas Packer
 1620 John Doughty, mercer
 1621 Robert Rogers, soapmaker
 1622 William Young, draper
 1623 William Pitt, draper
 1624 Henry Gibbes, brewer
- 1625 John Barker, merchant
 1626 Chris. Whitson, sugar refiner
 1627 John Gonning, merchant
 1628 John Langton, merchant
 1629 Humphrey Hooke, merchant
 1630 John Tomlinson, merchant
 1631 Henry Yate, soapmaker
 1632 Henry Hobson, innkeeper
 1633 Matthew Warren, clothier
 1634 Andrew Charlton, merchant
 1635 Rich. Holworthy, merchant
 1636 Richard Long, merchant
 1637 William Jones, grocer
- 1638 Ezekiel Wallis, draper
 1639 George Knight, draper
 1640 John Taylor, merchant
 1641 John Lock, merchant
 1642 Richard Aldworth, mercer
 1643 Humph. Hooke, merchant
 1644 Alex. James, merchant
 1645 Francis Creswick, merchant;
 John Gonning,* merchant
 1646 Richard Vickris, merchant
 1647 Gabriel Sherman, merchant
 1648 William Cann, merchant
 1649 Miles Jackson, merchant
 1650 Hugh Browne, merchant
 1651 Jos. Jackson, merchant
 1652 Henry Gibbes, draper
 1653 George Hellier, ironmonger
 1654 John Gonning, merchant
 1655 Walter Deyos, merchant
 1656 Richard Balman, brewer
 1657 Arthur Farmer, brewer
 1658 Walter Sandy, ironmonger
 1659 Edward Tyson, merchant
 1660 Henry Creswick, merchant
 1661 Nathaniel Cale, chandler
 1662 Sir Robt. Cann, Bart., mer-
 chant
 1663 Sir John Knight (I.), merchant
 1664 John Lawford, grocer
 1665 John Willoughby, merchant
 1666 (Sir) Thos. Langton, merchant

SHERIFFS.

- Henry Yate, Henry Hobson
 Matthew Warren, William Turner
 Thomas Cecill, Thomas Wright
 Wm. Lyssett, Humphrey Browne
 Andrew Charlton, Peter Miller
 Richard Holworthy, Richard Long
 Edward Coxe, William Jones
 Oliver Snell, Ezekiel Wallis
 Wm. Pitt, jun. (died), Nath. But-
 cher, Thos. Clements
 George Knight, John Taylor
 John Lock, Walter Ellis
 Richard Plea, Richard Aldworth
 Alex. James, Francis Creswick
 Giles Elbridge, Thomas Colston
 Derrick Popley, Gabriel Sherman
 John Gonning, jun., Miles Jackson
 Thomas Jackson, Wm. Fitzherbert
 Robert Elliot, Thomas Lloyd
 John Langton, Thomas Hooke
 William Cann, William Hobson
 Richard Vickris, Thos. Woodward
 Edw. Peters (died), Wm. Wyat,
 Ab. Edwards
 Luke Hodges, George Hellier
 Matthew Warren, Walter Deyos
 Henry Gibbes, Edward Pitt
 Richard Balman, Robert Yeamans
 Joseph Jackson, Hugh Browne
 Henry Creswick, William Colston
 Nathaniel Cale, William Bevan
 John Young, Walter Stevens
- Walter Sandy, Edward Tyson
 Arthur Farmer, George White
 Robert Challoner, Robert Yate
 William Dale, William Yeamans
 James Croft, George Hart
 George Lane, Robert Cann
 Thos. Amory, Jonathan Blackwell
 John Pope, Thomas Bubb
 John Lawford, Christopher Griffith
 Thomas Harris, John Bowen
 Robert Vickris, John Harper
 John Willoughby, Henry Appleton
 Edward Morgan, Nehemiah Collins
 Francis Glead, Timothy Parker
 Richard Gregson, Thomas Langton
 Thomas Stevens, John Hickes
 John Wright, Robert Yeamans
- John Bradway, Richard Streamer
 John Knight, jun., Ralph Olliffe
 William Crabb, Richard Crumpe
 John Lloyd, Joseph Creswick

* See page 294.

MAYORS.

- 1667 Edward Morgan, upholster
 1668 Thomas Stevens, grocer
 1669 Sir Robt. Yeamans, Bt.
 1670 John Knight (jun.), sugar
 baker
 1671 John Hickes, mercer
 1672 Chris. Griffiths, merchant
 1673 Richard Streamer, merchant

 1674 Ralph Olliffe, innkeeper
 1675 Sir Robert Cann, Bart.
 1676 William Crabb, merchant
 1677 (Sir) Richard Crumpe, chand-
 ler
 1678 (Sir) John Lloyd, brewer
 1679 Joseph Creswick, merchant
 1680 (Sir) Richard Hart, merchant
 1681 (Sir) Thos. Earle, merchant
 1682 Thomas Eston, merchant
 1683 Ralph Olliffe, (Sir) Wm.
 Clutterbuck *
 1684 (Sir) Will. Hayman, merchant
 1685 Abraham Saunders, soapmaker
 1686 Wm. Swymmer, merchant
 1687 { Richard Lane, † sugar baker
 { Thomas Day, merchant
 1688 { William Jackson, merchant
 { William Jackson
 1689 Arthur Hart, merchant
 1690 Sir John Knight (II.)
 1691 Richard Lane
 1692 Edmond Arundell, merchant
 1693 Robert Yate, merchant
 1694 (Sir) Thomas Day
 1695 Samuel Wallis, ironmonger
 1696 John Hine, sugar baker

 1697 John Bubb, draper
 1698 John Blackwell, vintner
 1699 John Bacheler, draper
 1700 (Sir) Wm. Daines, merchant

SHERIFFS.

- Hy. Gough, John Aldworth (died),
 Wm. Willett
 Hum. Little, Rich. Hart
 Charles Powell, Edward Hurne
 Thomas Day, Thomas Eston

 Richard Stubbs, Thomas Earle
 Edward Young, John Cooke
 John Cecil, John Dymer (died), Wm.
 Hasell
 Samuel Wharton, Edward Feilding
 Charles Williams, George Lane
 Henry Gleson, Henry Merret
 William Donning, John Moore

 Wm. Jackson, Wm. Clutterbuck
 Wm. Hayman, Wm. Swymmer
 Abraham Saunders, Arthur Hart
 Richd. Lane, (Sir) John Knight (II.)
 George Hart, John Combes
 Nathaniel Driver, Edmond Arundell

 Giles Merricke, James Twyford
 William Merricke, Robert Yate
 George Morgan, Edward Tocknell
 John Sandford, Samuel Wallis†
 Thomas Saunders, John Hine
 Thomas Liston, Joseph Jackson‡
 Thomas Cole, George White
 John Bubb, John Blackwell
 Robert Dowding, John Yeamans
 John Bradway, William Opie
 James Pope, Henry Combe
 Marmaduke Bowdler, John Bacheler
 John Hawkins, (Sir) Wm. Daines
 William Lewis, William French
 Peter Saunders, Francis Whit-
 church
 Nathaniel Day, John Day
 George Stephens, John Swymmer
 William Whithead, James Hollidge
 Robert Bownde, Isaac Davies

* See page 419.

† See page 446.

‡ See page 450.

MASTERS OF THE SOCIETY OF MERCHANT VENTURERS.

(Compiled by Mr. G. H. POPE, Treasurer. "Ald." are Aldermen; "C.," Councillors.)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1605 John Hopkins, Ald. | 1654 Joseph Jackson, Ald. |
| 1606 John Whitson, M.P., Ald. | 1655 Joseph Jackson, Ald. |
| 1607 Thomas James, M.P., Ald. | 1656 Robert Yate, C. |
| 1608 Matthew Haviland, C., Ald. | 1657 William Yeamans, C. |
| 1609 Robert Aldworth, Mayor | 1658 Robert Cann, C. |
| 1610 Abel Kitchen, C. | 1659 John Bowen, C. |
| 1611 John Whitson, Ald. | 1660 Henry Creswick, Mayor, Ald. |
| 1612 Robert Aldworth, C. | 1661 Henry Creswick, Ald. |
| 1618 Matthew Haviland, Ald. | 1662 (Sir) Robert Yeamans, C. |
| 1614 John Aldworth, C. | 1668 Sir John Knight (I.), Mayor |
| 1615 Thomas James, Ald. | 1664 Thomas Langton, Ald. |
| 1616 Matthew Haviland, Ald. | 1665 John Willoughby, Mayor |
| 1617 John Barker, C. | 1666 John Knight (jun.), C. |
| 1618 John Barker, C. | 1667 Walter Tocknell |
| 1619 John Gonning, C. | 1668 Walter Tocknell |
| 1620 John Langton, C. | 1669 Robert Vickris, C. |
| 1621 Humphrey Hooke, C. | 1670 William Willett, C. |
| 1622 John Guy, Ald. | 1671 Shershaw Cary |
| 1623 John Doughty, Ald. | 1672 Richard Streamer, Ald., Mayor |
| 1624 William Pitt, Ald. | 1678 Thomas Earle, C. |
| 1625 Robert Aldworth, Ald. | 1674 William Lysons, C. |
| 1626 John Barker, C. | 1675 Richard Hart, C. |
| 1627 John Tomlinson, C. | 1676 Richard Hart, C. |
| 1628 Thomas Wright, C. | 1677 George Lane, C. |
| 1629 Humphrey Browne, C. | 1678 G. Lane, C. (died), Wm. Hay- |
| 1630 Humphrey Hooke, C. | man, C. |
| 1681 Humphrey Hooke, C., Ald. | 1679 William Hayman, Sheriff |
| 1682 Humphrey Hooke, Ald. | 1680 William Jackson, C. |
| 1683 Humphrey Hooke, Ald. | 1681 Thomas Eston, C., Mayor |
| 1684 Humphrey Hooke, Ald. | 1682 William Merricke, C. |
| 1685 Richard Holworthy, Mayor | 1683 (Sir) Wm. Clutterbuck, Mayor, |
| 1686 Richard Long, Mayor | Ald. |
| 1687 Richard Long, Ald. | 1684 Richard Lane, C. |
| 1688 Humphrey Hooke, Ald. | 1685 Edward Tocknell, C. |
| 1689 Andrew Charlton, Ald. | 1686 Edward Tocknell, C. |
| 1640 John Gonning, Ald. | 1687 William Donning, C. |
| 1641 William Jones, Ald. | 1688 Arthur Hart, C., Mayor |
| 1642 Alexander James, C. | 1689 Giles Merricke, C. |
| 1643 Francis Creswick, C., Ald. | 1690 William Swymmer, C. |
| 1644 Thomas Colston, C., Ald. | 1691 John Cooke, Chamberlain |
| 1645 William Cann, C. | 1692 Robert Yate, C. |
| 1646 Hugh Browne, Ald. | 1693 Robert Yate, Mayor |
| 1647 Joseph Jackson, Ald. | 1694 Samuel Price |
| 1648 Richard Vickris, Ald. | 1695 Samuel Price |
| 1649 Hugh Browne, Ald., Mayor | 1696 Peter Saunders, C. |
| 1650 Miles Jackson, Ald. | 1697 Peter Saunders, C. |
| 1651 Hugh Browne, Ald. | 1698 Sir William Daines, C. |
| 1652 Hugh Browne, Ald. | 1699 Sir Wm. Daines, C., Mayor |
| 1653 Joseph Jackson, Ald. | 1700 James Hollidge |

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